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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study* of Rural Life

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VOLUME 4

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NUMBER 2

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*The Present Status of Rural Sociology in the South* Bonney Youngblood

*Migration, Marriage, and Divorce* Dorothy Swaine Thomas

*Rural Youth Studies in the United States* Robin M. Williams

*State Police in a Rural Area* Marshall E. Jones

*The Sociology of Drought* Allen D. Edwards

*The Altenteil: German Farmers' Old Age Security* H. W. Spiegel

*Notes* Dwight Sanderson, Carl C. Taylor

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*Published Quarterly*

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# Contents of Volume IV

## ARTICLES

	PAGE
Anderson, C. Arnold. <i>A Theory of Social Security for Farm People</i>	399
Anderson, W. A. <i>The Transmission of Farming as an Occupation</i>	433
Bowden, Robert Douglas. <i>The Good American Earth</i>	78
Cépède, Michel. <i>Agricultural Labor Organization in France</i>	26
Edwards, Allen D. <i>The Sociology of Drought</i>	190
Ensminger, Douglas. <i>The Missouri Standard Community Plan After Thirteen Years</i>	58
Forsyth, F. Howard. <i>The Radio and Rural Research</i>	67
Gini, Corrado. <i>Rural Ritual Games in Libya</i>	283
Hamilton, C. Horace. <i>The Social Effects of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture</i>	3
Discussions: Grimes, W. E.	23
Smith, R. C.	19
Jones, Marshall E. <i>State Police in a Rural Area</i>	179
McKain, Walter C., Jr. <i>The Concept of Plane of Living and the Construction of a Plane of Living Index</i>	337
Nelson, Lowry. <i>Action Programs for the Conservation of Rural Life and Culture</i>	414
Reuss, Carl F. <i>Content of the Country Weekly</i>	328
Sanders, Irwin T. <i>The Social Contacts of a Bulgarian Village</i>	315
Spiegel, H. W. <i>The Altenteil: German Farmers' Old Age Security</i>	203
Swire, Florence M. <i>Housing in Rural America</i>	449
Tetreau, E. D. <i>Profile of Farm Wage Rates in the Southwest</i>	36
Thomas, Dorothy Swaine. <i>Migration, Marriage, and Divorce</i>	155
Whetten, N. L. <i>Theory of Human Conservation</i>	385
Wileden, A. F. <i>Rural Sociology Extension in the Agricultural Colleges</i>	43
Williams, B. O. <i>The Impact of Mechanization of Agriculture on the Farm Population of the South</i>	300
Discussions: Crowe, H. P.	311
Hagood, Margaret Jarman	313
Williams, Robin M. <i>Rural Youth Studies in the United States</i>	166
Woofter, T. J., Jr. <i>The Future Working Population</i>	275
Youngblood, Bonney. <i>The Present Status of Rural Sociology in the South and Desirable Steps for Its More Adequate Development</i>	143

## NOTES

Anderson, C. Arnold. <i>The Pattern of Social Activities in a High Participation Group</i>	463
Carter, Hugh. <i>Broadway's Picture of Rural America</i>	89
Harms, Ernst. <i>The Application of Psychotechnics to Agricultural Planning</i>	458



	PAGE
Renne, Roland R. <i>Notes on Montana Population Trends</i>	346
Sanderson, Dwight. <i>The Beginnings of Rural Social Studies in the U. S. D. A.</i>	219
Taylor, Carl C. <i>The Work of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. D. A.</i>	221
Wasson, C. R. <i>Does Increasing Urbanization of the Rural Areas Require a Re-examination of Some of Our Basic Postulates?</i>	88
Zimmerman, Carle C. <i>The Evolution of the Euro-American Community</i>	344

## BOOK REVIEWS

Adamson and West, <i>Beet Sugar</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	491
Agricultural Committee of the I. L. O., <i>Social Problems in Agriculture</i> . Lowry Nelson	267
<i>American Journal of Sociology, The</i> , Vol. XLIV, No. 6. Carle C. Zimmerman	490
Alihan, <i>Social Ecology</i> . Homer L. Hitt	372
Antevs, <i>Rainfall and Tree Growth in the Great Basin</i> . Walter C. McKain, Jr.	485
Baker, Borsodi, and Wilson, <i>Agriculture in Modern Life</i> . Ray F. Harvey	475
Ball, <i>Federal, State, and Local Administrative Relationships in Agriculture</i> . T. Lynn Smith	270
Beals, <i>American Earth</i> . Gordon W. Blackwell	476
Bean, <i>The Peopling of Virginia</i> . B. L. Hummel	374
Bellucci, <i>I Lavorati Avventizi nell' Agricoltura Toscana</i> . Wilbert E. Moore	492
Benson and Hedin (eds.), <i>Swedes in America</i> . Robert K. Merton	119
Black and Mudgett, <i>Research in Agricultural Index Numbers</i> . Roy A. Ballinger	268
Boas, <i>The Mind of Primitive Man</i> . Guy B. Johnson	260
Bridenbaugh, <i>Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742</i> . G. T. Bowden	483
Brunner, <i>Rural Australia and New Zealand</i> . C. R. Hoffer	375
Buck, <i>Land Utilization in China</i> . E. deS. Brunner	108
Bunce, <i>Economic Nationalism and the Farmer</i> . O. D. Duncan	114
Burt, <i>Powder River: Let'er Buck</i> . Wilbert E. Moore	267
Carter and Ogden, <i>Everyman's Drama</i> . A. F. Wileden	265
Cavers (ed.), <i>Law and Contemporary Problems</i> . J. A. Baker and George S. Wehrwein	259
Clark, <i>The Rambling Frontier</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	373
Coffin, <i>Maine Ballads</i> . George E. Lord	269
Colcord, <i>Your Community</i> . E. deS. Brunner	266
C. B. S., <i>Columbia R.F.D. Audience</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	270
C.B.S. and N.B.C. Sponsors, <i>The Joint Committee Study of Rural Radio Ownership and Use in the U. S.</i> Carle C. Zimmerman	270

# CONTENTS

v

	PAGE
Common (ed.), <i>Seven Shifts</i> . Gordon W. Blackwell	114
<i>Congrès international de la population</i> . Homer L. Hitt	268
Coon, <i>Money to Burn</i> . Logan Wilson	116
Craven, <i>The Repressible Conflict, 1830-61</i> . Wilbert E. Moore	372
Daniels, <i>A Southerner Discovers the South</i> . Daniel Russell	112
de Simone, "Lazio," <i>Inchiesta sulla Piccola Proprietà Coltivatrice Formata nel Dopoguerra</i> , Vol. XIV	492
Ellwood, <i>A History of Social Philosophy</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	365
Ellwood, Arnold, Schmutz, and McKibben, <i>Wheat and Oats</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	491
Fairchild, <i>Survey of Contemporary Sociology</i> . Kenneth Evans	263
Fairchild, <i>The World Was My Garden: Travels of a Plant Explorer</i> . John Useem	487
Farnham and Link, <i>Effects of the Works Program on Rural Relief</i> . Bryce Ryan	113
Ferenczi, <i>The Synthetic Optimum of Population</i> . Ray E. Wakely	485
Fink, <i>Causes of Crime</i> . J. M. Gillette	122
Günther, <i>Das Bauerntum als Lebens- und Gemeinschaftsform</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	377
Gustafson, Ries, Guise, and Hamilton, Jr., <i>Conservation in the United States</i> . Otis Durant Duncan	486
Halle, <i>Women in the Soviet East</i> . Edgar A. Schuler	489
Hanna, Anderson, and Gray, <i>Centerville</i> . E. deS. Brunner	268
Hark, <i>Hex Marks the Spot</i> . Kingsley Davis	118
Harris, <i>Progressive Norway</i> . T. Lynn Smith	376
Herron, <i>The Small Town in American Literature</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	478
Heske, <i>German Forestry</i> . E. Y. Hartshorne	488
Holley and Arnold, <i>Cotton</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	491
Hollis, <i>Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education</i> . Logan Wilson	116
Hooker, <i>Readjustments of Agricultural Tenure in Ireland</i> . E. deS. Brunner	108
Hurston, <i>Tell My Horse</i> . Edgar T. Thompson	261
<i>International Bibliography of Agricultural Economics</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	376
<i>Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Literatur der Landwirtschaft</i> . Rudolf Heberle	375
Jensen, <i>Danish Agriculture</i> . T. Lynn Smith	368
Kandel, <i>Rural Education and Rural Society</i> . William McKinley Robinson	370
Kifer and Stewart, <i>Farming Hazards in the Drought Area</i> . Gordon W. Blackwell	479
Knowlton, Elwood, and McKibben, <i>Potatoes</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	491
Koenig, <i>Immigrant Settlements in Connecticut</i> . Wendell H. Bash	119
Kramer, <i>Marginal Land</i> . J. M. Reinhardt	367
Krepp, <i>Milk Consumption and Milk Supplying Hinterland of Tallium</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	490

	PAGE
Krepp, <i>Economic Position, and Territorial Reform of Rural Communes in Esthonia</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	491
Laasi, <i>Population, Settlement and Communication of the Province of Läänemaa</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	491
Landis, <i>Social Control</i> . W. H. Stacy	371
Landis and Page, <i>Modern Society and Mental Disease</i> . J. M. Gillette	262
Lederer, <i>Technical Progress and Unemployment</i> . Lowry Nelson	376
Lillema, <i>The Soil Types of the Province Läänemaa, Esthonia</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	490
Lillema, <i>Division of Esthonian Soil by Quality</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	491
Lord, <i>Behold Our Land</i> . Kenneth Evans	111
Lorenzoni, "Relazione Finale, l'Ascesa del Contadino Italiano nel Dopo-Guerra," <i>Inchiesta sulla Piccola Proprietà Coltivatrice Formatasi nel Dopoguerra</i> , Vol. XV. Carle C. Zimmerman	492
Lowe, <i>State Public Welfare Legislation</i> . Leonard T. Salter, Jr.	489
McKibben and Griffin, <i>Tractors, Trucks, and Automobiles</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	491
McWilliams, <i>Factories in the Field: The Story of the Migratory Farm Labor in California</i> Nicholas Mirkowich	480
Macy, Arnold, McKibben, and Stone, <i>Sugar Beets</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	491
Mayer-Daxlanden, <i>Immigrants</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	377
Miner, <i>St. Denis, A French-Canadian Parish</i> . Vernon J. Parenton	480
Moore, <i>Cityward Migration</i> . Dudley Kirk	258
Morris, <i>Bald Knobbers</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	373
Murray and Flynn, <i>Social Problems</i> . George F. Fitzgibbon	487
Neuberger, <i>Our Promised Land</i> . Fred Yoder	263
Odum and Moore, <i>American Regionalism</i> . T. J. Woofter, Jr.	250
Orwin and Orwin, <i>The Open Fields</i> . J. E. Bachelder, Jr.	111
Overstreet and Overstreet, <i>Town Meeting Comes to Town</i> . A. F. Wileden	265
Parkins, <i>The South: Its Economic-Geographic Development</i> . M. B. Smith	269
Perini, <i>Risultati Economici di Aziende Agrarie nell' Anno 1936</i> . Wilbert E. Moore	492
Platzter, <i>Monografia Economico-Agraria di Terra di Lavarò (Studio Generale della Economia della Produzione Terriera)</i> . Wilbert E. Moore	492
Powdermaker, <i>After Freedom</i> . Felton G. Clark	254
Powell, <i>Human Side of a People and The Right Name</i> . N. B. De Nood	120
Price, <i>White Settlers in the Tropics</i> . T. Lynn Smith	269
Queen and Thomas, <i>The City</i> . W. A. Anderson	367
Reid, <i>The Negro Immigrant</i> . Vernon J. Parenton	369
Sears, <i>Who Are These Americans?</i> Leonard A. Salter, Jr.	484
Sellin, <i>Culture Conflict and Crime</i> . Neal B. De Nood	264
Smith, <i>A Sociological Analysis of Rural Education in Louisianan</i> . E. deS. Brunner	115
Smith, <i>Americans in Process</i> . N. J. Demerath	117

# CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
<i>Sociological Review</i> , IV, 3-4 and VI, 3-4. Carle C. Zimmerman	490
Spagnoli, <i>Monografia Economico-Agraria della Piana di Salerno (Studio Generale della Economia della Produzioni Terriera)</i> . Wilbert E. Moore	492
Spengler, <i>France Faces Depopulation</i> . O. D. Duncan	107
Thomas, <i>Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials</i> . O. D. Duncan	107
Thorndike, <i>Your City</i> . Robin M. Williams	483
Todeschini, II. <i>Pomodoro in Emilia, Importanza Economica della Coltivazione</i> . Wilbert E. Moore	492
Ullrich, <i>Sociologische Studien zur Verstädterung der Prager Umgebung</i> . Charles P. Loomis	482
Vance, <i>Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution</i> . O. D. Duncan	107
Van Deusen, <i>The Black Man in White America</i> . Vernon J. Parenton	369
Waller, <i>The Family</i> . Logan Wilson	121
Warriner, <i>Economics of Peasant Farming</i> . Carle C. Zimmerman	255
Weld, <i>Brooklyn Village, 1816-34</i> . Walter C. McKain, Jr.	374
Wesley, <i>Owatonna</i> . T. F. Thaden	120
Whelpton, <i>Needed Population Research</i> . O. D. Duncan	107
Wilson, <i>The Geography of Reading</i> . William R. Gordon	256
Woodward, <i>Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel</i> . Carl C. Taylor	252
Woofter, Jr., and Winston, <i>Seven Lean Years</i> . Paul S. Taylor	492
Woofter, et al., <i>Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation</i> . C. O. Brannen	257
<i>The World of Industry and Labour, 1939</i>	490
Zimmerman, <i>The Changing Community</i> . Robert E. Park	473
Zimmerman and Whetten, <i>Rural Families on Relief</i> . Gordon W. Blackwell	479

## CURRENT BULLETINS

March	93-106	September	348-364
June	229-249	December	465-472

## NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

March	123-139	September	379
June	271	December	494

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS	140
------------------------	-----

## ERRATA

P. 155, 1. 8 OF ABSTRACT.

*For* ". . . groups of nonmigrants, with the exception of migrants to rural"  
*read* ". . . groups of nonmigrants, without exception; and lower proportions divorced, with the exception of migrants to rural"

P. 164, 1. 20.

*For* "ception for older females in large cities), the divorced proportions among"  
*read* "exception noted above. Except for rural areas, then, migrants tend to"

P. 221, 1. 11 INCOMPLETE.

Misplaced line in Footnote 7. *Read to complete* 1. 11 "was made the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life."

# *Rural Sociology*



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VOL. 4

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## CONTENTS

<i>The Social Effects of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture.</i>	
By C. Horace Hamilton .....	3
Discussion, by R. C. Smith .....	19
Discussion, by W. E. Grimes .....	23
<i>Agricultural Labor Organization in France.</i> By Michel Cépède. ....	26
<i>Profile of Farm Wage Rates in the Southwest.</i> By E. D. Tetreau ..	36
<i>Rural Sociology Extension in the Agricultural Colleges.</i> By A. F. Wileden	43
<i>The Missouri Standard Community Plan After Thirteen Years.</i> By Douglas	
Ensminger .....	58
<i>The Radio and Rural Research.</i> By F. Howard Forsyth .....	67
<i>The Good American Earth.</i> By Robert Douglas Bowden.....	78
<i>Notes</i>	
<i>Does Increasing Urbanization of the Rural Areas Require a Re-examination of</i>	
<i>Some of Our Basic Postulates?</i> By C. R. Wasson .....	88
<i>Broadway's Picture of Rural America.</i> By Hugh Carter ..	89
<i>Current Bulletins.</i> Edited by Charles P. Loomis.....	93
<i>Book Reviews.</i> Edited by Carle C. Zimmerman	
Vance, <i>Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution</i> ; Thomas, <i>Research</i>	
<i>Memorandum on Migration Differentials</i> ; Whelpton, <i>Needed Population</i>	
<i>Research</i> ; Spengler <i>France Faces Depopulation</i> , by O. D. Duncan	107
Buck, <i>Land Utilization in China</i> ; Hooker, <i>Readjustments of Agricultural Ten-</i>	
<i>ure in Ireland</i> , by E. deS. Brunner .....	108
Orwin and Orwin, <i>The Open Fields</i> , by J. E. Bachelder, Jr. ....	111
Lord, <i>Behold Our Land</i> , by Kenneth Evans .....	111
Daniels, <i>A Southerner Discovers the South</i> , by Daniel Russell ..	112
Farnham and Link, <i>Effects of the Works Program on Rural Relief</i> , by Bryce	
Ryan .....	113
Common (editor), <i>Seven Shifts</i> , by Gordon W. Blackwell ..	114
Bunce, <i>Economic Nationalism and the Farmer</i> , by O. D. Duncan ..	114
Smith, <i>A Sociological Analysis of Rural Education in Louisiana</i> , by E. deS.	
Brunner .....	115
Coon, <i>Money to Burn</i> ; Hollis, <i>Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Educa-</i>	
<i>tion</i> , by Logan Wilson.....	116
Smith, <i>Americans in Process</i> , by N. J. Demerath .....	117
Hark, <i>Hex Marks the Spot</i> , by Kingsley Davis .....	118
Benson and Hedin (editors), <i>Swedes in America</i> , by Robert K. Merton	119
Koenig, <i>Immigrant Settlements in Connecticut</i> , by Wendell H. Bash .....	119
Powell, <i>Human Side of a People and The Right Name</i> , by N. B. DeNood ..	120
Wesley, <i>Owatonna</i> , by J. F. Thaden.....	120
Waller, <i>The Family</i> , by Logan Wilson .....	121
Fink, <i>Causes of Crime</i> , by J. M. Gillette .....	122
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i> .....	123
<i>Notes for Contributors</i> .....	140

# The Social ~~Effects~~ of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture†

By C. Horace Hamilton\*

## THE RATE AND THE MAGNITUDE OF MECHANIZATION

The rate and the magnitude of the recent mechanization of agriculture in this country are beyond the imagination and comprehension of the average man. The high point in the manufacture and sale of farm tractors and other farm equipment in the United States was reached in 1937, when the value of such equipment sold by manufacturers for use in the United States amounted to \$507,146,913.<sup>1</sup> This figure is to be compared with \$409,000,000 in 1936; \$302,000,000 in 1935; only \$90,000,000 in 1932; and in 1929, the record year before 1937, \$458,000,000 (Table 1). Farm tractors alone accounted for 42.0 per cent of the farm equipment sales of 1936 and 1937. In 1925 the sales of farm tractors accounted for only 27.2 per cent of all such sales. During the three-year period, 1935 to 1937, farm machinery manufacturers sold for use in the United States 565,792 tractors. In 1937 alone, more tractors were sold for domestic use than were enumerated on farms in 1920.

According to the estimates of the Farm Equipment Institute,<sup>2</sup> there were, as of April 1, 1938, on the farms of the nation 1,527,989 tractors—less than three times as many as were sold in the three-year period preceding 1938 (Table 2). A recent survey of 3,000 farms shows that 40.3 per cent of the tractors on farms and ranches in the United States were bought in the three years preceding 1938.<sup>3</sup> The estimates of the Farm Equipment Institute are probably conservative (Table 3). Their estimates show for the state of Texas 73,981 tractors in 1936 and 98,966 in 1938—an increase of 34 per cent. Their figure for 1938 may be too

† A paper read at the joint session of the American Farm Economics Association and the Rural Sociological Society, Detroit, December 29, 1938.

\* Economist in Rural Life, Agricultural Experiment Station, A. & M. College of Texas.

<sup>1</sup> *The Manufacture and Sale of Farm Equipment and Related Products, 1937* (Washington: USDC Census Bureau, 1938).

<sup>2</sup> *Farm Implement News*, April 7, 1938; April 8, 1937.

<sup>3</sup> *Farm Cars and Tractors Superannuated*, News Release, Special T-1 (Washington: USDC Census Bureau, 1938).



low by 17,000, for, during the same period, gasoline tax refunds to farmers using tractors increased 57 per cent.<sup>4</sup>

TABLE 1  
FARM EQUIPMENT SOLD FOR USE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1922-37

Year	Value		Per cent of Tractors
	All Types of Farm Equipment	Tractors	
1937	\$507,146,913	\$214,192,212	42.0
1936	409,090,155	171,850,905	42.0
1935	302,259,557	123,432,843	40.8
1930	382,190,716	133,054,559	34.8
1929	458,091,248	155,406,163	33.9
1928	402,872,036	122,281,032	30.4
1927	391,868,822	131,667,221	33.6
1926	364,751,042	105,001,649	28.8
1925	340,271,234	92,506,790	27.2
1924	277,924,547	74,063,314	26.6
1923	311,976,047	77,418,955	24.8
1922	222,907,764	53,860,771	24.2

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Reports on the *Manufacture and Sale of Farm Equipment and Related Products*. Data for 1931-34. Figures for years previous to 1937, quoted from Paul S. Taylor, "Power Farming and Labor Displacement in the Cotton Belt," page 27. United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Serial No. R737.

TABLE 2  
TREND IN THE NUMBER OF HORSES, MULES, AND TRACTORS ON FARMS,  
TEXAS AND THE UNITED STATES, 1920 TO 1938

Year	UNITED STATES				TEXAS			
	Number in 1000's				Number in 1000's			
	Horses	Mules	Total Workstock	Tractors	Horses	Mules	Total Workstock	Tractors
1938	11,163	4,477	15,640	1,528	714	740	1,454	99
1937	11,445	4,571	16,016	1,383	707	787	1,494	88
1936	11,635	4,684	16,319	1,248	693	837	1,530	74
1935	11,858	4,818	16,676	*	686	890	1,576	*
1930	13,511	5,375	18,886	920	780	1,053	1,835	37
1925	16,401	5,681	22,082	506	1,000	1,220	2,220	17
1920	19,767	5,432	25,200	246	1,240	1,060	2,300	9

\*No data.

Source: U. S. Census of Agriculture, III (1935), 243 for data from 1920 to 1935. Data on horses and mules, 1936 to 1938, from the Division of Crop and Livestock Estimates. Data on tractors from the *Farm Implement News*, April, 1936, 1937, 1938.

<sup>4</sup> This conclusion is verified by the results of farm management studies (Ben H. Thibodeaux, C. A. Bonnen, and A. C. Magee, *An Economic Study of Farm Organization in the High Plains Cotton Farming Area of Texas*, to be published shortly by the Texas AES in

# MECHANIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

## TYPES AND REGIONS OF MECHANIZATION

The increase in the use of the all-purpose, rubber-tired tractor has characterized and dominated recent agricultural mechanization in the United States. For instance, of the 565,792 tractors sold for domestic use, 72.7 per cent were of the all-purpose type, and nearly 50 per cent of these were equipped with rubber tires (Table 4). The all-purpose tractor designed to list or flat-break two rows or furrows at a time has been most common. During the past year farm machinery manufacturers have begun to feature smaller tractors designed for one-row equipment. A streamlined, completely enclosed tractor, equipped with radio, spittoon, and cigar lighter, has also been developed for the gentlemen farmers who, since 1933, have found farming to be so attractive.

TABLE 3

RECENT TRENDS IN THE AMOUNT OF GASOLINE TAX REFUNDS TO TEXAS FARMERS, SHOWING ESTIMATED NUMBER OF GASOLINE TRACTORS IN USE, 1931 TO 1938

Fiscal Years (Ending Aug. 31)	All Refunds	Refunds to Farmers*	Per cent to Farmers	Estimated Number of Tractors	
				A†	B‡
1938	\$6,871,362	\$4,640,414	67.5	116,010	98,966
1937	5,780,486	3,682,661	63.7	92,067	88,306
1936	4,837,800	2,951,596	61.0	73,789	73,981
1935	3,507,329	2,037,705	58.1	50,943	.....
1934	3,143,460	1,749,611	55.7	43,740	.....
1933	2,803,832	1,512,960	54.0	37,824	.....
1932	3,275,142	2,009,431	61.4	50,236	.....
1931	2,792,047	1,603,971	57.4	40,099	.....

\*Refund made at the rate of 4c. per gallon.

†Assuming that the average refund per tractor was \$40.

‡Estimates made by the Farm Equipment Institute, Chicago, Illinois, on the basis of estimated tractors sold in each state and an allowance made for obsolescence.

Source: Annual Reports of the Comptroller of Public Accounts of the State of Texas, 1931 to 1938 and the *Farm Implement News*, April, 1936, 1937, and 1938.

co-operation with the BAE, USDA; *A Study to Determine the Social and Economic Effects on Farms of a Definitely Planned Program of Soil Conservation*, now in progress by the US Soil Conservation Service, BAE, and Texas AES co-operating; the assistance of Mr. C. H. Bates, associate agricultural economist, leader of the project, is acknowledged) which show the average annual gasoline consumption per two-row all-purpose tractor to be slightly over 1,000 gallons in the highly mechanized areas of West Texas and approximately 750 gallons in the less mechanized Blackland area. The low consumption per tractor in the Blackland is offset by the higher consumption by four-row tractors on the plains and by the larger tractors found in the Panhandle Wheat area. Since, however, the two-row all-purpose tractor is the most prevalent type in Texas, a rough estimate of 1,000 gallons per tractor may be used. At four cents per gallon, the state refund would amount to \$40 per tractor. The amount of gasoline taxes refunded to farmers in Texas during the year ending August 1, 1938, was \$4,640,414. Therefore, if the average tractor consumed

TABLE 4

NUMBER AND VALUE OF TRACTORS MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES  
BY TYPE OF TRACTOR, 1935 TO 1937

Type	Number			Value		
	1937	1936	1935	1937	1936	1935
All tractors.....	283,155	227,185	161,131	\$268,394,076	\$214,853,968	\$147,825,552
Wheel*.....	53,882	39,068	31,741	42,384,936	28,509,515	24,397,535
All-purpose.....	183,955	154,879	106,343	117,300,669	92,291,844	59,030,069
Track-laying.....	34,602	27,299	18,774	66,418,335	54,602,581	37,056,960
Garden.....	10,716	5,939	4,273	1,575,415	1,101,054	816,108

\*Except all-purpose.

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *The Manufacture and Sale of Farm Equipment and Related Products*, 1937, p. 5.

The types of machines powered by the all-purpose tractor, as well as the types of farming being mechanized, should be given attention. One of the characteristics of recent mechanization trends is that nearly all types of farming are being invaded in varying degrees. Mechanization in the production of wheat, corn, and cotton has, of course, been most spectacular; but the mechanization of such crops as potatoes and beets should not be overlooked. Truck crops in general, however, present many obstacles to mechanization.<sup>5</sup> Although wheat is the most highly mechanized of all the major crops, there has been a surprisingly large amount of mechanization in wheat states during the past few years—most surprising when the effects of the drought and depression are given due consideration. This is illustrated by the fact that the number of tractors in the West North Central States increased from 318,160 in 1930 to 504,157 in 1938.

Although the greatest degree of mechanization is found in the North Central States, the highest rates of recent mechanization are found in the South and Southwest. Mississippi leads the Old South both in the number of tractors added since 1930 and in the rate of increase; the number

1,000 gallons, the number of tractors in use in Texas during 1938 must have been approximately 116,000. If the Farm Equipment Institute's estimate is correct (and it may be) the average consumption of gas per tractor would be about 1,172 gallons per year (Table 3). It is entirely possible, of course, that the mean consumption of gasoline per tractor has been increasing in the more recent years. It is interesting to note that the Institute's estimate for 1936 is almost identical with that based upon the 1,000 gallon per year estimated consumption; and that my estimate for 1931 (Estimate A, Table 3) of 40,099 is very close to the number of farm tractors enumerated in 1930—37,348.

<sup>5</sup> See the forthcoming report by J. C. Schilleter, Robert B. Elwood, and Harry E. Knowlton, *Changing Technology and Labor Requirements of Crop Production: Vegetable*, a WPA National Research Project.

of tractors increasing from 5,542 in 1930 to 14,703 in 1938, an increase of 165 per cent. In the Southwest, Texas leads with 61,618 tractors added—an increase over 1930 of 165 per cent. It is interesting to note that there were estimated to be more tractors in Texas than in eight Old South cotton states—reaching from North Carolina and Georgia to Arkansas and Louisiana (Table 5). Although, the old cotton states of the South still have few tractors compared with the North and West, they all show high rates of mechanization.

The most rapid mechanization of cotton farming has occurred in the western cotton areas of Texas and Oklahoma. Several large areas in Texas are almost completely mechanized, e.g., the High and Low Plains, the Corpus Christi Area. Bonnen and Magee<sup>6</sup> found that of 141 repre-

TABLE 5

TREND IN THE NUMBER OF TRACTORS IN USE IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN SELECTED GROUPS OF STATES

Group	Year					
	1938	1937	1936	1930	1925	1920
Number						
The United States	1,527,989	1,382,872	1,248,337	920,021	505,933	246,083
Ten highly mechanized states*	690,266	630,236	577,215	397,687	229,936	129,269
Eight Old South cotton states†	97,473	84,888	74,236	48,529	30,841	13,817
Texas	98,966	88,306	73,981	37,348	16,780	9,048
Remainder of the United States	641,284	579,442	522,905	436,457	228,376	93,949
Percentage distribution						
The United States	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0
Ten highly mechanized states	45 2	45 6	46 2	43 2	45 4	52 5
Eight Old South cotton states	6 4	6 1	5 9	5 3	6 1	5 6
Texas	6 5	6 4	5 9	4 1	3 3	3 7
Remainder of the United States	42 0	41 9	41 9	47 4	45 1	38 2

\*Illinois, North Dakota, Kansas, Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, California, New Jersey, and Indiana

†North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

Source *Farm Implement News* for data of 1936, 1937, and 1938. United States Census for the years 1920, 1925, and 1930.

sentative farms in the High Plains in 1937, 79 per cent were depending on tractor power and multi-row equipment as compared with only 26 per cent in 1931. They also noted a very rapid increase in the use of four-row equipment. In many Plains areas practically 100 per cent of the farms depend upon tractor power.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> C. A. Bonnen and A. C. Magee, "Some Technological Changes in the High Plains Cotton Area of Texas," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XX (August, 1938).

<sup>7</sup> *A Study of Farm Mechanization and Farm Labor Changes: 1938*, a Texas AES, WPA, and FSA study now in progress.

The farms in the Blacklands of Texas are also being mechanized at a rapid rate. Reconnaissance surveys indicate that at least 30 per cent of the Blackland farmers use tractors and that possibly 50 per cent of the crop land is cultivated with tractors.

The large plantations of the river bottoms have been slow to mechanize. Nevertheless, a survey of 196 plantations revealed that the number of tractors on them had doubled during the past four years. The average plantation had 1.5 tractors and 382 acres of cotton in 1938.<sup>a</sup> Most of the tractors on these plantations were used only for breaking, discing, roadwork, and ditching. Many plantation operators interviewed stated that they expected to shift to tractors extensively in the near future. Two important factors, however, will retard mechanization on plantations: (1) Because of the dense weed growth, the heavy foliage of the cotton plant, and the slow opening of the cotton bolls, a relatively large proportion of labor used in cotton production on the plantations must be hand labor; and (2) because of the restrictions of the agricultural conservation program, plantations cannot utilize the additional land released by mechanization in either cotton production or in the production of livestock and feed for the market. A small farmer can milk a few cows or feed some calves and hogs without conspicuously violating the regulations of the agricultural conservation program; but a shift to commercial livestock farming on plantations could not escape notice. Furthermore, the plantation is set up primarily for commercial cotton production, and not for mixed or general farming. The type of labor needed for cotton picking is entirely different from that needed for livestock farming.

#### FARM MECHANIZATION AND THE USE OF MAN LABOR

Long before the tractor became an important source of farm power, the development of laborsaving machines, together with other changes in technology, had greatly reduced the amount of labor needed per unit of agricultural product or per unit of land cultivated. For instance, it has been estimated that, in 1830, 288 hours of man-labor were required to produce a hundred bushels of wheat on five acres of land. By 1880, with the use of machines available at that time, a hundred bushels of wheat could be produced with only 129 hours of man-labor; and by

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid.*

1900, only 86 man-hours were required. Finally, by 1930 only 49 man-hours were needed to produce 100 bushels of wheat on five acres.<sup>9</sup>

In the production of corn the number of man-hours needed to produce 100 bushels dropped from about 180 in 1880 to 104 in 1930.<sup>10</sup> Since 1930 the perfection and the increased use of corn-picking and corn-husking machinery has probably reduced the number of hours needed still further. The average amount of labor now actually used in the production of 100 bushels of corn in the United States as a whole has been recently estimated to be 90 man-hours, as compared with only 49 hours in the corn belt.<sup>11</sup> Between 1911 and 1934, the same report indicates that the total number of hours of man-labor used to produce the nation's corn crop decreased from 2,898 millions to 2,276 millions, or approximately 21.5 per cent.

In the production of cotton, with the exception of harvesting, a similar condition prevails. McCrory and others, in a National Resources Committee report, estimate that, on the average, in 1930 only 235 man-hours were required to produce a bale of cotton as compared to 285 in 1900, and 304 in 1880.<sup>12</sup> Holley and Arnold, in a WPA National Research report, estimate that the actual number of man-hours required to produce one bale of cotton decreased from 271 in the period 1907-11 to 218 in the period 1933-36.<sup>13</sup> This same report shows, however, that only 178 man-hours were required to produce one bale in the entire western cotton area<sup>14</sup> in the period 1933-36. Furthermore, the total number of man-hours utilized annually in cotton production in the United States decreased from 3,343 millions in the period 1907-11 to 2,489 in the period 1933-36, a decrease of 25.5 per cent. A part of this decline was due to the fact that in the latter period the annual production of cotton

<sup>9</sup> W. M. Hurst and L. M. Church, *Power and Machinery in Agriculture*, USDA Miscellaneous Publication 157 (Washington, 1933).

<sup>10</sup> S. H. McCrory, R. F. Hendrickson, and Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy*, National Resources Committee, Section on Agriculture.

<sup>11</sup> Loring K. Macy, Lloyd E. Arnold, and Eugene G. McKibben, *Changes in Technology and Labor Requirements in Crop Production: Corn*, WPA National Research Project Report A-5 (Philadelphia, 1938).

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> W. C. Holley and Lloyd C. Arnold, *Changes in Technology and Labor Requirements in Crop Production: Cotton*, WPA National Research Project Report A-7 (Philadelphia, 1938).

<sup>14</sup> The area reaching from Central Texas (not including the Blackland) to California. In some of the highly mechanized areas of the West the number of man-hours required per acre may be as low as 20 or 25.

in the United States was nearly a million bales less than it was in the former period. Also in the latter period cotton production had shifted to the western areas where labor requirements per bale were lower than in the older areas.

Other WPA National Research reports indicate that there have also been substantial reductions in the number of man-hours used in producing sugar beets and potatoes.<sup>15</sup> In the case of sugar beets the reduction in the use of man-labor was about 17 per cent between the periods 1920-24 and 1928-32, dropping from 112 man-hours per acre in the former period to 94 in the latter. However, the full effect of recently developed harvesting machinery has not been felt in the case of sugar beets.

The number of man-hours required to produce an acre of potatoes in selected areas has decreased from 86 to 64 between the period 1909-13 and 1934-36, a decrease of 25.6 per cent. Since 1910 it is estimated that approximately 50,000,000 man-hours of labor have been eliminated in the production of the nation's potato crop.

In other commercial truck crops the trend in labor demand is generally upward. Mechanization in the production of many vegetable crops is very difficult; and, owing to rapid urbanization, the acreages of such crops have expanded considerably in the last few years. The same might be said about many fruit crops. A forthcoming WPA National Research report will show that the total number of man-hours utilized in the production of fifteen vegetable crops was approximately 400,000,000 annually in the period 1932-36 as compared with only 200,000,000 in the period 1909-13.<sup>16</sup> Because of continued urbanization, commercial vegetable production may be expected to expand. Mechanization of vegetable production will probably be quite slow, particularly in harvesting operations.

The net result of recent trends in farm mechanization (along with other technological changes) has been summarized in the most recent report of the WPA National Research Project. Briefly stated, this report shows that: "From 1909 to 1929 the output per person working in agriculture increased approximately 37 per cent. This increased productivity made it possible for 7.5 fewer persons to produce an agricul-

<sup>15</sup> Macy, Arnold, and McKibben, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> Schilleter, Elwood, and Knowlton, *op. cit.*

tural output which was 27 per cent greater in 1929 than in 1909.”<sup>17</sup> Other studies indicate a similar situation.<sup>18</sup>

### MECHANIZATION IN THE COTTON BELT

The extent of mechanization and the decrease in the demand for labor in cotton farming have been indicated. The social effects of mechanization will now be presented briefly. The displacement of thousands of farm croppers, tenants, and farm laborers is the most serious problem. Adequate data are not available to show the complete picture in all its details, but a number of recent studies and surveys do reveal that the situation is a most critical one. Bonnen and Magee<sup>19</sup> have shown that the use of two-row tractor-powered farm equipment on all farm land in the High Plains of Texas would reduce the number of farms to 58 per cent of the 1935 Census count; and that the use of four-row tractor equipment would further reduce the number of farms to 33 per cent of the 1935 figure. Langsford and Thibodeaux<sup>20</sup> have shown how the mechanization of plantations in the Mississippi Delta area would reduce the plantation labor force per plantation (having 750 acres of crops) from 40 families under the horse-drawn one-row system, to 24 families under a four-row tractor system. This amounts to a decrease of 40 per cent. In this estimate they are quite conservative, because they are assuming that some of the 24 families would be kept there primarily for the purpose of hoeing and picking cotton. If the Delta should come to depend upon transient labor as the Plains and Blacklands of Texas do, then less than 24 families might be kept on the plantation. Already we know of many instances where transient cotton pickers have been transported in trucks from Texas to Mississippi.

That actual population displacement in Texas cotton-growing areas has reached serious proportions is demonstrated by the 1937 Texas Population Changes Survey which indicated a decrease of over 20,000 farms in the state between January 1, 1937, and January 1, 1938.<sup>21</sup> Since many displaced families from cotton farms probably migrate to noncotton

<sup>17</sup> Eldon E. Shaw and John A. Hopkins, *Trends in Employment in Agriculture, 1909-36*, WPA National Research Project Report A-8 (Philadelphia, 1938).

<sup>18</sup> McCrory, Hendrickson, and Committee, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> E. L. Langsford and Ben H. Thibodeaux, *Plantation Operation and Operation in the Yazoo Mississippi Delta Area*, MS of bulletin soon to be published; based on a co-operative study between the BAE, USDA and the Mississippi AES.

<sup>21</sup> C. Horace Hamilton, *Population Changes in Texas, 1937*, mimeographed release, Division of Farm and Ranch Economics, Texas A. & M. College AES.



farms, the displacement from cotton farms has probably been greater than 20,000 families. In connection with the annual population surveys for the past two years scores of letters have been received from correspondents giving illustrations of the displacement of farm tenants and laborers by tractors. The displacement of from three to five families by one tractor is not uncommon. One case was reported where nine families were displaced by one tractor. Assuming that one tractor will displace one family only, more than 60,000 farm families have probably been displaced from Texas farms since 1930. Also, since the number of tractors on Texas farms increased about 50,000 in a three-year period before April 1, 1938, it may be estimated that more than 10,000 families have been displaced annually from Texas farms since 1935.

"Where do these displaced farm families go?" is a question which is frequently asked. Many of them, as I have already indicated, move to poor farms, unsuited to cotton production. A larger number migrate to towns and cities and become common laborers, alternating between agriculture and the town. Many displaced tenants and croppers remain in the open country as partially employed farm or common laborers. At the time of this writing, the Texas Works Progress Administration reports a certified caseload of 80,000 farm families—48,000 of whom were awaiting assignment. A late report is that some of these people are to be shifted to the care of the Farm Security Administration, which is already assisting nearly 30,000 Texas farm families. Welfare and Employment Service offices in the state for the past two years have been reporting unusually heavy requests for aid from these displaced farm families. The 1937 Census of Unemployment showed approximately 130,000 unemployed and partially unemployed agricultural workers in the state. This is almost identical with the number of agricultural wage workers reported as employed by the 1935 Agricultural Census.

The displaced family faces the prospect of a lower income. The typical farm tenant in the High Plains or in the Blackland may be expected to earn a net farm income of from \$800 to \$1,000 annually—even with cotton prices as they are today. As either a common or an agricultural laborer the same tenant cannot expect to earn more than from \$250 to \$300. A survey just completed in Texas shows the farm laborer family median income to have been only \$220 in 1937, when opportunities were excellent for cotton picking.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> "A Study of Farm Mechanization," *op. cit.*

The surplus of farm tenants available has created considerable competition among tenants for places to rent; and, as a result, rental rates are rising. In areas that once followed the straight third-and-fourth share rent systems, cash rents and privilege rents of various types are being used. Pasture land, which tenants formerly received free of rent, now rents frequently for one dollar per acre. In some areas tenants are being charged cash rent for their dwellings. In many areas from three to six dollars per acre is being charged for land planted in feed crops. On many of these farms the cash rent on the feed land amounts to more than the income from cotton. Many cases are being reported also of an increase in cotton share rent from one fourth to one third.

The mechanization of cotton farms has increased what might be called the *patch-cropper* system. The patch-cropper, similar to a hoe-cropper in some of the southeastern states, may receive a small cash wage and in addition the cotton produced on a four- or five-acre patch. In West Texas the patch may be as large as 35 or 40 acres, and the cropper may receive a cash wage as well as some perquisites. No surveys are available to show the extent and characteristics of the patch-cropper system over wide areas.

The mechanization of cotton farms in Texas and in some other states has greatly enlarged and intensified the transient labor problem. New social relations, institutions, and problems are arising out of this situation. Already there has developed a widespread private and unregulated system of transporting transient labor—a system which has in it great possibilities of labor exploitation. The labor contractor furnishes a large open truck, recruits a group of laborers, and transports them, presumably free of charge, across the state as the cotton picking and the truck and fruit harvesting seasons progress. The contractor, usually a Mexican with a truck, is a contact man and business agent for the laborers. He takes the responsibility for contacting farmers, weighing and hauling cotton (or truck crops), and of collecting the laborers' earnings from the farmer. For these services and for transporting the laborers, the contractor receives from the laborer from five to ten cents for each hundred pounds of cotton picked, and from the farmer about \$1.50 per bale.

The rapid increase in the transient labor population has complicated health, sanitation, and housing problems in towns where labor concentrates. The farm population of some large cotton counties is virtually doubled during the busy part of the picking season. There is a movement on foot to provide both temporary and permanent camps for tran-

sient laborers at strategic centers in the state. Already a number of small towns in cotton centers have co-operated with the Texas Employment Service in setting up temporary camps equipped with shower baths and sanitary toilets. These camps serve as points of contact for laborers and employers. On any Sunday during the cotton-picking season these camps are greatly congested with trucks, old cars, and people—farmers, cotton pickers, men, women, and children. During the mornings there will be seen much informal dickering between farmers, labor contractors, and heads of families. A farmer will approach a group of pickers, contact the contractor and perhaps two or three of the family heads. Information as to the number of pickers, amount of cotton, camping or housing facilities, and wage rates are quickly exchanged. If the preliminary information is suitable to both pickers and farmers, a quick trip is then made to inspect the field of cotton. Large groups or truckloads of pickers prefer, of course, the larger fields and the thicker cotton. If the field is small, the cotton yield low, or the cotton very difficult to pick, the leaders go back to camp and make another contact—unless perchance they are stopped en route by a farmer looking for pickers. If the cotton is satisfactory, the truck returns to the camp and brings the entire group of pickers out to the farm where they usually stay until the crop is picked over once. Because of the fact that most of the transient pickers move in large groups, small farmers quite frequently have difficulty in locating pickers. Labor is also difficult to get for second pickings.

Just how many years the mechanized cotton farms will be able to get an ample supply of cotton pickers at prevailing wages remains to be seen. No strong effort has been made to organize this important group of workers—which, it is estimated, number between 200,000 and 300,000. Under conditions that are developing, some sort of labor organization may appear. If the organization of cotton pickers should be successful, the cost of picking cotton might rise to the extent that the farmers would lose much of what they have gained by mechanization. If such a condition ever arises, we may expect a widespread demand for mechanical cotton pickers. Several mechanical pickers have already been developed. Although their performance is still much below that of hand pickers, the leading agricultural engineers believe that the development of a successful cotton picker is now a possibility. The mechanization of the preharvest operations in cotton production will very probably speed the development of harvesting machinery. In the event of a major war, an acute shortage of labor might be the final and deciding factor in the

adoption of mechanical cotton harvesting machines, just as the World War was a great factor in the mechanization of the wheat harvest. Taking all these things into consideration, it seems to me that mechanical cotton picking could very easily become an actuality within the next ten or fifteen years.<sup>28</sup> When that time comes, the southern part of the country may present the nation with its social and economic problem number two!

### CONCLUSION

In this paper we have had the time and space to present only some of the more immediate effects of recent trends of mechanization in agriculture. If there are those in this group who would contend that the conditions which have been described are only temporary, may I call your attention to some of the more permanent social effects of mechanization. Mechanization in agriculture has been going on for a hundred years or more. It is likely to continue for many decades. Even though technological unemployment brought about by the introduction of one machine may disappear in time, we would still be faced with problems of a continuously changing technology and hence continuous problems of human maladjustment.

The invention of machines and, what is more important, their exploitation by monopolistic corporations may be considered as one very effective means by which a nonagricultural economic group cuts out for itself a juicy slice of agricultural income. In this sense, farm machinery manufacturers and the large oil companies are engaged in the process of agricultural production, without having to take nearly so many of the risks as does the farmer. Just how these outside interests are able to capitalize on the situation is indicated in a recent report of the Federal Trade Commission. Among other things this report is quoted as saying:

The ability of the International Harvester Company to make more net profits in 1937 than it made in 1929 (in fact enough to break all records for net earnings before 1937), though the cash income of the farmer for 1937 was nearly 18 per cent less than it was in 1929, can, the Commission believes, have only one explanation. It was the result of a policy by the International Harvester Company

<sup>28</sup> Roman L. Horne and Eugene G. McKibben, *Changes in Technology and Labor Requirements in Crop Production: Mechanical Cotton Picker*, WPA National Research Project Report A-2 (Philadelphia, 1938); E. A. Johnston, "The Evolution of the Mechanical Cotton Harvester," *Agricultural Engineering*, XIX (September, 1938); H. P. Smith, "Progress in Mechanical Harvesting of Cotton," *Agricultural Engineering*, XIX (September, 1938); Charles A. Bennett, "The Relation of Mechanical Harvesting to the Production of High Grade Cotton," *Agricultural Engineering*, XIX (September, 1938).

to advance prices, which policy could not have succeeded if conditions of free and open competition had prevailed in this industry.<sup>24</sup>

The situation just referred to illustrates only one way in which the farmers of today have become more dependent on outside economic forces than were the farmers of a hundred and fifty years ago. One authority on this subject summarized the results of technological advance in agriculture as follows:

In 1787, the year the constitution was framed, the surplus food produced by 19 farmers went to feed one city person. In recent average years 19 people on farms have produced enough food for 56 non-farm people, plus ten people living abroad.<sup>25</sup>

If this statement is true, then the farmer of today is sixty-six times more dependent upon outside markets, economic conditions, and organizations than was the farmer of a hundred and fifty years ago. Temporarily, mechanization increases the individual farmer's income; but ultimately, if mechanization actually lowers cash costs, he is forced to cut his prices, and at the same time pay higher costs for land and fixed costs for both land, machinery, and motor fuel. The only possible way for the farmer to maintain the favorable position which he has gained by mechanization would be to imitate the industrialists and organize a monopoly with or without the help of the government. Temporarily, farmers might be successful by adopting such a program; but since this is a democracy and since the farmer is outnumbered more than four to one, what chances does he have of maintaining such a position?

Another way in which the farmer loses some of the advantages of mechanization is through continually rising standards and costs of living. He has apparently increased his productivity in doing a few things; but he has relinquished to others the doing of a hundred things which he once did himself with little or no cash costs. Therefore, we may well ask, "What does the farmer of today have in terms of ultimate human values, contentment, leisure, mental health, and security that the farmer of 1787 did not have? And as "farmer" in this question we must include farm laborers as well as the farmers who operate hundreds of acres with machinery.

Another angle to this question is the fact that the mechanized farmer and the machinery manufacturer have shifted a lot of their costs to the shoulders of the state. There is little need here to enumerate the many

<sup>24</sup> "Farm Implement Manufacturers' Income," *Farm Implement News*, July 14, 1938.

<sup>25</sup> McCrory, Hendrickson, and Committee, *op. cit.*

services which the state now performs for rural and urban residents. True enough, industry and mechanized agriculture must ultimately bear some of these costs through taxation or through depreciation in government bonds; but the economic and political system by which such an indirect payment of costs is made necessary is neither desirable nor efficient. There are too many groups of one kind or another who are trying to get, and are succeeding in getting, a larger and larger slice of the producer's income. We have reached the point where governmental employees and beneficiaries of governmental assistance are currently cartooned and lampooned as being enemies and parasites of society.

The development of new governmental functions and programs, such as social security, farm security, agricultural adjustment, the works program, and the housing program, is the fruit of poorly controlled mechanization—in both industry and agriculture. Under our old rural culture we had developed the *family-farm institution* in such a way that our social needs, such as education, care of the aged, the dependent, and the unemployed were met without any elaborate political organization or expense. The fact that we are now spending billions of dollars to do things which were once done by the farm family for itself demonstrates in a dramatic manner just how valuable the *family-farm institution* was to society.

Along with the machines which the farmer has bought, he has been furnished with a set of ideas about the social advantages of mechanization. He has, for instance, been thoroughly imbued with the theory of social and technological progress; the theory that social and historical evolution is always onward and upward; the theory that older and simpler forms of agrarian and social organization passed away because they were bad; and, finally, the theory that he need not exert any effort to develop new social organizations and institutions, because what he has are adequate, and if they were not adequate new ones would in some mysterious manner come into existence as a result of more, bigger, and better machines.

We might clarify the issue here by saying that just as we cannot attribute social evils to the inanimate machine, neither should we attribute to the machine some mysterious capacity to mold and develop our social life. The actual forces that determine the patterns of our social institutions are more likely to be human than mechanical in character. Whether or not machines are to do the wonderful things claimed for them depends upon how individuals and groups of individuals make them, how

they sell them, how they manage them, and, finally, how they distribute their products. In the final analysis we must evaluate the social effects of mechanization, not by what these social effects might be under certain ideal conditions yet to be realized, but rather upon what the social effects are here and now or have been in recent years.

Still another permanent social effect of farm mechanization and other technological changes is the fact that a larger and larger percentage of agricultural products going into the market is being produced by a smaller and smaller percentage of the farm population. In 1930 the Census reports show that about 90 per cent of farm products going into the market come from 50 per cent of the farms of the nation. Since to-day there are more people on farms than in 1930 and since the mechanization of farms has displaced thousands of people from commercial farms, the probability is that much less than 50 per cent of our farms are producing 90 per cent of the farm products going into the market. If this were not true, then 600,000 farmers during the past few years have blundered in buying tractors. As individuals they did not make mistakes. Many of them had either to mechanize or to quit. However, as a group they have, with the help of their city brothers, contributed to a very critical social problem.

We might conclude this paper by pointing out that the social effects of mechanization in agriculture should not be considered as entirely isolated from other technological and economic trends. Mechanization of agriculture is rather a part, a very important part, of the current and ever-changing order of things. Its significance cannot be appreciated without an understanding of the entire social and economic order; nor can much be done about it, without doing something about the rest of the world at the same time. As one writer put it, we are in a position where it seems we cannot continue mechanization without great social cost nor can we stop it without great social cost.<sup>26</sup>

The question of the hour, it has been said, is whether or not we can develop some efficient and stable social institutions which will control the machine and give us the same social and human values which are enjoyed under a more simple agrarian organization. If you should ask me at this time whether I think that such institutions could be developed, I should be forced to reply: "Yes, but it is quite improbable." The social system toward which we are now evolving seems to be little more than a set of makeshift compromises in a descending spirit of

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

social disintegration. However, if it is necessary that I end this paper on an optimistic note, it may be said that a downward spiral is more pleasant than a downward plunge. So, if it is down that we must go, let us make the spirals as long and as wide as possible. Who knows but that we may hit an upward current somewhere and see yet again the mountain heights of freedom and democracy!

### DISCUSSION

After hearing Dr. Hamilton's paper, I am sure that none of us should be complacent in pondering the social effects of the mechanization of agriculture. While we all recognize that mechanization on farms is nothing new, Dr. Hamilton has pointed out that the accelerated rate at which it has been taking place during recent years is something new. Since adjustment to changing conditions is usually more difficult when changes come about abruptly, and since technological change on farms has been very rapid in recent years, we should not be surprised that social maladjustments of a serious nature are already apparent. If the social problems created by mechanization where it has already proceeded much further than in most rural areas, are typical of the problems likely to be encountered in many other areas as mechanization increases, it would seem that social scientists should be studying this vanguard of problems carefully.

In order to approach intelligently a consideration of the social effects of the mechanization of agriculture, we should appraise carefully all of the values in rural life. Just what will we gain and what will we lose if all of the land adapted to mechanization becomes mechanized to a high degree?

Technological change, whether on the farm or in the city, raises the question of manpower. Dr. Hamilton has brought out that mechanization of agriculture reduces considerably the requirements for manpower on the farms of the nation and rightly raises the question as to what will happen to farm families displaced by machines. (I should like for him to have brought out more clearly the probable social effects of mechanization upon those farm families who are able to remain in agriculture.)

If we could be assured that farmers—either owners, tenants, or farm laborers—displaced by machines could find employment off the farm, we might not be greatly concerned about displacement except as it might affect the balance between farm and nonfarm population in this country. Actually, however, there are not enough jobs available, either in cities or in rural towns, to absorb these displaced people. We see therefore that mechanization at least at the present time is contributing to the unemployment problem of the nation. Is it possible that instead of displacing farmers by machines, attempts will be made to "spread the work" among all of them? Is it conceivable that some day we may have an AAA program designed to reduce hours of work on farms rather than acreage? Since larger farms are usually better adapted to mechanization than are smaller or family size farms, will mechanization create a pronounced trend toward larger farms? If so, would a penalty tax on farms adapted to mechanization, graduated



upward with the size and value of the farm, be a desirable device to be used, at least temporarily, to slow up mechanization until planned social adjustments could be effectuated, and in this way ameliorate its undesirable effect in displacement of farmers with no other means of earning a living? Could some type of legislation be enacted designed to protect agricultural workers displaced by machines? Would a tax on the use of the machines themselves, the proceeds of which would go to displaced farmers until they could secure other employment, be of any value? I am sorry that Dr. Hamilton, who has studied the social effects of mechanization, and who pointed out in his paper many of these social effects, either directly or by implication, did not give us more clues as to his ideas of what "types of social institutions could be set up to control the machine."

If the use of heavy power equipment such as the four-row cultivator becomes more and more common, is it not likely to concentrate the ownership of larger and larger acreages within the hands of fewer and fewer owners? Such a trend would be a definite threat to the family-size farm, and it forces us to consider just what the values are in this institution, and to ask ourselves whether or not it is worth preserving. The family-size farm, and by such a farm I mean one on which outside labor is not employed, in my opinion offers greater opportunities to farmers, whether they own or rent the land, than were they to become farm laborers. Since the only way the size of farms can be increased is for one farmer to buy or rent the farms now owned or operated by his neighbors, or for an outside investor to buy several farms now owned or operated by several farmers, it appears that the enlargement of farms to any great extent for the purpose of mechanizing farming will force many present operators of family-size farms to become farm laborers.

Some interesting questions are raised by an incident which occurred in Illinois last spring. A landlord turned a tenant family off his farm, tore down the buildings which were quite old, thereby reducing his taxes on the farm, and then rented his land to a neighboring farmer who had recently procured high powered farming equipment. Many people are concerned today about the increase in farm tenancy and the lack of opportunity for tenants to become farm owners. Is it possible that sometime in the future, because of the increased amounts of capital required to equip large rented farms with power machinery, to finance the purchase of fuel for the machinery, and to pay wages to necessary machine operators, these people may transfer their concern from the tenancy problem to the difficulties involved in farm laborers' becoming tenants? Efforts to preserve family-size farms now may obviate the necessity later of coping with problems resulting from a greater proportion of farm people making up a comparatively permanent farm labor class. Should we ever have a relatively permanent farm labor class in this country, is there a possibility that because of mechanization the laborers will have to be better trained and more highly skilled than present farm laborers? What of the possibilities of organization among farm laborers? Would we be likely to have two types of organizations in rural areas, one made up of the employers, i.e., the large owner-operators and tenants, and the other made up of landless laborers?

If, in order to compete with mechanized farmers, the operators of family-size farms feel that they too must mechanize, I have the suggestion to offer that four or five of them go together in buying the equipment and use it co-operatively. If one of the group absorbed the farms of the others and owned the equipment himself, part of the group might be displaced entirely and others of necessity become farm laborers. The success of thousands of rehabilitation clients of the Farm Security Administration in the co-operative ownership and use of farm implements is encouraging in this connection.

Since mechanization tends to make for a greater degree of commercialization in farming, farmers who are thinking of mechanizing their farms should consider carefully how the probable accompanying increase in commercialization would affect their future security. If they mechanize, they will probably be more dependent upon the market place than before. For example, they would have to convert some of their labor into cash to be paid in wages to laborers engaged in pumping and refining oil to be used as fuel for the power machinery. Many of the most highly commercialized farmers found during the depression that they were not in so good a position to meet adversity as were some of their neighbors who had not commercialized to as great an extent, but who were still using a larger portion of their land and labor to produce much of the family living directly and to raise feed for livestock. More information is needed as to what relationships exist between mechanization and commercialization, and what effect commercialization has upon the security of farm families.

A comprehensive study showing the number of reposessions made by implement dealers during the last couple of years might throw some light upon the whole subject of mechanization on farms.

No doubt many farmers have purchased mechanized equipment before thinking through the probable effects of its use upon their future security, and as a result have suffered an unnecessary loss. Not only low sales resistance but also pressure from landlords who because of the great competition among tenants for land have sometimes unwisely forced tenants to mechanize, is often a contributing factor in causing such losses. Would not a greater amount of information on the entire subject of mechanization, its advantages and disadvantages, conditions under which its practice might prove disastrous, its effect in displacing farmers, its possible threat to the institution of the family-size farm, the possibility that it may create a relatively permanent farm laborer class, its effect upon farmers who till land not adapted to mechanization, its effect in bringing about a higher degree of commercialization in farming, et cetera, be of value to farmers in deciding whether or not to mechanize? In my opinion, if rural educational and research institutions are rightly to hold a place of influence in this country, they will have to devote still greater efforts to giving the rural population of the nation more information on the social questions raised or implied in Dr. Hamilton's paper.

In addition to considering the effect of mechanization in displacing farmers, and its effects upon farmers remaining in agriculture in mechanized areas, we should consider its effects upon farm population living upon land not adapted

to mechanization. If mechanized farming should prove to be of distinct advantage to those engaged in it, other farmers on land not adapted to mechanization may be placed at a competitive disadvantage and have to suffer a reduction in their plane of living. Part time employment opportunities for still other farmers are also affected. For example, it has been estimated that the introduction of the mechanical cornpicker into Iowa has destroyed the opportunity for thousands of laborers to supplement their earnings by husking corn for a few weeks during the fall. The creation of a transient labor problem in some sections of the country has been covered in some detail by Dr. Hamilton. I should like to mention one other effect of mechanization, or perhaps I should say an effect of potential mechanization upon some farm people. This is the feeling of insecurity that it creates in the minds of some farmers. I had the interesting experience during the past summer of observing both makes of mechanical cotton pickers in operation. I questioned a number of negro and white cotton pickers working on the same plantations with the machines as to how an increased use of mechanical pickers might affect them. I received the same reply again and again: "We don't know, we don't know, we don't know." The expressions on their faces, however, told me better than words what they were thinking.

Dr. Hamilton, in a somewhat abortive attempt to end his paper on a note of optimism, held out as our only hope that we may by chance "hit an upward current somewhere." While it might be unwise to try to do something about a serious problem without knowing just what to do, it seems to me that it might be still more unwise to decide to do nothing without exploring fully all possibilities of doing something. Let us not wait until "an upward current" happens to come along, but instead be willing to experiment if necessary and create a few currents most likely to be "upward currents." I would not propose to stop technological change in agriculture. It appears, however, that there might be merit in attempting either to slow down technological change, if it is creating serious social maladjustments, until social change could catch up with it, or to attempt to speed up some of the processes of social change so that they might more nearly keep pace with technological change.

Whether one considers particular effects of mechanization of agriculture desirable or undesirable depends quite obviously upon his concept of an ideal rural life or national life. If the impact of mechanization of our farms upon rural life is creating, or threatens to create, serious new social problems or to aggravate old ones, it would seem that we need now, more than ever before, a frame of reference in relation to which these problems could be considered. If we know what kind of rural life we want in this country, we still may not be able to achieve it, but we are more likely to approach it with a goal in mind than with no goal at all. The planning and clear statement of a national policy for rural life seems to be needed. With objectives in mind perhaps various forces such as those of education and of legislation could be inclined more nearly in a common direction. While I do not believe that a policy for rural life can be developed without encountering many difficulties, I am trying to make the point that only confusion and great waste of effort will result if without such a policy we continue to use

our energies in many different directions at the same time. If, upon re-examining rural life minutely, a policy for rural life can be developed, it will have to be done in relation to a policy for national life as a whole. Since rural life makes certain definite contributions to national life, the portion of the total population of the nation which should live on farms, and the qualitative aspects of the values in rural life should be considered both from the standpoint of national welfare and of the welfare of the farm people themselves.

We are not likely to get the kind of a rural life that we want by trusting naively that it will come of itself without constructive effort. If we are to have a desirable form of rural life in America we will have to make positive efforts not only to secure it, but to keep it once it is attained.

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### DISCUSSION

The mechanization of agriculture has proceeded at a rapid rate and has produced problems of far-reaching significance. Doctor Hamilton has given an excellent picture of the extent of mechanization of agriculture in the South and to a lesser extent in other sections of the United States and has described some of the problems growing out of these changes in methods of producing farm products. The problems resulting in the South probably do not materially differ from the problems of other sections of the country as mechanization of agriculture proceeds. Farm labor is displaced, each farmer tends to farm a larger area, the capital requirements of agriculture increase, farm population tends to decrease, and farmers tend to become still more dependent upon market conditions. Those forced out of agriculture by this process present a sorry picture and their problems are the problems of all society as attempts are made to relieve their distress and to aid them in rehabilitating themselves elsewhere. It would be folly to attempt to minimize the problems involved. They challenge the best thinking and the best efforts of the present and succeeding generations. However, this does not mean that these problems cannot be solved. In the present difficult times the most baffling problem comes from those who pessimistically view the outlook and label it as hopeless and so attempt to do nothing, apparently choosing to await the downfall of our present civilization because we are unable, so they assume, to cope with the very forces that should result in an advancing civilization.

The problems growing out of the mechanization of agriculture probably are no greater, excepting perhaps in the number of people involved, than the problems arising from the mechanization of other industries. For example, the introduction of gigantic electrically operated steam shovels in the strip coal mining regions has displaced proportionately a far greater portion of the labor force involved. Many other instances could be cited of industries in which the adoption of machine methods has reduced labor requirements.

The problem of agriculture is quite similar to the problem of all economic society of the present. Methods of saving human effort are discovered and put into effect and then we are appalled by the problem of what to do with the labor

that has been saved. Less human effort is required to produce the material things we need. More time is available to utilize in securing those things which should raise standards of living and ultimately result in a better civilization than now exists. Modern society is confronted with the paradox of having made progress and then being unable to cope with the effects of its own progress.

The writer is unwilling to admit that the situation is hopeless and that all that is ahead of our society is slow disintegration as a consequence of our inability to utilize intelligently the results of our progress. On the other hand, the problems are not simple and their correction will not come easily. The situation calls for the most intelligent action of which we, as a people, are capable.

In considering these problems there seem to be certain important facts which should be kept in mind by those who would have a part in the correction of present difficulties during the next quarter of a century or more. Among these facts may be included the following:

1. The fact that no solutions for existing problems are in sight does not prove that these problems cannot be solved.
2. The problems of the present generation will not all be solved by the present generation. The important fact will be found in whether progress is made toward their solution. An advancing society creates problems which are handed on from one generation to the next.
3. The problems of the present will not be solved by going backward to the so-called "good old days" of greater use of hand labor and animal power or to the use of the hoe and the one-row cultivator.
4. Action by governmental agencies, local, state, and national, can be expected to play a greater part in the economic and social life of the future than it did a decade or more ago. Governmental action, as such, is not to be condemned and is not condemned by thinking persons. Rather the thing that is condemned is the use of governmental power to reward the politically faithful and to punish those who exercise intelligent discrimination which differs from the views of those in political power. It is these latter things which tend to discredit governmental activity.
5. The adoption of laborsaving equipment, such as is the case in the mechanization of agriculture, results in greater economic specialization. In turn, greater specialization in economic activity requires extension of markets. This involves both domestic and foreign markets.
6. Labor-saving equipment frees labor for other uses. The problem of extending markets includes the finding of constructive and profitable employment for the labor that is displaced. This is the problem of distributing the use of our available resources in constructive ways.
7. Associated with the saving of labor and a result of it is greater leisure time. The American people need to learn more of constructive use of leisure time.

Each of the preceding points could be elaborated upon at much length. However, time does not permit more than an enumeration of them. One further point seems worth mentioning and that is the role of education in aiding in the

solution of these problems. It is commonplace to state that education has played too small a part in the past. Yet it is true and it probably will continue to be true. Enduring improvements will come largely through the processes of education followed by intelligent action based upon the information gained through the educational processes.

The fact that education is so fundamental in attacking these problems is a challenge to rural sociologists and farm economists. The question may be raised as to whether full advantage has been or is being taken of the opportunities before us. Objection may be made on the ground that political issues are involved in many of the points enumerated above. But these issues were not always political issues and even if they are, they can be attacked on a non-political basis. It should be remembered that the sociologist and the economist have an opportunity for expression on these issues long before they become partisan political politics. Have we taken full advantage of this? Or have we been inclined to devote our energies to the more technical aspects of our work and the presentation of our views in little-read books and journals when the roads to the masses were open via the radio, the daily press, and the more popular magazines?

Not until the needed educational processes extend down to the rank and file of our citizenry will we as a people be ready for some of the changes required to adapt to the changed and changing conditions. In carrying these processes to the rank and file, the rural sociologist and the farm economist have a challenge which demands their best efforts. Given their best efforts and aided by the many others concerned in the educational processes, it is the writer's forecast that noteworthy progress will be made toward solving the problems which now seem to overwhelm us as a result of our own progress in devising and utilizing labor-saving equipment.

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# Agricultural Labor Organization in France

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## ABSTRACT

Organization of farm labor by legislation is difficult in France because so much of it is done by family workers, and relatively little by hired laborers, foreign or otherwise. The first step in legislative regulation of farm labor was taken in 1936, when G. Monnet, as minister of agriculture, initiated the "French Agricultural New Deal." Today farm laborers have, as a result of legislative regulation, regular holidays with pay. Wage and hour regulations of farm labor have been proposed by the *Chambre des Députés*, but as yet the Senate has not approved them. There is also collective-labor-agreement legislation governing the limitation of working hours and the fixing of wages, which are not applicable to agricultural labor, but a bill recently passed called "the Modern Statute of Labor" gives promise of a future bill to apply to farm labor.

There are, however, numerous collective farm labor agreements, not under governmental control, which work excellently in fixing a satisfactory wage scale and system of working hours. Obviously, to get the greatest good out of these on a large scale, they must be organized and regulated by government legislation, and it is toward this that French agriculturists turn for "the peaceful road to social progress, which is the only way out."

While farm labor problems are of greatest importance in France today, little has been done toward organization of farm labor through legislation, because of existing conditions.

In 1929 on 3,966,430 farms managed by approximately 3,656,000 farmers (owners and tenants), 3,065,816 farms used only family work, outside workers being employed only occasionally, and then for but a few days at a time.

French agricultural workers may be classified in the following manner:

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Family Workers</i>	<i>Wage Paid French Workers</i>	<i>Wage Paid Foreign Workers</i>
Agriculture.....	7,098,888	5,139,093	1,723,752	227,043
Full-time.....	6,098,512	5,015,364	959,335	123,813
Part-time.....	991,376	123,729	764,417	103,230
Horticulture.....	96,943	38,363	47,624	10,956
Full-time.....	65,676	34,026	26,627	5,023
Part-time.....	31,267	4,337	20,997	5,933
Forestry.....	90,012			
Full-time.....	50,377			
Part-time.....	39,635			

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Grouped according to sex, they may be classified also in the following manner:

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Full-time Workers</i>			<i>Part-time Workers</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Total.....	6,214,565	2,677,889	3,536,676	1,062,278	662,597	399,681
Agriculture.....	6,098,512	2,593,108	3,505,404	991,376	607,254	384,122
Horticulture.....	65,676	40,235	25,441	31,267	18,826	12,441
Forestry.....	50,377	44,546	5,831	39,635	36,517	3,118

And according to age, in the following manner:

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Under 15</i>	<i>15-60</i>	<i>60 and Over</i>
Total.....	6,098,512	431,246	5,158,337	508,929
Male.....	2,593,108	234,615	2,115,166	243,827
Female.....	3,505,404	196,631	3,043,171	265,602

The importance of family work and the relative importance of foreign workers make legislative regulation difficult. Governments and parliament have made much of such difficulties in order to postpone the needed regulation. Almost nothing had been done in agricultural labor organization until 1936, when Mr. G. Monnet took charge of the Ministère de l'Agriculture and initiated a new social policy in agriculture, a policy he chose to call the "French Agricultural New Deal." Nevertheless difficulties prevented his making more than a few legislative agricultural labor regulations, all done in the first three months of the legislature.

The present status is this: Legislative regulation has been achieved on paid holidays, and only on that question. Proposals have been voted by the Chambre des Députés on control of hours and regulation of wages through collective agreements, but the Senate has not passed them.

These ideas are already applied in numerous collective agreements, but such agreements are not, as in industry and trade, the results of a legal labor statute, but only the peace treaties of social war, done after strike, or in dread of strike.

There is no need to emphasize the great difference between the spirit of these two ways of organizing labor agreements.



We shall review now the regulations as they exist at the present time, dividing the study into two parts; (1) *legislative regulation*, i.e., holidays with pay only; and (2) *collective agreements* in which we shall find machinery for (a) limitation of hours, and (b) fixing of wages.

*Legislative Regulation; holidays with pay.* Legislative proposals on this question were made in France during the 1924-28 and the 1928-32 legislatures. The Chambre des Députés voted nearly unanimously the bill of July 2, 1931, but the Senate refused to adopt it, giving as a reason the agricultural crisis.

On November 22, 1935, the Labor Superior Council passed a resolution favoring a six-day holiday with pay for a year of work. But nothing had been done when the new *Front Populaire Chamber* began in June, 1936. The Chamber by unanimity of 592 voting adopted a 15-day holiday with pay for a year of work; the Senate adopted the plan nearly unanimously and so the law was voted on June 20, 1936.

The law did not take effect until the first of October, 1936, as a suspensive condition in Article II needed for the application in agricultural labor a *Règlement d'Administration Publique*, i.e., a *Decret* taken in the Conseil d'Etat (supreme court of administrative justice), after consultation of the agricultural chambers, the mixed syndicates, and the agricultural workers' syndicates.

This *règlement* was made on September 26, 1936, so the legislation was generally applied to agriculture in 1937 only. Organizations were designed in order to let the agricultural workers, as well as urban workers, take short trips away from home.

Although the Paris Exposition was a great attraction for rural workers, most of them did not go very far from their birthplaces, except for military service, we can safely say that the results were negligible on the point of recreational and cultural aims for rural workers. The thing was so new for them that it was necessary to create the need of recreational and cultural leisure in French rural population. But the goal will be reached soon, as it is a useful progress and welfare goal to be reached.

*Collective Agreements.* The new collective-labor-agreement legislation is not applicable to agricultural work, although French legislation forecasted such agreements in the bills of March 25 and June 25, 1919 (Chapter IV *bis* of *Liber I*, Title II of the Labor Code). But these laws do not obligate the employer to accept the discussion of a collective labor agreement. Agreements can not be imposed upon the employer

or employee who does not sign them. As stated above, the few collective agreements signed under such legislation were social peace treaties and not social organization.

The question is quite different with the new bills on collective labor agreements and, although the new regulations are not yet applicable to agricultural labor, we must mention them for two reasons: first, they are a great step in increasing the use of collective agreements, even in agriculture; and second, the parliament, committing juristic heresy, recently put in a bill called "the Modern Statute of Labor" which gives promise of a future bill to apply such legislation to agricultural labor.

The first law of June 24, 1936, was intended to introduce in France the widespread use of collective labor agreements, whereas prior to this time it had been the exception rather than the rule. The new legislation gives a place of foremost importance to the great professional unions, which are really in charge of drafting the labor code of the professions.

The machinery works in the following manner: Any trade union of employers or employees may demand the call of a mixed committee for the purpose of concluding a new collective agreement, and the Department of Labor is bound to call such a meeting without delay. The committee is to be composed of delegates of employers' and employees' unions selected from the most representative in the branch of the region involved. This formula has been taken from Section 389 of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles.

During the discussion of the bill in parliament, President Leon Blum emphasized very clearly the character of the organization: "We don't want to stand on the same ground as the Fascist regimes, we are not trying to create organization of the profession by the will and under the control of the executive but we are trying to begin to organize . . ." If no agreement is reached by the committee, the Minister of Labor, upon the request of one of the parties, must intervene in an effort to solve the difficulty, after having taken the advice of the National Economic Council.

It must be borne in mind that the minister is not an arbitrator; he is not invested with the power to judge, he is only a mediator who tries to bring the parties together, who suggests solutions but has no power to enforce them. Therefore the professional organization is not imposed by the State but by the members of the professions themselves; it is not totalitarian as in Italy and Germany, but contractual.

The labor agreement must contain clauses relating to:

1. Freedom of opinion and freedom of association of workers.
2. Institution of employees' delegates: The delegate is not the representative of the group of employees, he is merely the intermediary entrusted with the task of reporting and defending the individual claims of his co-workers, but not the collective claims of the group. Delegates are elected by secret ballot.
3. Minimum salary.
4. Paid holidays.
5. Organization of apprenticeship.
6. Procedure in case of disputes.
7. Procedure for revision and modification of agreement.

The minister may make a labor agreement compulsory for all employers and employees of the profession in the region comprised in the scope of application of the agreement. Before making such an order, the minister must publish a notice in the *Journal Officiel* concerning the contemplated extension and inviting all professional organizations and all interested parties to make their views or objections known to him. He is also obligated to ask the advice of the National Economic Council.

In industry and trade between June 24, 1935, and July 15, 1937, 4,495 agreements were registered at the Department of Labor, i.e., during one year more than twice as many as in fourteen previous years (2,235 were made between 1919 and 1933). The possibility of obligatory extension has certainly been the the main reason for the success of the collective labor agreements.

In agriculture important social movements occurred during the harvesting period of the summer of 1936; the mediation of the Minister of Agriculture was often claimed and always furnished by Mr. Monnet, either personally or by means of high officials of the Department of Agriculture.

Such agreements are possible only where organizations of employers and employees are strong enough to discuss and apply such regulation. Nevertheless a great number of agreements were made in the regions of the big estates which require many workers, i.e., in the sugar beet and wheat farms in northern France and the region about Paris, in the vineyards of southern France, and in the horticultural regions all over the country. In those agreements the conditions were very different, allow-

ing for the great differences in local conditions. But the most important questions were solved as follows:

*Limitation of Hours and Weekly Rest:* As it was stated above, no legislation exists in France on such questions as these. We must, however, say that the Chambre des Députés voted unanimously on May 7, 1937, a proposal of Mr. André Parsal, Deputy, Secretary of the Agricultural Workers' Federation, which contains the following points:

A maximum of 300 work days a year, divided in any of the following ways:

8 hours a day, or 48 hours for 5 working days in a week;

3 months with 7 hours a day, or 42 hours for 6 working days a week;

6 months with 8 hours a day, or 48 hours for 6 working days a week; or

3 months with 10 hours a day, or 54 hours for 6 working days a week.

For big jobs such as harvesting perishable crops, 10 hours a day and 60 hours a week during less than one month a year.

In case of exceptions, surplus hours shall be paid at 33 per cent more than normal hours.

For weekly rest, possibility of exception once a month for those engaged in caring for livestock.

The Senate has not voted this bill as yet. In the collective agreements already signed, the limitation of working time is between 2,845 and 2,850 hours a year (judged to be normal by Mr. Queuille, actual Minister of Agriculture, in his report to the First Session of Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labor office in Geneva, February 7-15, 1938) and 2,400 hours as in the collective agreement of July 31, 1937, between agricultural employers and employees of the region of Arles sur Rhône (mediation of Mr. A. Chavart, General Inspector of Agriculture).

Repartitions of working hours are in four agreements as follows:

1. Collective agreement of 1935 signed in the Prefecture of the North Department and considered typical by Mr. Queuille in his report of the Permanent Agricultural Committee:

2,845-2,850 hours a year:

July 1-October 15, 10 hours a day

October 16-November 15, 9 hours a day

November 16-January 31, 8 hours a day

2. Collective agreement of Arles sur Rhône, mentioned above:

2,400 hours a year, 8 hours a day; possibility of 9 hours a day during summer time in four periods with compensation by 7-hour days during November and December.

January, February	7 hours
March, April	8 hours
May, June	9 hours
July, August	10 hours
September	9 hours
October, November	8 hours
December	7 hours

**Total . . . . . 2,500 hours**

January, February	8 hours
March, April, May, June	9 hours
July, August, September	10 hours
October, November	9 hours
December	8 hours

**Total . . . . . 2,700 hours**

*Minimum Wages:* Here also there are only collective agreements; nevertheless we must say that periodically the *Préfet* in each *département* fixes the salaries which will be the basis of the indemnities in case of accidents caused by labor.

**Ordinary horsedriver:**

maximum:	7,500 francs a year (Vienne)
minimum:	2,500 francs a year (Gers)
average:	4,450 francs a year

<i>Prime</i> horsedriver	maximum:	8,000 francs a year	(Bases Alpes)
	minimum:	3,900 francs a year	(Ille et Vilaine)
	average:	5,000 francs a year	

Ox driver	maximum:	6,600 francs a year (Seine Inférieure)
	minimum:	2,100 francs a year (Ille et Vilaine)
	average:	4,200 francs a year
Cattleman	maximum:	6,930 francs a year (Meuse)
	minimum:	1,200 francs a year (Landes)
	average:	4,000 francs a year
Shepherd	maximum:	8,000 francs a year (Aveyron)
	minimum:	1,000 francs a year (Saône et Loire)
	average:	3,800 francs a year
Farm maid	maximum:	4,500 francs a year (Seine Inférieure)
	minimum:	1,200 francs a year (Landes et Bouches du Rhône)
	average:	2,600 francs a year
Man servant	maximum:	6,500 francs a year (Allier)
	minimum:	2,000 francs a year (Landes)
	average:	3,700 francs a year

In 1936 reductions were made before the agreements mentioned above. In these agreements wages were fixed at 21-22 francs a day in polycultural regions, and 35-36 francs a day in horticultural regions.

The following points are to be found in the collective agreements of the northern regions made in 1936 as cited by Mr. Queuille:

Women's wages are two-thirds of men's wages.

Boys' (16-17) wages are two-thirds of men's wages.

A horsedriver gets 2 francs a day more than an unskilled laborer.

Harvest wages must be paid at the rate of 33 per cent more than ordinary wages for all supplementary hours of work, or they may be paid as double day wages, or at a special rate of 40 francs for a maximum of 12 hours' work a day.

Very often harvest is paid *à la tâche* and during the harvesting period horse-drivers receive a surplus wage of 200 to 300 francs for the season.

In some regions an attempt was made to let wages vary with the price of agricultural crops, and especially with the price of wheat: 1 franc for 10 francs variation was the usual scale (Senlis, Lizy sur Ourcq), but such attempts were not successful. The market conditions of labor seem to be rather independent of the market price of crops.

The "Agricultural Workers' Federation" of the Confédération Générale du Travail April 24, 1938, fixed minimum wages at 15 per cent more than they were in 1937, as the price of wheat rose more than 28 per cent in 1937-38 from the 1936-37 level.

On such a basis wages for the departments near Paris (Seine et Oise,

Seine et Marne, Oise—the greater the proximity to Paris, the higher the rate) would be for 1938:

Daily paid unskilled laborer: 32 francs a day.

Horsedriver or ox driver: 35 francs a day.

Women: 23 francs a day.

Sugar beets, blocking and thinning (including both works): 450-550 francs hectare.

Sugar beets, picking (including loading on trucks): 580-680 francs hectare.

In 1937 in the vineyard region (Arles sur Rhône, above-mentioned agreement) such wages were:

Daily paid unskilled laborers (male): 4.50 francs an hour and 2 litres of wine a day.

Daily paid unskilled laborers (female): 2.65 francs an hour and 1 litre of wine a day.

Monthly paid man living with family in farm dwelling with garden, wood furnished by employer, but not bedding: 870 francs a month and 2 litres of wine a day.

Monthly paid entirely in money: 920 francs a month and 2 litres of wine a day.

Monthly paid couple fed and furnished with farm dwelling, garden, wood, husband and wife fully employed: 720 francs a month and 3 litres of wine a day.

Monthly paid single worker provided with board and lodging in farm dwelling: 430 francs a month and 2 litres of wine a day.

During the *vendanges* the special rates are as follows:

Men carriers: 45 francs and 3 litres of wine a day.

Cutters and women: 28 francs and 2 litres of wine a day.

Horsedriers: 45 francs and 2 litres of wine a day.

Men in the cave: 45 francs and 2 litres of wine a day.

Men taking the grapes' *rafles* out of the tanks: 55 francs and 2 litres of wine a day.

Monthly paid males: 10 francs a day (supplementary wages).

Monthly paid females: 5 francs a day.

When picking is paid *à la tâche*, the rate depends on the variety of plant and is as follows:

3.50 francs the 100 kilogrammes for Aramon.

4 francs the 100 kilogrammes for those varieties requiring a knife for cutting the grapes.

*Conclusions.* Such examples show that since 1936 much has been done to control the hours of work and fix the wages of laborers in France, but we should not overlook the fact that, lacking an obligatory statute, there are in some parts of France laborers who are not paid at the syndicates' rate and have not regular working hours.

It is quite impossible without legislative acts and a complete national obligatory labor statute to improve the working conditions of family workers who comprise five-sixths of all full-time workers. It is also impossible without a regulation of employment and unemployment to obtain collective agreement in regions in which syndical organization is not strong enough, or in which foreign workers (13.5 per cent of all full-time wage-paid laborers) do not join the labor unions, or cannot join them because the employers' position is too strong regarding workers unable to make the necessary relations with other workers. The workers' force in the social battle comes only by association; differences of language make association difficult and weaken the position of the workers.

If we desire to organize agricultural labor without social conflict we must consider that the way of collective agreements, as good as it is, is possible only if such agreements be organized and looked at—as they begin to be in French industry and French trade, but are not yet in French agriculture—by “the man speaking with soft voice, handling a big stick.”

French agriculture attempted such organization, but foreign affairs have stopped her social improvement. Internal difficulties—some of which may need constitutional amendment, for example, if the Senate continues to reject social legislation—cannot be actually envisaged without fear that an absence, as short as it will be, of France in foreign affairs should be used by the enemies of peace. Social progress actually waits, knowing that war will signify a definite cessation of every improvement in a social way for many years. Agriculture fears war more than any other part of the nation, and has good reasons to fear. But the path is found, and French agriculture as soon as possible will take the peaceful road to social progress, which is the only way out.



# Profile of Farm Wage Rates in the Southwest

*E. D. Tetreau\**

## ABSTRACT

Farm wage rates per day without board, January 1, 1938, were 3.75 times as great in California as in South Carolina. Wage rates per month without board were 4.17 times as great. The bold western peak was attained by series of rises. Both daily and monthly wages changed gradually from South Carolina across the Old South with additional gradual increases across the Western Cotton Region. Abrupt increases were registered across New Mexico, through Arizona, and into California. Factors associated with these changes were: increases westward in ability to pay high wages; decreases westward in the competition of the family unpaid labor; competitive wage rates in the oil and metal mining industries; differences in the efficiency of workers; and elevation westward of rural standards of living. Additional factors in Arizona were the proportions of Mexicans among farm laborers and competitive urban and rural wage rates on public works projects.

Wage rates in Arizona's irrigated areas increase westward. This was indirectly discovered in a study of farm labor requirements and costs made in 1936 for the year 1935. In that study it was found that *man day costs* of farm labor in the Upper Gila, Salt River, and Yuma-Gila valleys increased westward, the averages for all hired labor on farms being \$1.29, \$1.65, and \$1.87 per man's day.<sup>1</sup> A check of wage rates showed that they increased westward, rates per month, rates per day, and rates per hundred pounds in picking cotton.

Analysis of the factors underlying this difference in farm wages in Arizona brought attention to the startling profile of farm wage rates across southern United States. It was hard to believe that wage rates in one major industry would be increased as much as four times in traveling across the country, east or west, north or south. But with farm wage rates in South Carolina the lowest in the United States and in California the highest, it was found that on January 1, 1938, farm wages per month without board were, in California, 4.17 times as high as corresponding wage rates in South Carolina (Table 1).

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<sup>1</sup> Arizona AESB 160 (Tucson, May, 1938), p. 202.

TABLE 1  
FARM WAGE RATES IN SELECTED STATES\*

STATE	Wages Without Board					
	January 1, 1936		January 1, 1937		January 1, 1938	
	Per Month	Per Day	Per Month	Per Day	Per Month	Per Day
South Carolina.....	\$16.00	\$ .70	\$17.50	\$ .80	\$17.50	\$ .80
Georgia.....	15.75	.80	17.00	.85	17.75	.85
Alabama.....	17.50	.85	18.25	.90	18.75	.90
Mississippi.....	17.50	.85	19.75	.95	20.25	.95
Louisiana.....	19.75	.90	20.50	1.00	21.75	1.05
Arkansas.....	20.00	.90	22.50	1.00	23.50	1.05
Oklahoma.....	26.75	1.20	27.75	1.30	29.00	1.35
Texas.....	26.75	1.15	28.50	1.25	30.50	1.35
New Mexico.....	33.75	1.50	37.75	1.55	38.25	1.65
Arizona.....	50.00	1.80	53.25	1.90	54.75	2.10
California.....	60.00	2.50	65.00	2.70	73.00	3.00

USDA BAE mimeographed releases on farm wage rates.

A number of questions arose. Did wage rates increase uniformly from state to state, westward, or were the changes greater in some states than in others? How did wage rates in Arizona fit into the picture? Did day wages from state to state change as much as monthly wages? How did the profiles of day and monthly wages compare?

First it was found that changes in daily wage rates from South Carolina westward through the Old South were small. Increases of from 2 to 10 per cent per state brought wages in Louisiana and Arkansas to \$1.05 per day as compared with \$.80 in South Carolina. This increase of 25 cents per day was 31 per cent above the day wage in South Carolina. The wage rates per day from Arkansas through Oklahoma to Texas increased from \$1.05 to \$1.35, or 29 per cent. This brought one through the entire South, the Old South proper, and the Western Cotton Region (Table 1).

From Texas to New Mexico daily wage rates increased from \$1.35 to \$1.65, or 22 per cent, while from New Mexico to Arizona they mounted from \$1.65 to \$2.10, or 27 per cent. Finally a boost of 43 per cent over Arizona rates brought the daily wage for California farm laborers to \$3.00.

Wage rates per month without board showed a somewhat different profile. From South Carolina through the Old South to Arkansas monthly rates increased 34 per cent as compared with a 31 per cent increase in day wage rates. From Arkansas through Oklahoma to Texas

monthly rates increased 30 per cent as compared with an increase of 29 per cent in day wage rates. Additional increases of 25 per cent in New Mexico over Texas monthly wage rates and of 43 per cent in Arizona over New Mexico brought monthly wage rates to \$54.75. These monthly wage rate increases were considerably greater than the 22 and 27 per cent increases in wage rates per day in the same states. Finally a 33 per cent increase in monthly wage rates over Arizona's rates brought the sum to \$73.00 per month paid to farm workers in California. This last increase in monthly wage rates was not so great as the 43 per cent increase in daily wage rates in California over Arizona.

When South Carolina and California farm wage rates were compared directly it was found that California's day rate of wages was 3.75 times South Carolina's, and California's monthly rate was 4.17 times as great. This direct comparison roughly indicated the general outline of the profile of farm wage rates across southern United States.

The bold western peak of farm wage rates was attained by a series of rises in elevation, selected readings of which were calculated by finding the percentage of the difference between South Carolina and California wage rates as registered in Arkansas, Texas, and Arizona. Both daily and monthly wages changed gradually from South Carolina through the Old South and across the Western Cotton Region. From South Carolina

TABLE 2  
PROFILE READINGS OF FARM WAGE RATES IN SELECTED STATES

STATES	Daily Wage Rates	Difference	Per cent of Difference	Monthly Wage Rates	Difference	Per cent of Difference
California.....	\$3.00	\$2.20	100.0	\$73.00	\$55.50	100.0
Arizona.....	2.10	1.30	59.0	54.75	37.25	67.0
Texas.....	1.35	.55	25.0	30.50	13.00	23.0
Arkansas.....	1.05	.25	11.0	23.50	6.00	11.0
South Carolina....	.80	.00	0 0	17.50	.00	0.0

through Texas only 25 per cent of the total daily wage differential was attained, and only 23 per cent of the monthly wage differential. Abrupt increases of 34 per cent of the daily wage differential and 44 per cent of the monthly wage differential were registered from Texas through Arizona, bringing the readings to 59 and 67, respectively. Further sharp increases of 41 and 33 points lifted daily and monthly wages to the California levels. Thus the eastern or right hand part of the profile showed

relatively gentle slopes upward while the western inclines were steep (Table 2).

Had the base line of these profiles represented numbers of persons on farms working for wages instead of linear distances, the slopes across the Old South and the Western Cotton Region would have been levelled down, since their portions of the base line would have been greatly lengthened. Correspondingly, the slopes across New Mexico, Arizona, and California would have been tilted more sharply.<sup>2</sup>

Turning to a comparison of wage rates in Arkansas and the states westward through Arizona to California, it was found that daily wage rates in California were 2.86 times as great as daily wages in Arkansas, and monthly wage rates were 3.11 times as great as in Arkansas. The slope of the profile of day wage rates, shown by the percentage of the difference between wage rates in Arkansas and California as registered in Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, was gentle across Oklahoma and Texas, steeper as it moved into New Mexico, still steeper into Arizona, and steepest as it terminated in California. The slope of the profile of monthly wage rates was similar excepting that it rose more sharply from New Mexico into Arizona and continued somewhat more moderately into California (Table 3).

TABLE 3

PROFILE READINGS OF FARM WAGE RATES FROM ARKANSAS TO CALIFORNIA

STATES	Daily Wage Rates	Difference	Per cent of Difference	Monthly Wage Rates	Difference	Per cent of Difference
California.....	\$3.00	\$1.95	100.0	\$73.00	\$49.50	100.0
Arizona.....	2.10	1.05	54.0	54.75	31.25	63.0
New Mexico.....	1.65	.60	31.0	38.25	14.75	30.0
Texas.....	1.35	.30	15.0	30.50	7.00	14.0
Oklahoma.....	1.35	.30	15.0	29.00	5.50	11.0
Arkansas.....	1.05	.00	0.0	23.50	.00	.0

Again, had the base line of these profiles represented numbers of hired farm laborers, the slopes across Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas would have been levelled down because of the great numbers of laborers in these states and the consequent lengthening of the base line; while the slopes across New Mexico, Arizona, and California would have been lifted to a sharper angle.

<sup>2</sup> *United States Census of Agriculture: 1935, Statistics by States and Counties, Second Series.*

One might profitably devote much time to a study of the influences of the slave, contract labor, and cropper systems of the Old South, upon the wage levels of today throughout the Cotton Belt.<sup>3</sup> One might also consider the Mexican's way of working and living and the part he plays in setting the wage levels of farm workers in the Southwest. Or attention might be turned to the days of vast exploitation and wages unheard of in the gold and silver mines of California and Nevada and the forests and mills of Oregon and Washington.

Instead, it is more in line with the purposes of this paper to name briefly a few more immediate factors that appear to be closely associated with wage levels across the southern United States and especially in the Southwest and in California.

First, there is a marked increase westward of ability to pay. This is indicated by the sharp increase in gross income per farm unit, westward from the Old South to California. Average farm incomes, 1920-30, were from \$605 to \$850 in the states from South Carolina through Arkansas; in Oklahoma they averaged \$1,330; in Texas, \$1,595; in New Mexico, \$1,369; in Arizona, \$3,519; and in California, \$4,236.<sup>4</sup>

Second, the competition of family labor on farms decreases westward. The cropper system, founded on the family labor of Negroes and poor whites, decreases westward across the Western Cotton Region and disappears in western Texas. Percentages of family labor as compared with hired labor employed on farms decrease westward through the Southwest.

Third, the competitive wage rates of the oil and metal mining industries tend to influence farm wage rates from Oklahoma into California. They draw farm workers to their camps and towns and, largely because of the nature of their employments, pay them high wage rates.

A fourth factor is to be found in the comparative efficiency of farm workers. The tendency westward is for workers to demand higher wages of farm operators and for operators to pay more and then see to it that the workers earn more. One of the reasons so many workers in the west move about from place to place is their inability to meet the requirements determined by higher wage scales.

Standard of living indices such as percentage of farm houses with electricity, telephone, radio, automobile, and water piped to dwelling, point the direction of a fifth major factor influencing farm wage rates

<sup>3</sup> Rupert B. Vance, *Human Factors in Cotton Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1929).

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston, 1935), p. 313.

across southern United States.<sup>5</sup> These indices show a low material standard of living on farms in the Old South, but a generally increasing standard westward as one crosses southern United States. While this factor, from one point of view, might be considered as a general concomitant of farm income, or ability to pay, from another point of view it rates as a separate factor. Standard of living is here assumed to be rooted in personal initiative, family traditions, and community or regional standards of material comfort and welfare. Correspondingly, income finds its origins in personal initiative, family tradition, and community or regional resources for production and marketing. In a basic sense the income of the farm operator is fixed by his standard of living. He will shift his crops, add or subtract land, move to another region, all in order to bring income up to certain levels, depending upon his standard of living. So, the farm worker's wages tend to be set by his standard of living. But recognition of the worker's idea of a desirable standard of living is least likely to take place where operators' standards are low, and most likely to come about where operators' standards are high. While other considerations doubtless play a part in the process whereby high standards of living among operators tend to support workers' standards and hence to increase workers' wages, efficiency holds an exceedingly important place in the picture. The worker who is efficient (largely because he insists on high wages to maintain his ideas of a desirable standard of living) is indispensable to the efficient entrepreneur who must make a better than average income in order to realize his standard of living. He is indispensable because only on his level of experience and skill and at his pace or speed will the production schedules of the entrepreneur be attained.

Returning to the differential in wage rates in irrigated areas across southern Arizona, what were some of the factors associated with the increase in wages westward? One important local factor was custom. Mexican laborers customarily receive less pay than non-Mexican whites for doing the same grade of work. Percentages of Mexicans among farm laborers who were heads of households in the Upper Gila, Salt River, and Yuma-Gila valleys were 87, 50, and 34, respectively.<sup>6</sup>

Another local factor associated with the increase in farm wage rates across Arizona westward, was the decreasing competition of family

<sup>5</sup> Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, USDA SRR 8 (Washington, April, 1938), p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> Unpublished data, Arizona AES.

workers as opposed to hired workers on farms. Hired laborers working on farms numbered only 217 per 1,000 workers in the Upper Gila, as compared with 658 in the Salt River and 739 per 1,000 in the Yuma-Gila Valley (January, 1935).<sup>1</sup>

Wage rates on Public Works projects were locally important in the determination of wage levels. While in general agreement with local organized labor standards, rates set for rural areas prevailed in the Upper Gila Valley, while urban rates were paid in the Salt River and Yuma-Gila valleys. Proximity to the Parker Dam and the All-American Canal projects afforded an advantage to resident laborers in the Yuma-Gila Valley.

A fourth factor was the slope of the profile of farm wage rates in the Southwest as it cut across Southern Arizona. The elevations of farm wage rates in Texas, New Mexico, and California without question bore a very real relationship to the elevation, slope and shape of the curve of wage rates across Arizona.

<sup>1</sup> *United States Census of Agriculture: 1935*, Statistics by States and Counties, Second Series.

# Rural Sociology Extension in the Agricultural Colleges

*A. F. Wileden\**

## ABSTRACT

Rural Sociology Extension in the Agricultural Colleges had its beginnings even before the passing of the Smith-Lever Law. With one interruption, its history from the beginning has been one of steady expansion. The rather promotional type of emphasis of the earlier days, however, is being replaced with a concern for the "program approach." Furthermore, this extension program today is giving more concern to increasing numbers of fields of "group work."

Rural Sociology Extension has been struggling, amidst many specialized programs in the agricultural colleges, to find its field. For this reason several national conferences have been called, giving attention to objectives, content, evaluation, and the measuring of results. Efforts in thus clarifying and developing of the field are now being identified with those of the Rural Sociological Society.

Rural Sociology Extension<sup>1</sup> is still one of the smaller, although not one of the younger members of the Agricultural Extension Service in the United States. It started even before the passage of the Smith-Lever Law, but developed very slowly following the passage of this act of Congress in 1914.<sup>2</sup> In those early years three states entered the field, Wisconsin under the leadership of C. J. Galpin, Massachusetts under the leadership of E. L. Morgan, and Kansas under the leadership of Walter Burr. Two of these programs were disrupted in 1919 and the other in 1920, all by the moving of the personnel to other states or other positions. In the meantime, one other agricultural college had undertaken a project in this field. This was Ohio, where the program was

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<sup>1</sup> No attempt is herein made to define this field other than in terms of the projects, activities, or practices reported by the various states. Such attempt was made in 1930 through the national adoption of a statement of objectives, a copy of which is attached.

<sup>2</sup> This information was gathered by correspondence with the agricultural extension directors in all of the forty-eight states, and supplementary correspondence with the rural sociologists, and particularly the extension rural sociologists, in all of the states having or having had extension programs in rural sociology from the agricultural colleges. Additional information was gathered from records, reports, and conferences.



disrupted in 1921. All four of these states contributed greatly to the field. Among these contributions came the recognition that it was going to be necessary to develop such a program slowly. Also it was discovered that it was first important to lay the foundation for an extension program through a study and research approach.

#### THE PROGRAM IN THE BEGINNING—BEFORE 1920

An enumeration of the methods and content of the rural sociology extension program in the agricultural colleges in the days before 1920 reveals what we today must recognize as a very logical beginning. It included about four things: the organization of clubs and groups of different sorts, conferences with organization leaders, social surveys of one kind or another, and lectures, particularly on rural life topics, before rural groups and organizations. These took somewhat different forms in different states, but underneath them all was a remarkable similarity—an attempt to expand and enrich rural group life.

*Organization of Groups.* Groups that were started were of two kinds, local clubs and co-ordinating groups. They took different professional names and forms in different states. In Wisconsin they were called farmers' clubs, social centers, and county federations. In Kansas they were called farm bureaus, and in Massachusetts they were community councils. Some of these organizations are still alive at the time of writing.

*Conferences with Leaders.* The conferences were usually meetings of organization leaders to consider plans for their organizations, their county, or their state. These conferences were frequently called country-life conferences, community country life conferences, county country life conferences, and state country life conferences.\* It was not until a later date, undoubtedly partly out of the impetus of these earlier country life conferences, that the first national country life conference came into being (1919).

*Social Surveys.* It is significant that almost from the beginning the making of surveys of one kind or another has been a part of the recognized rural sociology extension program. Back of these surveys seemed to lie the twofold purpose of getting better acquainted with the community, and also of getting the community better acquainted with itself. They largely took the form of school district surveys and of community

\* Such state country life conferences were held in Wisconsin in 1911, 1912, 1913, and 1914, printed reports of the proceedings of each being available now.

surveys, and the method of making the surveys through group meetings and through questionnaires was a significant part of their contribution. Many local people participated both in gathering and in supplying the desired information. Numerous interesting sessions were held in interpreting the findings of these surveys.

*Lectures and Programs.* In the beginning stages, very little was done in developing what we today think of as "programs of work" for rural organizations. What was done was usually in the form of "lectures" or "talks" at organization meetings. Subjects chosen for these talks were usually in the "rural life" field, many of which were concerned with various phases of "community betterment." Most states which started their rural sociology extension programs at a later date tended to put more emphasis on the program planning and program service aspect from the very beginning. This really marked a new emphasis in rural sociology extension.

#### AFTER 1920—WHEN A NEW STATE LAUNCHES A PROGRAM

Historically, a second epoch in rural sociology extension work seems to begin with 1920. During the six-year period from 1920 to 1925, each of the first four states to inaugurate such a program (Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Kansas, and Ohio), found its program disrupted. During this same six-year period eight new states, including Nebraska, New York, West Virginia, Iowa, Missouri, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Louisiana, and Ohio, one of the older states, launched such a program. Texas had started the previous year. In most of these states the beginning program was somewhat different from those starting before 1914.

*Importance of Research.* A research program in Rural Sociology in the agricultural colleges had been slowly getting under way. It was the growing conviction that a rather thorough understanding of the people of the state and of their problems and some knowledge of the principles of group organization was vital to the success of an extension program in this field. This research program was given special emphasis by the passage of the Purnell Act in 1925.<sup>4</sup> It was not until 1931, however, that research in the fields of rural population, rural organization, and rural standards of living was generally announced as being

<sup>4</sup> C. J. Galpin, J. H. Kolb, Dwight Sanderson, and Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociological Research in the United States*, a Social Science Research Monograph prepared and published under the direction of the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture of the Social Science Research Council, 1928.



**their conditions.** Furthermore, it is significant that these local surveys and analyses repeatedly reveal the necessity for the various individuals, groups, and agencies to work together in terms of the needs of the areas of which they are a part. These surveys and analyses are therefore becoming increasingly recognized as a valuable technique for the extension rural sociologist. They were reported from eleven of the sixteen states.

*Personnel of Rural Sociology Extension Programs.* It is obvious from the preceding discussion that many of the workers in the rural sociology extension program today are not rural sociologists. If the term is to be used in the strictly scientific sense<sup>7</sup> probably few of them are. Furthermore, many of them do not claim this title, as a glimpse at the personnel list will show. Titles appearing there are community activity specialist, rural life specialist, rural sociologist, rural organization specialist, community organization specialist, specialist in neighborhood activities, rural service specialist, drama specialist, recreation specialist, music specialist, discussion specialist, and youth specialist.

We might well raise the question whether some of these workers and some of the work being done by them should be included as rural sociology extension. The fact is that both administrators and rural people today recognize them as such. Furthermore, these programs are being taken to their respective states through the medium of rural sociology extension. Undoubtedly part of this has come about as a result of the interest of the rural sociologists in people, and because the agricultural colleges were not otherwise staffed and equipped to provide this desired type of instruction. On the other hand, it must be recognized that rural sociology extension has offered a balanced and integrated approach for drama, music, social recreation, group discussion, and the arts and crafts to the state. Whether this integrated approach of these specialists through rural sociology extension will continue, or whether each of these specialized fields will push out and establish agencies or departments of its own, will be determined by the extent of material and cultural development through the extension service and the same that science explains but does not evaluate.

ready for utilization.<sup>5</sup> These findings pointed to a large rural population residual in the open country and small villages, with their own groups and institutions and with groups and institutions which they share with city folks. These groups and institutions are in need of integration with regard to their common objectives, but also they need to be made more effective within themselves. These findings also point to highly varied standards of living between rural areas as well as between city and country, but the high degree of direct return as a result of their own efforts gives a clue to "improved practices" in this field.

*Development of "Program Approach."* These research findings helped to direct the extension emphasis upon the activity and program side of rural groups and institutions, and upon the content of rural family living. About the same time came an increased number of rural organizations and agencies of all kinds. These organizations were quick to appraise the value of the program of work to the organization. Furthermore, they were aggressive in their calls to the State Extension Services for help with their programs. These factors have stimulated the development of rural sociology extension programs in a number of states and have tended to accentuate interest in the program service phases. With these forces at work, however, has come the theoretical realization that if people are going to work together in groups, or if groups are going to work with each other, it must be on something in which they have a common interest. Furthermore, different people and different groups in the same area must come to work together on their programs. Extension sociologists have been much concerned with trying to bring this about. Research has not as yet thrown much light upon this latter assumption, or on the best ways to achieve it.

*Gradual Expansion into New States.* Since 1925 the expansion of the rural sociology extension program into new states has moved slowly. With the exception of 1929 and 1930, one or more additional states have launched such a program each year. These were Mississippi in 1926, Wisconsin in 1927, Illinois and Virginia in 1928, South Dakota in 1931, Kentucky in 1932, Arizona in 1933, New Hampshire in 1934, and Mississippi again in 1935. Two of these states, South Dakota and Wisconsin, were old states once more taking up a program. During the

<sup>5</sup> C. J. Galpin, C. E. Lively, B. L. Hummel, and C. C. Zimmerman, *Rural Sociological Adult Education in the United States*, a Social Science Research Monograph prepared under the direction of the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture, a committee of the Social Science Research Council, 1931.

same period Missouri discontinued its program. In January, 1936, there were sixteen state agricultural extension services with at least one or more part-time workers, assigned to a field that was recognized as Rural Sociology Extension.

#### A GLIMPSE OF THE PROGRAM TODAY

A comprehensive picture of the rural sociology extension program in its various ramifications over the country as it exists today, would take considerably more space than is available here. Likewise, it should entail considerably careful study. A bird's-eye glimpse of the program must suffice at this time.

The question as to what this rural sociology extension program included was asked of every extension director and extension rural sociologist in the states carrying on such a program. Answers were received from all of them. For purposes of analysis, replies as to what the programs in the various states included were then classified in four groups: studying local groups and situations; work with organizations as such and in the field of organization relationships; work on the content of the program for rural organizations; and emergency work. Of these, emergency work, which might involve taking the extension sociologists away from their regular work, has been a very small part of the program, only three of the states reporting rehabilitation and resettlement, and only two reporting A.A.A. This indicates that the program itself is one which meets depression needs. The following are some rather significant characteristics in the program as it exists today.

*Emphasis on "Program Approach."* Work on the content of the program for rural groups seems to be an outstanding characteristic of the rural sociology extension programs today. Furthermore, the more popular type of activities stressed are of a group nature in themselves. The most frequent of these is drama (and pageantry), which is a recognized part of the program in twelve of the sixteen states. Next in frequency come social recreation and music, each in ten of the sixteen states. Eight of the sixteen states are directly engaged in providing programs for rural groups through their regularly prepared and distributed program helps and materials. Some of the states prepare and mail one of these programs each month—a program for each regular meeting of the organization. Group discussions as an educational method have also been added in recent years. These discussions are now a recognized part of this rural sociology extension program in seven of the sixteen

states.<sup>6</sup> Arts and crafts are a part of the program in two states. We can well ponder the question as to how far this emphasis on the "program approach" within rural sociology extension will and should continue.

*Organizations and Organizational Relationships.* Extension rural sociology is also today greatly concerned with organizations as such and with the field of organization relationships. There are the problems of intra-group relationships arising in the conferences with leaders reported in eleven of the sixteen states. The principles of group organization and leadership are also dealt with in the leadership training schools which are held in about half of the states. However, with the rapid growth of special interest groups in rural as well as in urban areas today, the problem of meeting the needs of "the community" is shifting in no small degree from one of working within groups to one of working together between groups. Rural Sociology extension is much concerned with this. Work with the rural church and with young people's groups; conferences with leaders and leadership training, particularly when different kinds of groups are represented; and various plans for standard communities, community councils, community units, federations, and co-ordinating committees are attempting to bring about a co-operative relationship between groups. Although efforts in this direction are increasing, tangible results are as yet limited and difficult to measure.

The field of intra- and inter-group relationships and effectiveness may, as time passes, become the specialized field of the extension rural sociologist himself, serving either in an administrative but more likely in a consultative capacity. It appears as though his task is becoming one of appraising groups and institutions in terms of their adequacy in meeting the needs of a situation, and in counselling with the leaders and citizens in terms of future plans and needed adjustments.

*Study of Local Groups and Situations.* It is significant that a rural sociology extension program should continually try to stay close to the situations and needs of the local people. Persistently rural sociologists are the ones in state and national conferences who ask the question, "How will this affect the local people?" From the very early days, studies of local groups and of local situations have been a part of the rural sociology extension program. They have been a means whereby the workers in the field have kept themselves informed of the real needs

<sup>6</sup> There are a number of states also where the group discussion program has grown up independently of the rural sociology extension program. Almost invariably, however, the rural sociologists are identified with the discussion program in one capacity or another.

of rural people of different local situations. Where carried on co-operatively with the local people, these surveys have also become a very valuable educational technique in acquainting local people with their own situations. Knowing what their conditions are in comparison with what they might be helps a great deal in persuading people to want to better their conditions. Furthermore, it is significant that these local surveys and analyses repeatedly reveal the necessity for the various individuals, groups, and agencies to work together in terms of the needs of the areas of which they are a part. These surveys and analyses are therefore becoming increasingly recognized as a valuable technique for the extension rural sociologist. They were reported from eleven of the sixteen states.

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<sup>7</sup> In the sense that science explains but does not evaluate.



the degree of further departmental specialization. There is no indication of this further departmentalization at the present time.

*Changes in the Program.* It is significant that a number of changes are coming about in this program of rural sociology extension. Some of them, such as the increasing emphasis on the program approach, have already been discussed. It is interesting also to note that the number of activities or phases that are being carried on and recognized as a part of the program are increasing. Some of these are a direct reflection of the increased emphasis in the program approach resulting in expansion of the fields of drama, music, social recreation, and group discussion. Others are expansions in the direction of organizational and institutional relations, including added emphasis in the fields of young people's work and with the rural church. Two of these recent expansions, the one in the young people's work and the other with group discussion, have been entirely new additions in recent years.

It is probably even more significant that while certain new phases are being introduced and others being expanded, certain activities and procedures are decreasing. For example, today there is less time being given to organizing new groups or clubs than previously. As a matter of fact, four states that were one time putting emphasis in that direction reported they had "stopped organizing clubs." Apparently, as a state, they have reached the carrying-on and adjustment stage of their development.<sup>8</sup> It is significant also that two states report "less emphasis on competition" as a device for encouraging certain practices and procedures over their state. In many situations, this virtually means a changing of the culture pattern for these areas. It comes about slowly. It was interesting to note also that less extension teaching was being done through the means of lectures. Two states reported that they had "dropped lectures" as part of their programs. Others were doing less lecturing than formerly. Undoubtedly increased use of the discussion technique and probably numerous demonstrations have come to take the place of some of the lecturing. We can move still further in this direction.

Probably the most significant change that is coming about is the increasing similarity in the programs over the United States. The language may differ from state to state, just as the organizational and administrative procedures differ from one situation to another. Back of

<sup>8</sup> J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, *Special Interest Groups in Rural Society*, Wisconsin College of Agriculture RB 84 (Madison, December, 1927).

these, however, is a kindred interest in rural people and a kindred concern with regard to certain objectives. It begins to appear as though the survey technique combined with the organizational approach, both in its *intra* and *inter* aspects is to be the field of rural sociology extension itself, and that the program of work approach as contributed by increasing numbers of group work specialists each in his respective field is to provide material and substance through which sociology extension can function. Thus each contributes to the other in a program primarily concerned with "better living in the country."

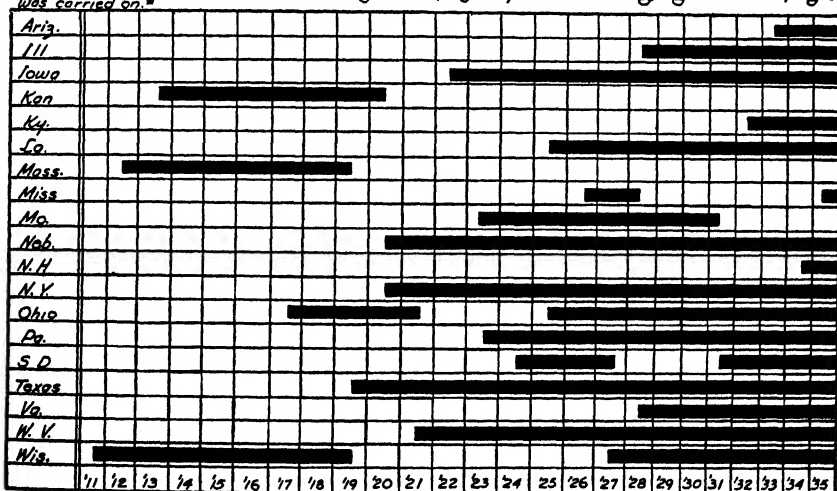
### NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY EXTENSION

The first national rural sociology extension conference was called at Cleveland, Ohio, December 26-27, 1930, by agreement between the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy of the Land Grant College Association and the Federal Extension Service. Representatives from eleven states and the United States Department of Agriculture at-

FIGURE 1.

#### RURAL SOCIOLOGY EXTENSION IN THE UNITED STATES 1911-1935.

State Agricultural Extension Services having such a project, plotted according to years such a program was carried on.\*



\* As indicated by the agricultural extension directors and rural sociologists in the various states

tended. C. B. Smith, in charge of co-operative extension work in the United States Department of Agriculture, emphasized at the outset his hope that this conference would not adjourn "without making a statement (1) as to the definite things in rural sociology that extension

specialists in that field propose to extend, and (2) the methods of procedure to be used." He also suggested that a definite statement of objectives be formulated.

*Name and Objectives.* This first national conference was conducted by the discussion method, but a few of the papers and a stenographic report of some of the discussion are available. Nothing was definitely decided as to what extension sociologists should extend or how they should go about it, except decisions that took shape in the minds of the participating individuals. A resolution was passed at this meeting urging the securing in the Washington office of a national extension rural sociologist, to study some of the many problems that had been raised at this conference but were left unanswered, and to help the many states in improving their work in the field. Until such a person was selected, a committee of five was appointed to bring together statements from the several states then carrying on programs of rural sociology extension as to their objectives, activities, methods and some results.<sup>9</sup> Before this conference adjourned, the name "rural sociology extension" was adopted, and a statement of objectives, as here appended, was drawn up.

*"Content."* The second national rural sociology extension conference, the date for which was set before the first one at Cleveland adjourned, was held in August, 1931, at Oglebay Park, West Virginia. Four central themes were chosen for this conference: recreation and the rural sociology program, research and the extension sociology program, rural organization and the extension sociology program, and the philosophy of rural life. Representatives from thirteen states and the United States Department of Agriculture were in attendance. Much attention was given at this conference to what was "sociological" and contributions in the social and cultural fields were critically reviewed.<sup>10</sup> The important question of the relation of research to extension, came up at this conference. The point was stressed that research should be done concerning problems pressing for research as revealed in the extension field, rather than extension being expected to extend whatever research has been undertaken. It was urged that this point of approach be discussed at

<sup>9</sup> Under the direction of this committee by May, 1931, such statements were supplied by seven states, and copies of the statements made available; other states prepared such statements later.

<sup>10</sup> The field of rural sociology extension was also critically reviewed by B. L. Hummel in a paper entitled *What is Happening in Rural Sociology Extension*, presented before the Eastern States Extension Conference, February 26, 1931.

later meetings and in the various sociological journals and other publications. A report was given by the committee appointed at the previous conference to bring together from the separate states statements of objectives, activities, methods, and results of rural sociology extension. This committee was authorized to continue its work and gather materials as a basis for a national publication.<sup>11</sup>

*National Organization.* A small group of extension sociologists held the next national meeting during a session of the American Sociological Society in Washington, D. C., in December, 1931. At this time a committee was appointed to draw up "a statement of policy or a plan for a permanent organization of the extension workers in this field." The committee recommended a national organization and at a breakfast meeting held during the American Country Life Conference at Oglebay Park, West Virginia, in October, 1932, and attended by rural sociologists from seven states, a plan was adopted for a National Association of Rural Sociology Extension Workers, a constitution was adopted, and officers elected.<sup>12</sup>

The objects of this organization were set forth as:

1. Creation of a better acquaintance and an esprit de corps among those interested in this field.
2. The development of the objectives and methods of rural sociology extension work.
3. Presentation of the results of this work in systematic form so that they may be made useful to the people of the various states.
4. Bringing to the attention of the various agencies for the improvement of agriculture and rural life the point of view of the achievements of rural sociology work.
5. Such other collective efforts as may help to bring about a better organized and more satisfactory rural life.

Only state specialists in rural sociology extension work were admitted to membership.

*"Rural Youth."* The next national meeting was held in Washington in June, 1934, in conjunction with the National 4-H Club Leaders' Conference. This meeting was called by the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture in co-operation with the National As-

<sup>11</sup> This was a task of considerable magnitude, and as workers were not available, very little was accomplished.

<sup>12</sup> B. L. Hummel was president of this National Association of Rural Sociology Extension Workers until November, 1938, when it was merged with the newly formed Rural Sociological Society of America.

sociation of Rural Sociology Extension Workers. Nine states and the United States Department of Agriculture were represented. Much concern was developing over the country with regard to the needs of older rural young people and this conference was called to consider "rural youth." From the point of view of the extension rural sociologists this meeting had two significant aspects. First, this was the first time that a national meeting of rural sociologists was held in conjunction with another specialist group of agricultural extension workers. About half of each day was spent in joint conference, and half in two separate group conferences. From the point of view of the extension rural sociologists, this was a decided advantage over the single meeting, as it gave members an opportunity to get into the field of group relationships on a national scale as well as to talk about them. Second, administrators within the Extension Service were looking for a specialized field in which extension rural sociologists could do their work just as do poultry specialists, 4-H club leaders, and clothing specialists, and it was suggested that this might be the older rural youth field. Although older rural youth was the central theme of both the separate and joint conferences for the entire week, the extension rural sociologists arrived at an agreement that this field was not to be set aside as their specialty. Rather they interpreted their role as being that of group specialists and consultants, and before adjourning they made several specific suggestions in this rural youth field.<sup>18</sup> Other matters considered were with regard to the Federal Emergency Relief Program and the Agricultural Adjustment Program.

*Measuring Results.* By 1936 the field had expanded to include workers in a number of states, many of whom were new on the job, and extension directors in several additional states were contemplating adding such workers to their staffs. Therefore, it seemed advisable in the spring of 1936 that regional conferences should be called in conjunction with conferences for agricultural extension administrators and a few other groups of specialists. The conference for the eastern states was held in Boston, Massachusetts, in February, and the one for the central states in Lafayette, Indiana, in March. These covered the areas in which there was the greatest immediate interest and development in

<sup>18</sup> A statement with regard to the needs of rural youth and ways of meeting these needs was drawn at this time and submitted to the extension directors of the various states. Some of the papers on this subject presented in the joint conferences with 4-H club leaders are available through the U.S.D.A.

rural sociology extension. Much of the attention at the Boston meeting was given, in the presence of the extension administrators, to an analysis and appraisal of the field.<sup>14</sup> The conference at Lafayette included reports from the separate states on the content of the programs, but the high spot came in an attempt to define the field itself and to appraise its effectiveness.<sup>15</sup> As a result of this conference a national committee was appointed to consider criteria for measuring results of rural sociology extension work.

This committee on criteria has met twice. It is obvious that any appraisal must be made in terms of the value of the objectives of the work and the degree of accomplishment of those objectives. A recognition of this relationship in rural sociology extension immediately led the committee back to a reappraisal of the field and objectives for rural sociology extension. Plans were made for another national conference to make this reappraisal, and to define more clearly the function of rural sociology, particularly in its applied form.

*Re-Evaluation of Rural Sociology in the Agricultural Extension Service.* The Policy Committee of the Land Grant College Association in July of 1938 gave official approval for a National Conference of Extension Rural Sociologists to be held at Lexington, Kentucky. It was scheduled for October 31, and November 1, 1938, just preceding the National Meeting of the American Country Life Association. In spite of difficulties in arranging a program, forty-two representatives from fourteen states and the United States Department of Agriculture were in attendance. The re-evaluation was concerned with the underlying objectives and with the relationships and methods used in carrying on the programs as a part of the Agricultural Extension Service. The high point of the conference was reached in a reappraisal of the field and objectives. Such statements were advanced as, "the needs of the people are our concern"; "our general objective is making rural family living effective"; "our problem is to elevate the level of living of rural people"; and, our job is "to develop rural leaders." Because of the size of the group, and because many of those present had not attended previous national conferences of this group, it was difficult to arrive at a con-

<sup>14</sup> These papers are available: one by T. B. Manny on *What Should be the Objectives in Extension Rural Sociology*; one by Bruce L. Melvin, *An Appraisal of Extension Work in Rural Sociology*; and one by C. B. Smith, *An Appraisal of the Program in Recreation*.

<sup>15</sup> As this conference was conducted almost entirely on the informal discussion basis, no adequate record is available other than a statement of the content of their programs submitted by the several states.

sensus. Before the conference adjourned, a committee was authorized "to prepare a well considered statement concerning the field and objectives of extension work in Rural Sociology." A joint session with the Kentucky land use planning people again interestingly demonstrated the essential interrelationship of rural sociology with other programs.

*Merge with the Rural Sociological Society of America.* Before this conference adjourned, a re-evaluation of the functions of the earlier organized National Association of Rural Sociological Extension Workers was called for and its relation to the Extension Committee of the new Rural Sociological Society of America came up for discussion. Without reservation, it was decided to merge the older organization into the larger and newer one, and to give the support of extension workers in Rural Sociology to the Rural Sociological Society of America.

#### OBJECTIVES OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY EXTENSION<sup>16</sup>

The general objectives of Agricultural Extension have been stated as . . . "diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same." More adequate incomes, the co-operative spirit, the wise use of leisure time, and higher standards of life are the results to be desired.

Rural sociology extension contributes to the attainment of these general objectives by developing with rural people the science and art of living and of working in groups, through assisting them in:

1. Analyzing their larger community situations.
2. Thinking through the principles underlying their group relationships.
3. Discovering needed adjustments.
4. Planning for desired improvements.
5. Developing practical methods of procedure.
6. Applying these methods.

This development is concerned with individual adjustments and with such group adjustments as:

1. The family group in its inner and outer relationships.
2. Voluntary interest group relationships.
2. Co-operative group relationships (e.g., membership morale).
4. Town and country relations.

<sup>16</sup> As drawn at the National Meeting of Rural Sociology Extension Workers, Cleveland, Ohio, December 26, 27, 1930.

5. Local governmental groups in relation to tax-supported institutions (e.g., schools, libraries, hospitals, public welfare, etc.).
6. The individual and the group in relation to their cultural environment.

The general objective is to stimulate specific activities contributing to the development of human values and rural talent, and to assist rural people in developing and co-ordinating their various groups and institutions in relation to their priority and emphasis in community building.



# The Missouri Standard Community Plan After Thirteen Years†

*Material Selected by Douglas Enslinger\**

## ABSTRACT

This paper gives the results of a partial analysis of the "Standard Community Association" plan as it was developed in Missouri. The principal items included in this program were: (1) Leadership; (2) community planning; (3) recreation; and (4) dramatics. This project was started as a combination of demonstration and experiment.

The general findings indicate that: (1) This form of community organization appears to have merit as a medium of developing social and economic planning on a community basis; (2) Insofar as the plan is a stereotyped one, it cannot be generally applied to all types of small communities; (3) This comprehensive structural type of community development involving a set procedure should be applied only under the most favorable conditions, and not until a thorough analysis of the community has been made; (4) The idea of the community as a working unit appears to be sound; (5) Probably one of the best plans for the development of most rural communities is that of helping existing local organizations to pursue their own work on a community-wide basis in the most effective manner; and (6) Communities generally are in need of help in developing leadership, and programs of work.

The extension specialist in rural sociology has for many years been attempting to define his field. While the extension specialist has been engaged in his task, the administrator has stood by waiting for some concrete results to come of this newly developed program.

This paper has as its purpose the presentation of the findings from a partial analysis of a plan of rural community organization as it was applied by the specialist in rural sociology in the Agricultural Extension Service, College of Agriculture, University of Missouri.

The study was made in 1936 and extended to 110 communities. It concerned primarily the "Standard Community Association" plan as it was used in furthering the development of rural communities through local program planning. At the time of the inquiry, there were 26 active

† The material for this paper was taken from an unpublished report, *Community Organization in Missouri*, by E. L. Morgan and Annabel Fountain Howard, the Agricultural Extension Service, University of Missouri, 1937. This material is presented with the approval of Dean F. B. Mumford, College of Agriculture, University of Missouri. Missouri AES Journal Series 566.

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and 84 inactive community association clubs. No effort was made to evaluate the effect of community organization upon the social structure and the development of the community involved.

*Historical Background.* The rural sociology extension project at the University of Missouri was the outgrowth of a number of conferences between extension executives, the resident staff, and certain farm leaders, who were drawn together by a belief that there are distinctly human relation values in rural life which should be conserved and further developed.

While there was no definite prearranged program, it was agreed to add a rural social organization specialist to the agricultural extension staff to develop and pursue a program which might result in more effective community relations among farm people, and serve as a stimulus to those existing rural agencies concerned with the more human interest aspects of rural life.

Accordingly, in October of 1923, Mr. B. L. Hummel of Indiana assumed the post of extension specialist in rural sociology. After reasonable study of the state and conferences with interested persons, a project was drawn which received the approval of the Extension Division of the United States Department of Agriculture. The principal items were: (1) Leadership training; (2) Community Planning; (3) Recreation; and (4) Dramatics.

Following the resignation of Mr. Hummel in the fall of 1928, Mr. Fred Boyd assumed this responsibility and served until August of 1931. From that time until 1936 the extension project had only such direction as the resident staff in rural sociology could render. During these thirteen years, the various items in the project were developed with reasonably satisfactory results in terms of the participation of rural people and their request for extended services. Since there appeared to be a particular need for a means by which rural people could meet regularly for a general consideration of their affairs, major emphasis was given to the community planning aspect of the project as a demonstration in rural organization.

*The Standard Community Association Plan.* The term "organization" as used by social scientists refers to a development of and adjustment among the various factors which comprise a social unit (such as a farm women's club, an agricultural co-operative society, or a community), with a view to conducting its affairs in an orderly way based on plan-

ning, rather than in a disorderly manner in which certain factors may be well developed while others are allowed to lag behind. The goal is to have all the members of a group co-operatively working toward a rational development of the complete group interest through the effective functioning of its various parts or factors.

In the Standard Community plan these factors comprise agriculture, education, civic affairs, home affairs, social affairs, transportation, public health, and religion.<sup>1</sup> A reasonable development of each of these to the greatest degree possible under the circumstances appears to be necessary if the life of the people is to proceed in an effective, orderly manner.

In his discussion of the Standard Community Association, B. L. Hummel says: "Community organization consists in such a progressive correlation of the major interests of the people as will result in rational co-operative endeavor. This usually manifests itself in the conscious planning of a practical and comprehensive long-time program of community development.

"Community organization means the people of a community thinking in terms of their common good, laying definite plans for the solution of their common problems and, finally, the development of a practical means of carrying out their plan through cooperative effort. The Missouri Standard Community Association is just one definite, workable plan for bringing this about."<sup>2</sup>

There were thirty counties in which community clubs were organized at one time, but these no longer function. The average duration of these inactive clubs is 3.7 years, although actually the range is from less than one year to twelve years.

*Determinants of Success or Failure.* In the study of the active and inactive clubs an effort was made to discover what factors contributed to success or failure. The following appeared to be significant:

1. Community Solidarity. The influence of the church varied. The findings indicated that the church was an important cohesive factor, though often a disrupting influence. Sources of friction traceable to rivalry between religious sects within the community were carried over into the club leadership and organizational procedure.

<sup>1</sup> Since religion is a much debated question without the immediate possibility of agreement, it was thought wise to omit a consideration of this factor in the Standard Community Organization plan.

<sup>2</sup> B. L. Hummel, *Community Organization in Missouri*, Missouri AES Circular 209 (Columbus, September, 1928), p. 9.

In the present active clubs the tendency of the primary forces seemed to center about the consolidated school and tradings areas. Consolidated schools appeared to be the selective factor most adapted to the plan of organization.

2. Size of Area. From the beginning the school district was used as a measuring device. The clubs varied from one to fifteen in the number of districts included. The former appeared too small to assume such a comprehensive program of work. On the other hand, the inclusion of a large number of school districts often meant that the natural boundaries had been passed unnoticed. Six districts was the number in which the plan functioned most successfully.

3. Type of Area. The open country and small village were more favorable to the continuation of community associations than the village of 1,000 or more population. Of the sixteen active clubs surviving ten years or more, not one was in a village of more than 350 population, seven were in villages of less than 100 population, and four were in open country.

4. Meeting Place. It appeared that all active clubs felt that the meeting place presented no problems, while 61 per cent of the eighty-four inactive clubs reported the lack of satisfactory meeting place as being a factor of small attendance.

5. Young People. Twenty-one of the twenty-six active clubs had been successful in interesting young people, while among the inactives only eleven had been successful and seventy-three had not.

6. Emigration from Community. Only four of the actives reported attendance loss due to families leaving the community, while forty-three of the inactives reported this as a cause. While there might have been no available means of avoiding this as an influence, it appeared that the actives were located in communities having a stable population.

7. Leadership. One of the problems common not only to Missouri, but to all states interested in the development of rural affairs, is the discovery and development of adequate leaders to direct activities of rural people. Of the actives, twenty-five, or 96.2 per cent, found the county extension agent to be of assistance, and only one club reported that it did not. This was almost completely reversed in the report of the inactives, where seventy-three, or 86.9 per cent, reported that they did not get definite assistance from the county agents, and eleven, or 13.1 per cent, reported that they did.

The active communities reported no scarcity of those who could lead, if they were solicited. This was true for only twenty-two clubs, or 26 per cent of the inactives. However, the report of sixty-two, or 74 per cent, of the inactives indicated an absence in the community of persons possessing leadership ability. The outstanding lack appeared to be that of training and general education of the farm group in the field of community organization.

The need for practical education in the field of leadership training was clear when it was found that all the active and 97.6 per cent of the inactive associations reported a need for local leadership training.

The tendency toward centralization of leadership in a few persons was further brought out by the answer to the question, "Do leaders put the same persons on important committees year after year?" Only six, or 23.1 per cent, of the actives reported this tendency, while eighty, or 95.2 per cent of the inactives, reported it. This implied for the actives a rather general distribution of minor leadership responsibilities among people of the community, while among inactives it was heavily marked with the possibility of a small group attempting to run the organization year after year.

8. *Willingness of People to Work in Club.* Here again the difference between active and inactive was striking. Twenty-one, or 80.8 per cent, of the actives reported that they had no difficulty in getting people to work in the club, while among the inactives, seventy-four, or 94 per cent, reported that while the club was in existence they had difficulty here.

9. *Definite Program of Work.* All active clubs adopted an annual program of work, while this was true for only thirteen of the inactive. This item merely adds to the foregoing accumulated evidence that active clubs tended to follow the outlined plan rather closely, while inactives did not.

While it is difficult to assign definitely either cause or effect in such matters, it seems reasonable to conclude that general neglect of many factors thought to be of importance might have been the determining factor in the failure of many associations.

#### *General Findings:*

1. The Standard Community Association project was started as a combination of demonstration and experiment. It was a demonstration in that it embodied a well-recognized plan and procedure, and an ex-

periment in its application to Missouri conditions. As it developed, it was subject to the vicissitudes of both local rural conditions and administrative procedure, including a desire for what may have been abnormal expansion. This resulted in an effort to apply the Standard Community Association plan in some communities which were not basically adapted to its development.

2. This form of community organization appears to have merit as a medium for developing social and economic planning on a community basis. After six years without either direct promotion or supervision, it is now being applied with reasonable success in twenty-six communities widely distributed throughout the state, where the directions are closely followed and where the local conditions are favorable.

3. Insofar as the plan is a stereotyped one, it cannot be generally applied to all types of small communities. Essential factors are a homogeneous stable population, predominant good will, experience in practical co-operation, reasonable economic well-being, and willing and competent local and county leadership.

4. This comprehensive structural type of community development involving a set procedure should be applied under the most favorable conditions only, and not until a thorough analysis of the community has been made. As a fixed procedure, it should be thought of as a medium by which a particular type of superior community can proceed to that most difficult task of definite, comprehensive social and economic planning.

5. However, the idea of the community as a working unit appears to be sound. It is difficult to see how many present-day rural problems can be solved without the active participation and planning of farm people on a practical co-operating basis, which means the community. Obviously, the method used should be adapted to both the community and the nature of the work to be done.

6. Probably one of the best plans for the development of most rural communities is that of helping existing local organizations to pursue their own work on a community-wide basis in the most effective manner. In some instances one of these can be supplemented or expanded to serve as a means by which the entire community may work together, while in other cases several existing organizations may need to co-operate to achieve desired ends.

7. There are five outstanding rural community needs which are rather

generally reported from over the state. They appear to be sociological in nature and of sufficient importance to warrant serious consideration. They will probably not be met fully in Missouri unless supplied by some such public agency as the Agricultural Extension Service.

- a. A simple plan by which rural communities may work together to discover and develop their own resources, to analyze their problems, and to use their resources at hand and those which can be developed in the solving of their problems.
- b. The training of local and county leaders in the practical aspects of the work they will do.
- c. The further development of sociability and co-operativeness among farm people.
- d. Practical assistance to rural communities in recreation, dramatics, music, and public address.
- e. The supplying of program materials to various rural organizations.

*An Evaluation of the Plan:* In talking with local people and county extension agents, there were rather definite opinions and attitudes which developed toward the Standard plan. While not all the points here included were mentioned by any one person, nor a given one mentioned by all persons, they recurred with sufficient frequency to warrant their being stated as a composite evaluation.

A. By Local People:

- a. It is an excellent plan for community development, if carried out in detail. However, it is a heavy load and needs continuous attention.
- b. The meetings provide social occasions which all members of the family can attend and enjoy. Such occasions are reported as representing a distinct need.
- c. It develops the community's consciousness of problems to be worked out. The year-round program continually keeps outstanding needs before the people.
- d. Ideally, the plan develops local leaders. In practice, however, this function cannot be realized unless adequate specialized direction and training are provided.
- e. It provides for participation of a number of local people.
- f. An outlet is provided for local talent in young people as well as old.

- g. The plan provides a medium through which the technical agricultural and homemaking projects of the county can be carried out with the community assuming the initiative.
  - h. It utilizes the planning idea which is needed for well-balanced growth and prevents one-sided development of the community.
  - i. For continued success, assistance is needed in good program materials, including one-act plays, and in recreational leadership.
  - j. Without local leadership training and close supervision by the county extension agents, the carrying out of the plan is beyond the leadership experience and ability present in most country communities.
- B. By County Extension Agents:
- a. If the plan is followed closely, it is a good method to get general community interest with the participation of a number of people.
  - b. The plan gives county agents a natural avenue of approach to the affairs of the community. The agent is called upon to aid the community in its own enterprise instead of having to ask the community to co-operate with him. He tends to become indispensable to the community and not merely an outsider.
  - c. Regular extension projects are more easily and effectively carried out in communities with Standard Associations. Agricultural projects require less time and effort in these communities. The plan presents an excellent opportunity to the county extension agents to discover and train local leaders for all aspects of the extension program.
  - d. It is a complex and delicate piece of social machinery which has to be "lived with" to make it succeed. Particular attention must be given to the annual meeting, the annual program of work, the work of committees, the use of the record chart, leadership training, and keeping the program well advertised.
  - e. In order to be applicable to a larger variety of communities, the plan needs to be adaptable to local conditions.
  - f. The plan places a heavy leadership load upon local people who are not accustomed to it. Because of this, a thorough local leadership training project should accompany the plan. It is assuming too much to expect local people to carry on without outside stimulus and guidance.
  - g. The complete plan pertains to the field of sociology and social organization in which most county extension agents have had



neither training nor experience. Some agents, recognizing the fact, do not favor the plan in their counties. They say frankly that they do not know how it is done. Others say that the results obtained do not help the agent's statistical report, especially in improved practices adopted.

- h. The active associations should be given sufficient direction and subject-matter assistance to enable them to continue as a further experiment.
- i. If this work is to be extended further, the project should be led by a specialist well trained in social organization, an outstanding leader acquainted with general extension procedure.

# The Radio and Rural Research

*F. Howard Forsyth\**

## ABSTRACT

Radio, as an instrument of diffusion of urban culture and two-way levelling of rural and urban cultures, has and will have effects which if not incalculable are at least still uncalculated. Measurement of these effects awaits statement of crucial hypotheses.

Several hypotheses, taken mostly from American research reports, are suggested: (1) that radio will consolidate changes in some folkways of rural recreation, (2) that rural listeners demand different dialogue and music, (3) that radio is reducing rural-urban social distance, (4) that this partially follows the effects of farm broadcasts on city listeners, (5) that the impact of radio is nevertheless greater upon rural than urban listeners, (6) that the acceptability of radio is greater among higher-income farmers than other farmers, (7) that radio reorganizes the farmer's use of time, (8) that radio has affected the life of farm women, (9) that radio provides programs differentially adapted to inter-family differences in sex and age, and (10) that despite the levelling effect of radio it is a potentially partisan instrument in rural class consciousness.

A broad common sense hypothesis frequently made is that radio listening among farmers and villagers has in less than two decades contributed to vast reorganization of the attitudes and life habits of these listeners, particularly in the area of rural-urban social distance.

Measurement testing this hypothesis is complicated by the presence of other factors than radio which have also become increasingly influential during the same period, the individual effects of which have not been isolated. Since 1920 especially there has been marked growth in other types of rural-urban communication. The most obvious, automobile travel, has itself a number of aspects: longer and more frequent business trips by both the farmer and his wife (the latter no longer restricted by the fact that "the team" is being used for plowing); easy business access of rural areas over good roads by urban people for commercial purposes; flight from the drought areas; migrating farm labor; migrating tenants in both south and north; use of the car by the farmer, his wife, the family for pleasure; pleasure-bound urbanites moving in the opposite direction; visiting of friends or relatives in both directions; and the vacation tour. There has been increased rural-urban communi-

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cation over telephone and telegraph. The tremendous growth of the moving picture industry must be included. Daily newspaper circulation has spread outward from the city. Increased formal education of rural children, partly expressed through consolidation, may have contributed to communicability. Letter writing and use of R. F. D., bus service, urbanizing of rural merchandising, and many other items would find their place in a more complete list. The effects of these concurrent changes in almost eliminating the older antithesis of "city slicker and country hick" are obvious but difficult to subject to significant test.

If the rural social scientist is to investigate the effects of radio listening, there must be some refinement of the hypothesis stated above.

The student of rural people immediately discovers that radio broadcasting as now constituted includes a rather large amount of material specifically designed for the rural audience. This audience has grown from what Salisbury<sup>1</sup> estimated as a million rural families (half of them farm families) owning receiving sets in 1926 to what Brunner and Lorge<sup>2</sup> estimated as seven million rural families with radios in 1936. In at least two states, Iowa and New Hampshire, the percentage of farm families with radios in 1930 was greater than the percentage of urban

TABLE 1

FARM FAMILIES WITH RADIOS, BY CENSUS DIVISION, IN 1930

Census Division	Farm Families Reporting Radios	
	Number	Percentage
All United States.....	1,371,073	20.8
New England.....	51,812	44.6
Middle Atlantic.....	161,775	42.0
East North Central.....	380,751	36.5
West North Central.....	445,795	39.2
South Atlantic.....	59,152	5.1
East South Central.....	37,437	3.4
West South Central.....	71,196	6.2
Mountain.....	62,931	24.9
Pacific.....	100,224	36.0

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States. Agriculture. Summary for the United States, 1929-30.*

<sup>1</sup> Morse Salisbury, "Radio and the Farmer," *Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXVII (1935), 141-46.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years* (New York, 1937), p. 198.

families with radios.<sup>3</sup> The size of the audience, however, varies with the region, as the table shows.<sup>4</sup>

Many stations arose primarily to serve a rural audience. The powerful KFKX at Hastings, Nebraska, was one. Sears Roebuck at one time operated WLS in Chicago and leased three other stations to reach their buyers.<sup>5</sup> Many other stations cater particularly to farmers. The National Farm and Home hour<sup>6</sup> reached its 3,010th program July 12, 1938. In early 1926 the U. S. Department of Agriculture set up its radio service in the office of information.<sup>7</sup> A great many of the land-grant colleges, more than a score in 1933, operate stations, most of them largely for the rural audience, although only a small part of their program material is of the nature considered "rural" by urban commercial radio people. Few stations except in the largest metropolitan cities fail to include a few programs designed specifically for out-of-city listeners.

Radio programs that farmers may and do hear should be divided not only into the foregoing classification of rural and urban programs,<sup>8</sup> even the programs primarily for farmers can be subclassified into those for entertainment and those with service or vocational ends to serve. In contrast to urban listeners, farmers find radio to a larger extent an economic contribution in giving weather reports (particularly frost reports for fruit growers and blizzard reports for stockmen), market quotations, AAA news, scientific findings for agriculture, services to homemakers, and other agricultural information. Much of this material has obvious and practical significance; it undoubtedly is reflected in changes in rural behavior.

<sup>3</sup> Salisbury, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Taken from J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston, 1935), p. 388.

<sup>5</sup> Salisbury, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> "Radio for the Farm Folk," *Wallace's Farmer*, LX (1935), 469.

<sup>7</sup> Morse Salisbury, *A Report of Experience of United States Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information* (Washington, 1934). Mimeographed.

<sup>8</sup> Strictly, this classification would be "specifically rural" programs and "all others." But the urban bias of ordinary entertainment is such that the "all others" could well enough be called urban programs. If they are suited to farm listeners it may be taken as evidence of urbanized farmers. Many of these programs can be easily identified as urban by the nature of accompanying advertising, which under the characteristic (and almost unique) U. S. broadcasting pattern is one method of isolating the audience which the studio assumes is listening. Daytime programs are particularly easy to place in this way. An item that influences programs is geographical distance of listeners. Until the perfection in 1930 of the air-cell battery which improved receptivity of the farm radios (almost all of which are battery type) and a perfected tube for low amperage, in 1932, farmers were definitely handicapped, as they are still to a degree by the necessity of periodic replacement of electrical power.

The proposition of this paper however is that from the classification given (A, urban programs; B, rural programs, a, recreational, and b, utilitarian), the most fruitful realm for rural social research is in area A, those programs which presumably are having urbanizing impact upon the rural way of (psychosocial) life. Departments of agriculture and specific agencies would profit greatly from accurate knowledge of the effects of the utilitarian broadcasting and the mechanism of its influence. But the implications in the broad hypothesis at the beginning of this paper can be traced best in classification A,<sup>9</sup> for the long-run sociological effects of radio in rural life will be wrought mostly in this realm.<sup>10</sup>

The real problem for research is how to develop significant hypotheses within these limits, and formulate them in practicable terms. Some speculations in this realm have been made in recent literature on the radio and the farmer (for bibliography see footnote references). On the basis of these studies and speculations, some tentative hypotheses might well be listed.

1. *Radio has transformed, and will continue to transform, certain folkways of rural recreation.*

Steiner<sup>11</sup> suggested that rural people in the United States have recently dropped many of their historic recreations but have not yet adopted an equal amount of urban recreation. The national trend toward urban types of recreation may be seen as a trend away from the group recreations of the past (neighborhood recreation, chiefly, as in the

The psycho-social significance of this tardiness was that broadcasting patterns had time to become standardized under urban-listening influence. Population per square mile also diminishes rapidly with increasing distance from the station, once outside the city limits. With the decline in numbers of listeners (i.e., buyers), goes a decline of studio interest in their tastes and in efforts to supply programs for them. Possibility of quick response to programs is also lessened when the listener is out of telephone range, when the listener cannot drop a two-cent letter in the corner mailbox, and when he or she feels the station is far away and thereby not particularly interested in letters of protest or approval.

This discussion does not presume to assert that the programs which have obviously arisen under urban influence are accurately representative of anything fundamental in the way urban people view art (music, radio drama, dialogue, humor) as distinct from rural art. That is a question not yet accurately measured, to say the least. Urban programs, as referred to here, are those programs arising under urban influences.

<sup>9</sup> This elementary classification may also be useful to all people who discuss the radio and rural life, irrespective of possible research purposes. It clarifies the actual aspect of radio under discussion, an item often uncritically neglected. It is suggested here that even when teachers, speakers, and writers are not conscious of this classification, they probably are using it and actually referring only or chiefly to classification A, "urban" programs.

<sup>10</sup> Hypotheses 4 and 10 are exceptions to this proposition.

<sup>11</sup> Jesse F. Steiner, "The Urbanization of Rural Recreation," *Americans at Play* (New York, 1933).

many "bees" of the agricultural past, and family recreation) and toward individual recreation of today, or, perhaps, recreation in couples.

Radio seems to offer an adaptable time pattern, in contradistinction to other town and urban recreations, most of which offered limitations to farmer participation because of the hours on which they occurred. The farmer's hours differ from urban working hours so much that that fact alone has put him under a handicap. It also took him longer to get to recreational functions, partly because of greater distance to travel and partly because it was a greater personal transition from work to urban play. At work his clothes more frankly serve physically adaptive functions, but for urban play he must change completely into clothes that serve chiefly a social function. The social contacts of urban play also demand better bathing and cleaner shaving and facials than are necessary on the tractor or in the milkhouse.

American farmers are becoming increasingly commercial, but it is still true that they deal less in ready cash than do people on pay rolls. This has meant that the farmer and members of his family are less likely to have money in their pockets at all times, and explains the additional psychological factor of less familiarity with money changing and therefore more resistance to it. These have been handicapping factors in farmer participation in the ordinary recreations which increasingly dominate American life. But radio presumably makes possible farmer participation in urban recreations without the necessity of sweeping and unlikely changes in his pecuniary folkways.

The farmer has characteristically provided recreations through his institutions, as more or less secondary functions of his church, school, family life, and neighborhood life. When investigating effects of radio on rural life, research men may profitably test the hypothesis that the radio culture complex develops new rural folkways but also to an extent reintegrates recreation with family life and certain other aspects of the rural culture.<sup>12</sup>

2. *Rural listeners demand and respond to somewhat different dialogue and music than urban listeners.*

This hypothesis must be particularly tentative. It is supported by only scattered studies (most of them probably with regional limitations), and is subject to recent and current changes known to be rapid although un-

<sup>12</sup> This latter has been called "strain toward self-consistency" by Sumner in *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

measured. It is probable that the areas where radios are fewest (see the table) have a different set of demands about dialogue and music. Many national radio programs avoid selected areas, particularly in the South. It may be found useful to test a subhypothesis that length of time of radio listening is positively correlated with adaptability to urban type words and music, other factors being held constant.

It may be that farmers demand a different style and diction of radio announcing,<sup>13</sup> a more relaxed and kindly type of humor.<sup>14</sup> It has been suggested the farmer's buying habits are meditative and slow motioned.<sup>15</sup> It is said they tire of the smart, hard Broadway type of showmanship.<sup>16</sup>

Most familiar of the suggested hypotheses about music is that rural people prefer old-time music,<sup>17</sup> hillbilly airs,<sup>18</sup> cowboy songs,<sup>19</sup> and sacred music,<sup>20</sup> and that they dislike jazz,<sup>21</sup> and classical music and grand opera.<sup>22</sup> Some of these items however were gathered by small studies and as early as 1926. All of them should perhaps be held suspect until facile statement is substantiated by more thorough research. Some of these preferences may be better correlated with age differences than with rural-urban differences. Contrary evidence is the statement by one of the major networks<sup>23</sup> that farmers like symphony music.<sup>24</sup>

This hypothesis is dangerous and difficult to check without ample data from many parts of the country. Adequate information one way or the other however would contribute greatly to knowledge of the extent of community of feeling between rural and urban radio listeners.

### 3. *Radio is reducing rural-urban social distance.*<sup>25</sup>

This hypothesis is in one sense the most obvious and most generalized in the list. It is likely to elude easy demonstration for the reason that numerous other contemporary factors are reducing rural-urban social

<sup>13</sup> Salisbury, *see* footnote 7.

<sup>14</sup> C. M. Wilson, *Money at the Crossroads* (New York, 1937).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> F. H. Lumley, *Measurement in Radio* (Columbus, Ohio, 1934).

<sup>18</sup> Morse Salisbury, "The Effect of Broadcasting upon Rural Life," *Educational Broadcasting* 1936, ed. C. S. March (Chicago, 1937), pp. 250-59.

<sup>19</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> Arthur Capper, "What Radio Can Do For the Farmer," *Radio and Education*, ed. Levering Tyson (Chicago, 1932), pp. 223-40; Salisbury, "The Effect of Broadcasting upon Rural Life," *op. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> Lumley, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> Salisbury, "The Effect of Broadcasting upon Rural Life," *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> *Report of the Director of Information* (U. S. D. A., Office of Information, 1935).

<sup>25</sup> Social distance in the sense of in-group acceptance, after Bogardus.

distance. Great care may well accompany efforts to test this hypothesis, and refine it further than its present speculative state. Farmers with and without radios may be studied for differential between them and their urban neighbors, holding constant factors such as extent of education, income level, and some of the more crucial of the communication factors listed in the introduction to this paper.

4. *Decreasing social distance is partially resultant from the ruralizing effect of farm broadcasts upon city listeners.*

Rural-urban social distance may obviously be lessened by adjustment on the part of either group, and if urban radios are not turned off during the many broadcasts with agricultural slanting, it may be that the increasingly urban nation has that additional contact.<sup>26</sup> It is known that the National Farm and Home Hour has many urban listeners. Political speeches over the radio in a city often refer to farmers and their problems in a manner which would not be necessary if the speech were given on an urban platform without a microphone. Emergency weather reports when heard by city dwellers could easily stimulate empathy. What have been called emergency farm policies of the federal government have called for various broadcasts from city studios.

The first step in research to develop this hypothesis would be a charting of the programs given by various radio stations, a type of case history of their program material, with an analysis of the probable extent of their listeners and the percentages that are urban. Listening habits studies in the urban radio audience would throw further light on the problem.

5. *The impact of radio is greater upon rural than upon city listeners.*

This would follow from the general analysis which indicates that the radio is located in the city and is an urban culture complex.<sup>27</sup> The nature of the complex is more rural than urban, and therefore its diffusion into both areas has a differential modifying effect, changing the unlike rural ways of life more than the already similar urban ways of life.

This hypothesis seems particularly difficult to test. Case studies of

<sup>26</sup> Salisbury, *Radio and the Farmer, op. cit.*, p. 146, wrote, "For the first time in history [radio] has given city people some comprehension of the economic problem of the farmer, and some understanding of the fact that permanent city prosperity cannot be founded on farm poverty." Of course, urban people may be irritated by the farm broadcasts. This would increase social distance.

<sup>27</sup> "[It is] clear that the radio is primarily an urban phenomenon," wrote Malcolm M. Willey and Stuart A. Rice in "The Agencies of Communication," *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933), pp. 166-217.



families through a period in which they acquire their first radios may be helpful. This would probably be best done in the regions where radio is now least prevalent. Other studies could check the effects of some specific appeal over the radio upon both urban and rural families. Lack of as many competing stimuli in the case of farm families should contribute to the effect suggested by the hypothesis. Parallel studies of the urban effects of hypotheses 1 and 3 may contribute to clarifying this proposition.

Should radio be found to have greater effects upon children than on adults, this would have rural-urban implications because of the differential in age-group percentages.

6. *The acceptability of radio broadcasting, aimed at a buying public, is higher among higher-income farmers where social distance is already less.*

One of the large networks, in a bulletin intended for prospective advertising clients, said, "It is upon the buying power of the 'Grade A' farmer that country merchandising survives."<sup>28</sup>

The actual present and future effects of the commercial basis of U. S. broadcasting are not easy to state in a hypothesis of possible significance or of research utility. But it may be presumed that the larger broadcasting stations can and possibly will ignore a broad stratum of farmers. To the degree that low-income farmers are geographically localized, this neglect would be expected to be regional.<sup>29</sup>

7. *Radio is reorganizing (at the same time that it adapts to) the farmers' use of time.*

Clock watching has never fitted well into the agricultural occupation, where one extra "round" may mean lunch at one o'clock instead of high noon, and two hours or so longer before sunset may salvage several hundred dollars worth of produce before the storm or frost. But radio time schedules in the United States are punctilious, and some students suggest the farmer is adapting himself to them. The National Farm and Home Hour is released from Chicago studios beginning at 11:30 A.M. and relayed two hours later to the Pacific Coast. It has been suggested<sup>30</sup> that the farm housewife has seen an effect of this regular noon-

<sup>28</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Rural broadcasting is however much less commercial than the urban, as indicated by the USDA programs and those of the land-grant colleges. This hypothesis would be useful with reference to most other broadcasting, although less applicable to the local independent stations.

<sup>30</sup> E. deS. Brunner, *Radio and the Farmer* (New York, 1935).

time broadcast. Best broadcasting hours have been variously estimated as early in the morning, from twelve to two o'clock at noon,<sup>81</sup> and in the early evening.<sup>82</sup> Farm women appear to listen fairly well throughout the morning. The studies indicate farmers still go to bed early, although there is some suggestion that farm bedtimes have been pushed into later hours.<sup>83</sup>

National Broadcasting Company estimated farmers are at home fifty-one weeks per year.<sup>84</sup> The seasonal listening of farmers is a significant aspect of the time-adaptation. In winter months some farmers have more time to listen than town and city people.<sup>85</sup> Even if the farmer avoids the urbanizing effect of radio in the summer, winter offers time to liquidate the deficit.

8. *Radio has broadened the horizon and cheered the life of farm women.*

It would seem important to chart the changes in the woman-centered family configuration<sup>86</sup> wrought by the rise of rural radio listening. The traditional loneliness of farm women has been reduced by other recent changes, but none may be more significant than radio. Family care, homemaking practices, the use of time, a new affairs-consciousness, and other aspects within the farm home may show response to the broad diet of radio broadcasting.<sup>87</sup>

9. *Radio, while providing family recreation, also lays the basis for family disharmony through programs differentially adapted to sex, age, and interest differences.*

This hypothesis arises not so much from the materials indicated in the bibliographical materials, but derives from casual observation. It was suggested earlier in this paper that some of the preferences superficially

<sup>81</sup> Steiner, *op. cit.*

<sup>82</sup> Brunner, *op. cit.*; Lumley, *op. cit.*; and Steiner, *op. cit.*

<sup>83</sup> Wilson, *op. cit.*

<sup>84</sup> N. B. C. is frankly interested in higher income farmers; other farmers probably stay home fifty-two weeks per year.

<sup>85</sup> In private conversation with the manager of the music department of one of the two great mail order houses, the author learned that musical instruments enjoy the best sale from their store in January. As merchandising goes, this is a notable phenomenon.

<sup>86</sup> Rural sociologists, most of whom are men, have been charged with seeing the rural family through male eyes. This is apparent, particularly to home economists who have recently been invading sociology through the kitchen, nursery, and living room where their colleagues through neglect left the doors open.

<sup>87</sup> A. L. Eisenberg, "Children's Interest in and Reactions to Radio Programs" (in *Education on the Air*, Institute for Education by Radio, 5th Yearbook, Columbus, Ohio, 1934), pp. 318-22; Brunner, *op. cit.*; and Report of the Director of Information, *op. cit.*

called rural may be more accurately the preferences of (rural) adults or aged people. If it should still prove true that the rural family is more patriarchal than the urban family, and more under the influence of older adults, it follows that the student should look behind "rural" preferences for possible age conflict, overt or covert.

The rural family, particularly in some areas, differs enough from the urban family that it should prove profitable to study possible age and sex differentials among rural radio listeners.

10. *Despite the levelling effect of radio, farmer class consciousness may arise from certain uses of radio.*

The unifying effect of radio may be unique among communicative devices. In a carefully compiled book,<sup>88</sup> Cantril and Allport say:

. . . it seems to be the nature of radio to encourage people to think and feel alike. . . . Any device that carries messages instantaneously and inexpensively to the furthest and most inaccessible regions, . . . that penetrates all manner of social, political, and economic barriers, is by nature a powerful agent of democracy. (Levelling?) Millions of people listen to the same thing at the same time—and they themselves are aware of the fact (p. 20). The daily experience of hearing the announcer say "This program is coming to you over a coast-to-coast network" inevitably increases our sense of membership in the national family. It lays the foundation for homogeneity (p. 21).

Salisbury seemed particularly convinced of a developing class-consciousness among U. S. farmers who have been listening for nearly a decade to reiteration of their asserted national unity and of the effects of national price levels and even international economics on farm income.<sup>89</sup>

Testing this hypothesis demands nation-wide analysis. The voting behavior of farmers and their participation in farm organization, with reference to radio appeals or campaigns, should offer useful data. It may be in this realm that some of the most significant effects of rural broadcasting will be evident.

The chief research project in the field of radio that may be postulated for rural social scientists lies in charting the psychosocial changes that may have followed from the far-flung entry of the world's broadcasting studios into the homes of American farmers. The chief problem probably is isolating radio as a factor from other communication changes. This can be done through careful statement of hypotheses precise enough to encourage meaningful investigation.

<sup>88</sup> Hadley Cantril and G. W. Allport, *The Psychology of Radio* (New York, 1935).

<sup>89</sup> See footnote 1.

The challenge to rural research in this realm is particularly acute because of the part radio has played in some countries and may well play in the United States in the growth of a great propaganda. Without a quickly mobilized knowledge of the farmer's changing mind, rural sociologists could easily be left helpless to explain changes some believe not improbable. To date, not even the large farm organizations have seemed to sense the potentialities of a controlled radio. Certain national and international changes could conceivably encourage such a step.

Other sweeping changes may be pending, following from certain technical advances which, it has been suggested, could throw instantaneously the resources of great metropolitan newspapers or national book publishers into the livingrooms of every home possessing an instrument which would be not unlike the present radio. The implications of this possibility open vistas to students of rural change. Preparation for understanding the changes that may be ahead demands understanding of the changes now in process.

# The Good American Earth

*Robert Douglas Bowden\**

## ABSTRACT

The problems of American agriculture are much deeper than an occasional cotton, wheat, or corn surplus. Likewise, any proposed remedies sufficient in scope and vitality to effect a realistic solution of them must be more drastic and fundamental than can be found in crop reduction formulas, farm debentures, or price-pegging operations. Human and social values are in the center of the picture and involve much more than economic appeasement of landlords.

To preserve these values we must preserve the stability of the family-farm as an institution, and such stability is incompatible with increasing absentee landlordism. The probable solution will involve government aid to co-operative efforts of farmers themselves to preserve their own holdings by the elimination, through legal means, of farm mortgages, sharecroppers, and all their attendant evils.

The farm problem is a perennial topic of conversation, but like Mark Twain's retort about the weather, nobody does anything effective about it. To be sure, a lot of legislative mustard poultices have been concocted and applied here and there with characteristic American abandon, but the old pain is pretty deep-seated and continues to give the victim some rather bad nights. And nightmares!

It is not too much to say that the average American citizen has no adequate conception of the brutal net of circumstances which holds the farmer, rural-farm life, and the family-farm institution in a stranglehold from which it seems impossible for him to escape, and Mr. Average Citizen doesn't appear too much concerned about it. Perhaps one reason why he doesn't seem concerned is that the farm problem has never been envisaged and treated as a single unit; one or more of its factors is brought forward occasionally and given the spot for a brief season, but never the problem as a whole. The causal factors which have been engendering this unhealthy condition are not new; they have been brewing for generations, but only recently have they emerged from the debris of raging prosperity sufficiently to allow some degree of assurance in their delineation.

The farm problem is an inclusive term embracing a number of im-

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portant factors, the more significant of which may be grouped under three heads:

First, The Family-Farm as an Institution, the Farm Community, and Their Social and Economic Needs.

Second, The Land and Its Ownership.

Third, The Land and Its Products.

These are not separate problems but are interrelated and essential factors in one big problem, and they cannot be dealt with separately any more than one can repair the radiator of a wrecked automobile and expect the entire machine to perform satisfactorily.

No proof is needed, I think, beyond the mere statement, to support the claim that the family is the fundamental unit of civilization. That is as true of the urban family, of course, as it is of the rural-farm family, but at present our interests are with the rural phase of the problem.

It is a sad commentary on our failure to create a better social order that a vast segment of farm youth today are on their way to a lower social and economic level than that enjoyed by their grandparents.

In the twenty-five years from 1910 to 1935 the population of the nation was increased by nearly forty millions, yet the population of rural America decreased slightly over the same period; this, in spite of the fact that during that period there was a net increase of farm births over farm deaths of approximately twelve millions. And during these years the farm problems have become most acute, and those persons remaining on the farms have been constantly drifting to lower economic levels.

According to the 1935 Federal Farm Census one farmer out of every six had been operating his farm less than one year. More than 60 per cent of all farmers had been operating their farms less than ten years. That owners show a much greater stability in the length of occupancy than tenants is shown by the fact that 86 per cent of the tenants had been operating their farms less than ten years. The outstanding and possibly the most important phase of the 1935 Census report, is shown in the movement of sharecropper tenants. For the South as a whole 57 per cent of the tenants had been occupying the farms operated for less than two years.

What is of transcendent importance is that for the 32 states outside the South as a group, the proportion of farms operated by tenants rose 7.4 per cent in the five-year period from 1930 to 1935, or nearly 1.5 per cent a year. The greatest increase in tenancy was in those states in

which farm tenancy was already highest; namely, in the West North Central and the East North Central divisions, the breadbasket of America. Most of these states in the great grain belt of the Mississippi basin have already more than 50 per cent of all their farms operated by tenants.

Proportionately, the decline in the per-acre value of farm land and buildings was far greater for farms operated by tenants than for those operated by owners. The drop between 1930 and 1935 in the per-acre value of tenant farms amounted to 39.2 per cent, while the per-acre value of owner-operated farms decreased only 34.6 per cent. In the South the per-acre value of tenant farms declined 40.4 per cent, while the decrease of owner-operated farms was 33.7 per cent.

It is precisely this group of twenty states that comprise the Mississippi basin where the evils of farm tenancy and absentee-landlordism are increasing most rapidly; that dust storms, soil erosion, and declining farm values present the most serious problems. For the nation as a whole, nearly one farmer out of every three is now having to supplement his income from the farm by part-time work off the farm. But for the twenty states comprising the American breadbasket the rate has been two out of every five who resort to outside work to supplement a miserably low farm income.

But perhaps the greatest tragedy among a number of tragic situations is the changed and changing philosophy of a large part of rural America. No longer is it one of hope and courage and broad visions. Instead it seems to be an acceptance of the thesis that the better things in life are not to be had on the farm and in the small village. Rural people apparently are content to accept the untried clergyman just out of seminary, or one of their own who "preaches by ear." Many of their physicians are mediocre and are expected to send the serious cases to city hospitals or specialists. The young lawyer tries his wings in his home county, then the more ambitious among them drift to the cities. The rural schools are manned by the least able and least experienced teachers whose wages on the average are below that for unskilled labor in industry, or at least not much above that level.

By whatever standard one attempts to measure the direction of the farmer's general welfare—the ominous increase in the sharecropper class, soil erosion and general decline of productivity of much of his land, the increasing instability of his home life as measured in his ever-shorter tenure, or in the appalling lag in opportunities for rural-farm

youth, or the pitifully inadequate family income—it immediately becomes apparent that the lines touching all the factors on the huge graph point downward. The problem of stopping this downward trend has occupied Congress for many years, but Congress hasn't done much toward solving the problems.

Good agricultural acres should never be made the instruments of speculative enterprises. There is no sound reason why any farmer who has proved his ability to farm shouldn't be entitled to and expected to own his own farm of sufficient size to enable him to earn an ample living income for himself and his family. He is entitled to have it well stocked with all the necessary implements to enable him to do a good job. He should be required to improve it from year to year in accordance with the best interests of the total national welfare. *It should be made forever free from the threat of foreclosure for taxes or debts.*

All this, of course, would require a profound change in our whole philosophy of rural life and its concomitants. First, it would be necessary to set up a National Agricultural Corporation with ample authority and resources to rejuvenate farm life in the United States by stabilizing the family-farm unit. Such a corporation would be the general policy-making body which would operate through regional or area boards, which in turn would stimulate and direct local groups in the administration of their own business.

The National Agricultural Corporation should have power

(1) To force

- (a) nonfarm owners of agricultural lands to surrender their acreage to the Corporation in turn for cash or its bonds, the value of such land to be determined on an annual average production basis, and
- (b) corporate farms or estates and individuals with large holdings to reduce such holdings to one-family farms.

Of course this would require some time for full realization, for there should be no attempt at confiscation, but over a period of ten to twenty years the principal objectives could be accomplished. Wherever it becomes necessary to use coercion the public interest should always be paramount in forcing the transfer of ownership from the individual to the Corporation;

- (2) To issue bonds and securities as obligations of the Government to replace obligations now held by private individuals or financial institutions against individual farms;
- (3) To outlaw farm mortgages held by private individuals or financial institu-



tions by making it possible for the mortgagor to transfer his indebtedness from all other holders to the Corporation.

This would require some years to accomplish, for all contractual obligations would have to be honored. If both parties to the mortgage could agree, the transfer could be made at any time, otherwise maturity date would have to be awaited for refinancing. Provision would, of course, have to be made to prevent any new mortgages being legalized;

- (4) To sell to bonafide farmers land thus secured on long-term notes at an interest rate determined only by the cost of administration. In addition the Corporation should extend cash loans on the same basis and in sufficient amounts to enable the farmer to equip his farm and home.

It is as logical to expect a skilled carpenter to construct a first-class home without tools or blueprints as to expect a farmer to make good without tools to work with. And those tools, in the larger sense, since we are speaking of the family-farm as a unit, include all the necessary farm and livestock equipment as well as a modernly equipped home in which to care for a growing family. He is entitled to the help of his government in the beginning of his struggle in the same sense and for the same reason that railroads, or any other of hundreds of corporations, needed cash advances before they could start functioning. Each family-farm institution should be viewed in the beginning, in the words of the economist, as a "going concern";

- (5) To furnish equipment, fertilizers, and guidance to farmers in all efforts toward rehabilitating the soil, forest lands, and a satisfactory community life; and
- (6) To stimulate through an Educational and Planning Committee local co-operatives, both consumers' and marketing, administered at all times in harmony with the ideal of local autonomy.

We should not make the mistake of thinking of this necessary re-organization in terms of bureaucracy. Far from it. After the required steps of breaking, by force if necessary, the pattern of absentee-landlordism and concentrated economic control, the individual farmer would remain entirely free to accept help or reject it. He might continue to be a sharecropper if he so desired. He would not be required to purchase a farm, but the opportunity for him to do so should be presented. He should be required to qualify before being allowed to purchase, such qualification being determined according to standards set up in the Department of Agriculture and administered by local committees. In other words, we are to maintain local autonomy and responsibility as we do in our public school system.

I believe it can be asserted without need of proof or argument that a great many people of the present generation couldn't make good if a farm were donated to them. They have been sharecroppers or renters so long that any abilities of management, thriftiness, or sustained effort they may have possessed at one time have been crushed out of them. The tragic truth is that they are hopeless and no plan can do much for them. *But the next generation can be saved*, and that is the sum total of my interest in revitalizing the entire farm problem from the ground up. If we don't do something very worth while the next generation will have a larger percentage of "worthless, landless, penniless, spiritless, spineless," individuals than are to be found in the present one.

The principle of democratic procedure is all-important. The whole co-operative movement in Denmark has been by the independent, voluntary activity of the farmers themselves. While the conditions with us are quite different from what they were in Denmark seventy-five years ago, if we are to save ourselves in America, solid planning and work and constant watchfulness must come from the grass-roots of our rural life. Secretary Wallace says: "As long as the community co-operative spirit is not behind them [consumers' co-operatives] they are not so greatly different from such old line business organizations as are willing to pro-rate back part of their profits in order to retain their customers. Most of our farm co-operatives . . . tend to be somewhat similar to established American business in the respective lines."<sup>1</sup>

If the American farmer, through consumers' and marketing co-operatives, can follow the products of his labor to the ultimate consumer there should be little need of restrictive quotas and price-fixing. Using Denmark again as a basis of comparison, the middleman in that country has been practically eliminated from the scene so that the consumer gets ninety-five cents worth of consumers' goods for his dollar. Compare that with the United States for June, 1932. " . . . For ten products combined—beef, pork, hens, butter, cheese, potatoes, flour, bread, eggs, milk—the processors, distributors, and other food handlers . . . took in June, 1932, 68.8 cents of the consumers' dollar."<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, if the farmer has to attend meetings and carry on the farmers' business, act as middleman, processor, as well as producer, act on boards of directors, and the like, he is going to get a wide experience in attending to the farmers' business, which is all to the good. But

<sup>1</sup> Henry A. Wallace, *Whose Constitution?* (New York, 1936), p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> USDA BAE Report for June, 1936, p. 10.

until that experience is possible for a large number and until the purchasing power of other elements in our population can be raised, the National Agricultural Corporation should be called into play to bridge the gap between the farmer's minimum needs and his gross income.

Let us consider the case of John Doe, age thirty, married, with a wife and four children. Because of circumstances over which he has had no control we find him in 1938 reduced to the status of a sharecropper. He is a competent farmer but finds himself cultivating land of diminishing fertility. He has moved twice in three years. The owner of his new place lives in the city and doesn't care a lot about the farm except as a source of income. He won't spend a lot of money in rehabilitating the soil, and neither will John Doe, consequently we may reasonably expect that within a period of twenty years at least one-half of his present farm will have to be taken out of cultivation as submarginal. John Doe's children are growing and they need access to good schools, opportunities for relaxation and social growth, the chance to grow socially, mentally, and culturally. But John Doe moves to a different farm every second year, or perhaps every year. His cash income is \$220 a year, with the prospects a little better than even that it will not increase nearly so rapidly as the needs of his growing family. The wife and mother has become a household drudge with few or no mechanical gadgets to help her. She is becoming lined and prematurely worn and gray.

The two older children are girls. Their education at best will be of an indifferent sort, their religion neglected, and they become socially starved. Somewhere between the ages of sixteen and twenty one of them will get married to a village clerk with an income of \$20 a week, and the other one will drift to the city to join the ever-increasing army of job-hunters or part-time, underpaid workers. The boys will never have an interest in farming, or it will be killed by the drives of poverty and want they see all about them, but not having had any opportunity to secure a technical education or learn a skilled trade, their lot is a gloomy one. One possibly will get married to a farm girl and join the ranks of sharecroppers, and the other will accept some sort of government relief in the city. Thus in one generation all the cultural vitality and the potentialities of successful citizens will be lost to the nation. John Doe will have succeeded merely in perpetuating his poverty in kind, so far as American rural life is concerned, and he will have added a like burden to the increasing masses of underprivileged urban population. He will die some years before his wife does, leaving her penniless and alone.

This picture is not overdrawn, and it can be multiplied more than three million times in the United States today, for nearly half of the more than six and a quarter million rural farm families, at least in the better agricultural regions, are tenants and sharecroppers. According to the 1935 Agriculture Census the percentage of farms operated by tenants in a few of the states are as follows:

Kansas . . . . .	44.0	Illinois . . . . .	44.5
Mississippi . . . . .	69.8	Nebraska . . . . .	49.3
Iowa . . . . .	49.6	So. Dakota . . . . .	48.6
Georgia . . . . .	65.9	Alabama . . . . .	63.0

Now let us look at John Doe in different circumstances. In 1938 he was given an opportunity through the National Agricultural Corporation to purchase a farm and to borrow money enough to equip it properly, plus enough to build a modern home. According to the rules of the Corporation he knows he can secure the money for a period of 40 years at a rate of interest determined by the cost of administration but never exceeding 4 per cent. For the first five years he will not have to pay anything on either principal or interest. He knows that he can build a modern home at once and have a central heating plant, landscaping, electricity. He can find a building site out on the improved road near the homes of a couple of neighbors who are beginning a new life like himself. He knows he can begin to diversify his crops and that he will not be left to his own devices about such things as soil conservation, fertilizers, marketing, credit, etc. He knows also that when he dies, leaving a family behind him, all further payments on the farm will be cancelled and that his wife will have a home as long as she and the children live.

One of the sons, or both, or a son-in-law, may take over the obligations, assume proprietorship, and maintain the homestead. He knows that no one will ever be able to foreclose for debt, for he cannot borrow money on the farm's security, and taxes are assessed on yearly production instead of on improvements or unearned increments. Of course he won't be able to sell the farm home the very first time some war scare blows up, or some real estate agent sees a chance for commission. If he ever wants to sell, it will be back to the Corporation for exactly what he paid for it plus improvements.

Most important, for the first time in his life he has basic security for himself and family with an assured fundamental stability for the future. He can now plan a life's work and the enjoyment of a well-supported

home. He can now give attention to creating better cultural advantages for his children, more leisure for his wife, better community life—first class schools, churches, and a more normal social life.

What would it mean to the United States to be able to multiply that picture by three million by the end of this generation? How much is the opposite picture costing in misery, lowered income, relief, and decayed humanity? Both are incalculable.

Fortunately we have at hand rich evidence of the success of agricultural regeneration. More than half a century ago Denmark launched a vigorous assault upon her stubborn farm problem and has ever since followed the policy of aiding the small farmer to become stabilized.<sup>\*</sup> In that country as well as in some other Scandinavian countries, a complete renaissance has taken place which has touched every phase of Danish life—social, economic, religious, political.

In the beginning of the struggle more than 90 per cent of the farmers of Denmark were tenants; today less than 5 per cent of them are non-owners. It has paid Denmark rich rewards. Of all farms in that country 85 per cent are supplied with electricity; in the United States less than 12 per cent are so supplied.

Admittedly any plan such as is proposed here would require a considerable initial outlay of money and effort on the part of the Government, but eventually every cent of cash advance would be returned to the Government. Even if considerable loss should be sustained, would it be as great as the loss we sustain annually in the millions wasted in futile experiments with crop loans, restrictive programs, and the like, which aid the owners of large fertile tracts but penalize the renters and sharecroppers? Or in the enormous loss in top soil by erosion? Or, most important of all, in the deterioration of rural-farm life and the degradation of the human element?

Again, can we afford the cost of not doing it?

There is plenty of evidence on every hand to warn us that if we allow the present trends to continue another generation or two, we won't have enough rural vitality left to generate any sort of solution. The basic unit of civilization is the family, and basic social values can arise only out of a stabilized and spiritually enriched family life.

We are beginning to realize that the American farm problem is not an accumulation of six and a quarter million individual problems; it is one national problem and must be dealt with as such. It is not a problem

<sup>\*</sup> Josephine Goldmark, *Democracy in Denmark* (Washington, 1936), p. 10.

primarily of how much shall be produced in a single year; it is not a problem merely of resettling a few thousand destitute farm families each year; it is not one primarily of landownership versus sharecroppers. It must be one of nationwide effort to recreate and stabilize the all-important human values that can arise only out of an economically and socially stable farm life.

If we are to secure these important solutions and conditions for rural-farm life in the United States we must conserve the cream of the crop of young men and women who are now drifting to the white lights in search of some imaginary advantage, advantages which can be provided in abundance in a rich rural life.

The solution of this major problem in our present-day civilization will go far toward laying the ground work for the solution of problems of urban congestion. And no price is too high to pay for these solutions.

# Notes

## DOES INCREASING URBANIZATION OF THE RURAL AREAS REQUIRE A RE-EXAMINATION OF SOME OF OUR BASIC POSTULATES?

All rural sociologists agree that rural society is characterized by primary group contacts with their resulting intimacy and knowledge of one's neighbor's affairs, as contrasted with urban society which is characterized by secondary group contacts and personal anonymity. It is true that nearly all writers have commented on the breakdown of the rural neighborhood and the growth of interest groups, but most rural research has nevertheless implied this differentiation between the urban and rural. A recent house-to-house check of some Minnesota areas previously covered by a mail questionnaire has raised a question as to the validity of this assumption. Each farmer was asked for population changes on his own farm and also on the farms of his neighbors.

In making this check six or eight returned schedules were selected at random within each of three sample counties, and the farm reporter who returned each schedule was visited. He was first asked whether or not he would change the original schedules after thinking it over, and then was asked which farms he reported on. These other farms were then visited and the same information obtained directly from the neighbors in the manner called for on the original schedule submitted by our correspondent. Finally, the results of the house-to-house census were compared with the original schedules.

Many correspondents were quite vague as to the changes in hired help on adjacent farms, or even as to the presence or absence of this help. In the case of tenant neighbors or "reliefers" they were often uncertain as to the total number of children.

The results of the house-to-house check of the reports of 20 correspondents in three widely separated counties showed inaccuracies in these reports. In only 4 out of the 20 cases did the correspondent report the same total number of persons as were found on a house-to-house census. The cumulative difference is not large, but individual cases show an astonishing variance. These 20 correspondents reported a total of 618 persons on their own or adjacent farms; a census revealed 633 persons. But one correspondent reported 16 persons on five farms which by census count had 21, another 26 persons on six farms which by count had 33 persons. Furthermore, comings and goings of grown children of neighbors were often omitted.

The number of cases involved is small, but the results were so surprisingly consistent all over the state as to raise the question Is the rural neighborhood as a primary group disintegrating at a much faster pace than is ordinarily assumed?

If this hypothesis were verified it would give rise to many interesting problems both in the field of research and in the field of rural organization. For example,

for a number of years social workers have been attacking the idea that local administrators of relief were desirable because of their knowledge of their neighbors. They have repeatedly urged that this knowledge of the local people is often incomplete or even totally fallacious. May it not be that modern transportation and communication facilities have gone far along the way toward giving the farm family much of the anonymity of the city family? May not the intrusion of new nonfarm occupied groups, a growing tenancy system, and a new class of people dependent on public funds be introducing a degree of rural stratification that is hastening the breakup of the neighborhood?

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### BROADWAY'S PICTURE OF RURAL AMERICA

It has sometimes been remarked that New Yorkers are the most provincial people in the world. Whatever the truth of this statement, it is certainly true that the notions of rural America that New Yorkers derive from the popular plays of Broadway are fantastic in the extreme. Naturally their attitudes come from many sources, but the vividness of dramatic presentation makes the play peculiarly important. Rural sociologists may be interested in knowing the type of rural plays that have received the most enthusiastic support from New York theatregoers. The notes that follow are based entirely upon the outstandingly popular plays of the postwar years—plays that have run for at least six months on Broadway. The total audience that has witnessed each of these plays has probably ranged from something in the neighborhood of one hundred thousand to several millions. All the popular plays of the period have been examined in order to avoid presenting a distorted picture.

Social attitudes regarding rural life derive from many sources. Novels, movies, and short stories help to build up the average person's usually inaccurate views. The importance of the popular play as a source of rural attitudes derives not alone from its vividness but from the wide audience it reaches. Frequently it is made into a movie, used as a radio skit, and commented upon in syndicated newspaper columns, thus reaching a mass audience. The popular play is also used extensively by amateur theatre groups in all parts of the country and by the increasingly popular summer theatres. In printed form the plays are widely read.

The regular theatregoer of the past twenty years has had deposited in his mind layer after layer of material relating to rural life in various parts of these United States. This material is here reviewed with the title indicated of the play from which it comes. New England, for example, seems to be inhabited by the repulsive Puritans who have so much trouble with their sex life. Even in the days of the American Revolution a Puritan minister objected to *bundling*, that innocent pastime by which a young couple withstands the rigors of winter by getting in bed together (*The Pursuit of Happiness*). In those days the New Englanders were most cruel to the illegitimate child (*The Devil's Disciple*). The farms of the area are bleak, sometimes being inhabited by flinty old men who are hated by their children. It may be that after the mother has died from the heavy



farm work the old father will marry a young woman who will become the mother of a child by her stepson. Later she will kill this child to prove to the stepson that she loves him (*Desire under the Elms*). Part of New England is inhabited by the strange and violent Portuguese. When the Portuguese son is going wrong, and in fact steals a necklace so that he may go on the stage with a worthless city flapper, his mother uses strong-arm methods. She drugs the boy and has him put aboard a sailing vessel that will not touch port for a long, long time (*My Son*).

The southwestern part of the United States is the area where the theatregoers expects to find the desperadoes. A modern Robin Hood will kill and rob to smooth the way for young love, and after he has the charming young couple headed for the altar, this desperado will go on his way, happy in a day's work well done (*The Bad Man*). In the bright Arizona sunshine one may find strange people: Pittsburghers who have come out to die, but who are really so powerful they can down the best of the natives; wandering novelists who beg gangsters to turn the machine gun on them so that the newly met girl friend may get the insurance money; eastern bankers too stingy to lend a stranded motorist a gallon of gas; super-patriotic American Legionnaires; and, of course, plenty of gangsters (*The Petrified Forest*, *The Nervous Wreck*).

The greater part of California seems to be filled with the frantic addleheaded folk of Hollywood, and that is hardly rural (*Merton of the Movies*, *Once in a Lifetime*, *Boy Meets Girl*). There are also some farmers, particularly an old Italian farmer. He gets his wife by the correspondence method and she becomes pregnant by the hired man of the old farmer, but all ends happily when the Italian forgives this irregularity (*They Knew What They Wanted*).

The old South is often touched upon in the theatre. Here the Negro who varies in the slightest degree from the required pattern of his race is frequently lynched or shoots himself before the lynch mob arrives, but before reaching his own violent end usually kills the white man who has wronged him (*In Abraham's Bosom*, *Mulatto*). The religion of these Negroes is a naïve, poetic and anthropomorphic version of Christianity (*The Green Pastures*). In the South there are also the white sharecroppers who live along Tobacco Road. When the grandma of the sharecropper's family fails to return from the woods no one bothers to go out and look for her—not even the feeble-minded son nor the harelipped daughter. Courtship among these degenerate folk consists of horseing, in which the young couple sit back to back on the ground and rub their shoulders together. The family income derives from petty thieving, and religious instruction is given by a former prostitute. Marriage is by wife purchase, but sometimes the contract fails to hold even though as much as seven dollars changes hands in the transaction. The mother may wish to save her favorite daughter from marriage for the glorious life of a mill-hand in Augusta. (The father of this favorite daughter was never married to her mother.) (*Tobacco Road*).

In the mountains of the old South live the moonshiners who regard the "revinooers" as legitimate game. But when the mountain boy goes to the World War and is killed, his spirit returns to counsel his mother not to kill the son of the very "revinooer" that had killed Pappy (*Sun Up*). A young girl is some-

times betrayed in the mountains. When the same man who had ruined mother also ruins her daughter, the mother takes an old potato knife and kills him (*The Shame Woman*).

Scattered about in rural America there seem to be many wayside inns and tourists' stopping places where crime and other strange doings abound. Here kid-nappers stay with the infant they hold for ransom, and here the strangely deluded insane add many complications to life—and death. One also observes the movie queen whose imported car has broken down and who must stop overnight at a tourist establishment. She likes the filling station attendant and plans to take him back to Hollywood with her, but in this case virtue triumphs and the local girl keeps her man (*The Tavern, Post Road, Personal Appearance*).

One may grow wealthy, one learns in the theatre, from rural America. Oil wells offer such excellent possibilities that occasionally oil stock purchased from a swindler will bring in a gusher and a flood of easy money (*The Potters*). Wealth may also be acquired by inventing a cure for hog cholera, buying up infected pigs and curing them. Of course one needs a little capital even for such a promising venture, but this may be acquired by the girl friend through a bit of blackmail (*Pigs*). One may also gain financial aid for a great invention by being kind to the persecuted stranger who chances to be in the village (*Welcome Stranger*). Murder and robbery are also avenues to wealth (*The Bad Man*); allowing an eccentric artist to live in the barn is another. After the artist dies his paintings will prove priceless, but it is important to see that the maid does not become his common-law wife. In this case she will have title to all the paintings (*The Late Christopher Bean*).

The American village, to the individual addicted to popular plays, is a strangely contradictory locale. On the one hand it is filled with murders, suicides, electrocutions and ex-convicts (*Coquette, An American Tragedy, One Sunday Afternoon*); on the other hand it is the dull abode of mean-spirited people. Here the congregation will not pay the minister adequately unless forced to do so, the village banker is a hypocrite who profits from bootlegging, the village doctor is the soul of avarice who tries to cheat his servant of her sudden wealth, the village dentist has served a sentence for threatening his employer with a pistol, and the only heroic figure seems to be the village drunkard (*Thank You, The Old Soak, The Late Christopher Bean, One Sunday Afternoon*).

When the village meets the city, either individually or en masse, the village generally loses. Sometimes the traveling card shark gathers up all the loose change. (Naturally, he pays off the widow's mortgage before he moves on.) When there is an oil boom in the village it is the visiting lawyer who takes charge of things, downs the local crooks, and marries the only girl. But sometimes the small town man triumphs over the city slicker, buys out the Broadway show which immediately becomes a tremendous hit and brings him wealth and happiness. (*Alias the Deacon, The Meanest Man in the World, The Butter and Egg Man*).

One final question may be raised. In the years since the World War, has the picture of rural America presented on Broadway undergone any significant

change? And the answer must be Yes. Most of the extreme caricatures were offered before 1927. And at the end of the period *Tobacco Road* made its appearance and is still on Broadway as these lines are written. This play—with all its absurd extravaganza as to characters and unconvincing melodrama as to situations—does touch on some of the real social problems of rural life. Isolation is apparent, as is depletion of the soil through neglect, and the poverty that naturally accompanies these. For many Broadwayites the sharecropper's existence dates from *Tobacco Road*. Of course, only the most naïve could accept the final situation of the play wherein the dying mother uses her last ounce of strength to bite her husband's hand to secure the freedom of her daughter!

In general it may be said that the Broadway theatregoer has acquired many facts about rural life that are not so and has taken over many attitudes that in the light of the real facts are highly absurd.

University of Pennsylvania

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# Current Bulletins

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## LEVELS OF LIVING

" . . . the level of family income and the size of the family are the chief determinants of" *The Worker's Standard of Living*.<sup>1</sup> An International Labor Office publication, which analyzes workers' food, housing, health, and literacy in the United States, Poland, India, and Japan, and discusses the theoretical and practical means of obtaining indices of the standards of living of workers, concludes that "the intensity of poverty at the lower income levels is greatest since the largest families are found consistently in the lower per unit income groups." Using data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Home Economics, it was calculated that only 27 per cent of the croppers on farms in the Southeast were well nourished. It was estimated that if Warsaw workers allocated 50 per cent of their expenditure for food, only 29 per cent of the families in the working class districts would have incomes sufficient to purchase adequate diets. Diet surveys of agricultural and nonagricultural families in India indicate that only a few families in higher income brackets are adequately nourished. A recommended well-balanced diet which falls far below dietary standards in the Western World is of little practical value in India. There are "many parts of India" in which "it would be hard to find a worker whose diet reaches it." A study of almost a thousand wage earners' families in ten Japanese cities indicates that only under maximum conditions of efficient preparation and choice could 75 per cent of the families escape being undernourished on their present incomes.

"Six million non-farm homes and five million farm homes in the United States, or over a third of all the homes of the nation are estimated to be definitely sub-standard" i.e., they do not furnish each occupying family with running water, with indoor flush toilet for exclusive use, with bathtub or shower, or with a sewer in case the community is built up. In Poland, 45 per cent of all urban dwellings and 72 per cent of one-room urban dwellings were overcrowded, i.e., had more than two persons per room. Ninety per cent of the urban and most rural dwellings lacked the combination of sewer connections, running water, electricity and gas. In Bombay, 33 per cent of the population lives in rooms occupied by five persons at a time, and one per cent, or 15,000 persons, live in rooms occupied by twenty or more persons at a time. "Only four per cent of the population live in conditions which insure privacy and domestic seclusion." In the rural areas conditions are little better.

<sup>1</sup> *The Worker's Standard of Living*, International Labour Office Studies and Reports B-30 (Geneva, 1938). 101 pp.

*Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*,<sup>2</sup> based upon field interviews with 733 open-country farm families and 83 village non-farm families in two Kentucky counties of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau and in two North Carolina counties of the Blue Ridge subregion of the Appalachians, presents the following findings and makes comparisons with previous studies of family living in the area:

1. The average values of living, including the values of all goods and services consumed, were \$662, \$426, and \$798 per family for open-country owners, open-country tenants, and village families; per capita, they were \$143, \$87, and \$210. Few studies of farm families have indicated such low values.

2. Less than onehalf of the value of living for the farm families was purchased; 83 per cent of that for the village families was purchased.

3. The open-country families produced relatively large proportions of their food on the farms. The owners produced 76 per cent; the tenants, 68 per cent.

4. Considered together, expenditures for social participation, education, and reading absorbed \$20, \$4, and \$36 respectively from the total expenditures of open-country owners and tenants and village families.

5. The open-country families derived only 36 per cent of their total cash receipts from the sale of farm products. Thirty-five per cent accrued from wages.

6. Of the male heads of 724 open-country families giving farming as their chief occupation in 1935, the year of the study, 200, or 28 per cent, were not farming in 1930. One half of these new farmers had been unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled laborers; 17 per cent had been farm laborers; 20 per cent had not been gainfully employed; and the remainder were professional men, clerks, and proprietors.

7. Indications are that the new farmers were frequently recruited from persons reporting no change of dwelling from 1930 to 1935. Loss of nonfarm employment caused many of these individuals to report themselves as farmers. This explains in part why census figures exaggerate the back-to-the-land movement.

8. Open-country owner and tenant and village male heads had completed 6.4, 5.2, and 6.8 school grades respectively. The amount of education is positively correlated with total value of family living.

*The Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities*<sup>3</sup> have been studied with the view to establishing a starting point from which future attainments may be measured. The resettlement projects studied were Penderlea Homesteads in North Carolina, Cumberland Homesteads in Tennessee, Ashwood Plantation in South Carolina, Skyline Farms in Alabama, Dyess Colony in Arkansas, Ropesville Farms in Texas, and Bosque Farms in New Mexico.

<sup>2</sup> C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, USDA SRR X (Washington, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 59 pp.

<sup>3</sup> C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr., *Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities*, USDA SRR XI (Washington, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 93 pp.

1. Inasmuch as most of the projects were comparatively new, farm operations were limited. However, families living on projects furnished 43 per cent of the total family living as compared with 44 per cent for the families studied prior to resettlement.

2. The cash incomes of families living on the projects averaged \$843, while the average cash receipts of the families studied previous to resettlement were \$586. Families living on the projects received 39 per cent of the total cash receipts from wages—principally from employment at construction work on the various projects—and 35 per cent in the form of loans from the government. Families studied previous to resettlement received 26 per cent of the total cash receipts from the sale of farm products and 47 per cent from wages of the male head or other members of the family.

3. The average amount of investment other than farm for the families living on the project was \$16, and for the families studied previous to resettlement, \$7.

4. The average number of school grades completed by the male heads ranged from 4.3 for those at Cumberland Farms to 9.7 for those at Ropesville.

5. Among the groups living on the projects there was a great variation in the total value of living, ranging from \$532 to \$1,078 for Cumberland Farms and Bosque, respectively. Among the families studied previous to resettlement the range was more limited—from \$667 for Dyess to \$928 for Penderlea.

Accounts kept by 1,618 households for two months in the Union of South Africa form the basis for an *Inquiry into Expenditures of European Families in Certain Urban Areas*, 1936.<sup>4</sup> Analysis indicated that the higher the incomes the less the proportion of the total expended for the items: food, fuel and light, rent, and rates (for water and the like). With the exception of clothing, for which equal proportions of the budget in the various income brackets were expended, practically all other items demonstrated the reverse tendency; that is, the higher the income the larger the proportions of the budget expended.

On the basis of a Bureau of Home Economics study of family expenditures, it is estimated that the average farm family in the United States spends \$51, or 8 per cent of its total family budget, for medical care, medicines, and drugs.<sup>5</sup> By regions farm families in the East South Central spent least (\$44), those in the Pacific states most (\$74). Although there is little proof that rural people have less need for medical services than do urban people, "it appears that urban areas have roughly double the per capita medical facilities that rural areas have." This is especially true of available physicians, dentists, registered optometrists, nurses, and hospitals. Prices for the various medical fees have been compiled and index numbers for 1910-14, 1924-29, 1932, and 1935-36 have been constructed. The data are based primarily on mailed questionnaires sent to physicians, dentists, and "oculists and optometrists" in 200 counties in nineteen states.

<sup>4</sup> *Report on the Inquiry into the Expenditure of European Families in Certain Urban Areas*, 1936, Minister of the Interior, Union of South Africa (Pretoria, 1937). 83 pp.

<sup>5</sup> *Prices Paid by Farmers for Commodities and Services: Medical Service Rates to Farmers*, Income Parity for Agriculture, Part III, Section 1 (Washington, August, 1938). Mimeographed, 27 pp.

There exists a high relationship between the quality of agricultural land and levels of living in twenty-nine Michigan counties.<sup>6</sup> This is demonstrated by rank correlation coefficients between land ratings for counties established by soil experts and standards of living (as calculated from available facilities as reported by the census), retail sales per capita, average value of farm dwellings, percentage of families not on relief, and percentage of children fourteen to seventeen years of age at school, these coefficients being .61, .62, .75, .74 and —.03 respectively. The proportion of children in secondary school is not closely related to other indices of the level of living or to the quality of the soil. This is to be explained by the difference in the value which the various groups, especially nationality groups, place upon attaining advanced education. To a well-to-do German farmer it may be more important that his son start life for himself on a good farm than that he possess a high school education.

Total living earnings on 194 small Puerto Rican tobacco farms consisted of \$396, of which \$221 was cash and the remainder furnished.<sup>7</sup> Not including income from labor off the farm, the cash labor income of these families of 7.9 members was 80c per day.

#### FARM LABOR AND MECHANIZATION

The amount of *Seasonal Employment in Agriculture*<sup>8</sup> for both family and hired labor for the type of farming areas as well as for the nation as a whole is presented in graphic form by months in a Works Progress Administration report. In addition graphic descriptions of monthly employment by type of work on typical farms is included. Basis for the publication are Census and United States Department of Agriculture reports. Facts of interest are the following: The 1935 census reports that approximately 1,645,602 hired workers were employed on farms during January. In August of the same year there were 2,752,883, an increase of 1,107,281 workers. Forty per cent of the laborers working in August were employed on farms on which there was only one hired man. Of 11,000,000 persons employed on farms in 1935, 78 per cent were operators or members of operators' families and 22 per cent were hired wage workers. Farming is "essentially a family business" but one characterized by high seasonality of employment. Agricultural employment for the nation is at its height in July and October for hired labor, and June and October for family labor. During winter months both hired and family labor is at its lowest ebb.

*Trends in Employment in Agriculture 1909-36*<sup>9</sup> have been downward as indi-

<sup>6</sup> Harold A. Gibbard, *Agricultural Land Ratings and the Farmers' Levels of Living*, Michigan State College AES Quarterly Bulletin XX (East Lansing, February, 1938), pp. 127-94.

<sup>7</sup> Jorge J. Serrallés, Jr., R. Colón Torres, and Frank J. Juliá, *Analysis of the Organization and Factors Influencing the Returns on 194 Small Tobacco Farms in Puerto Rico, 1935-1936*, University of Puerto Rico AESB 46 (San Juan, March, 1938). 50 pp.

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin J. Free, *Seasonal Employment in Agriculture*, WPA (Washington, September, 1938). 58 pp.

<sup>9</sup> Eldon E. Shaw and John A. Hopkins, *Trends in Employment in Agriculture 1909-36*, WPAB A-8 (Philadelphia, November, 1938). 163 pp.

cated by a nine per cent decline for family workers and thirteen per cent decline for hired laborers. However, output per person engaged in agriculture increased over onethird during the period. The influence of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the drought decreased the output per person in 1936, but during the period as a whole greatest gains in output per person were in areas where the rates of mechanization were greatest and where the number of horses declined most. Written exposition and graphic description of trends as well as seasonal variations for types of farming areas and the nation are presented.

*Seasonal Labor Requirements for California Crops*<sup>10</sup> for the 1935-36 crop year have been estimated by counties on a monthly basis. From field investigations seasonal labor requirements for, and extent of, various crops were calculated and used in estimating labor demands in terms of man days as well as number of workers. The peak period of employment of seasonal workers is August through October during which relatively two and one half times as many man days is required as in the low period, November through April. Labor requirements are lowest in March and highest in September. Estimates indicate that during March 48,000, and during September 145,000, workers of average efficiency are required.

"The rate and the magnitude of the recent mechanization of agriculture in this country are, to put it mildly, beyond the imagination and comprehension of the average man."<sup>11</sup> During 1937 more tractors were sold for domestic use than were on farms in 1920. The greatest degree of mechanization has been attained in the North Central States, but the highest rates of increase in mechanization are at the present time to be found in the South where Mississippi leads, and in the Southwest where Texas has more tractors than all eight Old South cotton states combined. Few areas are not affected by this increased mechanization which not only deprives many farm laborers of employment, displaces tenants and even owners, but threatens the family farm. That "we can develop some efficient and stable institutions which will control the machine and give us the same social and human values which are enjoyed under a more simple agrarian organization" seems improbable.

#### RURAL RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

*An Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families*<sup>12</sup> is based upon records of 30,000 Federal Emergency Relief Administration clients who were considered for rehabilitation in 1934; records of 20,000 applicants for rehabilitation in Arkansas in 1935; 16,200 farm plans of rehabilitation clients in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Wyoming, Montana, and Colorado for 1936; and approximately 3,000 questionnaires containing information relative to progress and plans of rehabilitation families living in eight widely separated types of farming areas

<sup>10</sup> R. L. Adams, *Seasonal Labor Requirements for California Crops*, California AESB 623 (Berkeley, July, 1938). 28 pp.

<sup>11</sup> C. Horace Hamilton, *The Social Effects of Recent Trends in Mechanization of Agriculture*, Texas AESB 579 (College Station, December, 1938). Mimeographed, 14 pp.

<sup>12</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families*, USDA SRR IX (Washington, August, 1938). Mimeographed, 93 pp.



in 1936. These separate analyses indicate that the rehabilitation clients were for the most part middle-aged tenant farmers who had relatively high mobility, low educational status, large families, and were living "on economic levels that are below the minimum for decent standards of living." However, the data indicate "a likelihood that the program may perhaps veer in the direction of neglecting too many families at extremely low levels for preferences among those above them. The latter generally are better prospects for meeting loan obligations and more responsive to supervision, but they may be less in need than some of the others."

*Relief in Rural Iowa*<sup>13</sup> from October, 1936, to October, 1937, tended to fluctuate narrowly around the present level. Data from nine samples indicated that during this period county care cases did not change greatly. Excluding Works Progress Administration cases, unemployment relief decreased approximately one third, but persons receiving old age assistance increased approximately 40 per cent. For the period 1932-36 the ten counties in the state having large cities expended over \$40 per person for relief as compared with approximately \$20 in the nine "rural and small city" sample counties. Also for the state as a whole counties with large urban populations expended more per capita for relief than the more rural counties, a condition different from that in some states with poorer farm land. The increase in relief expenditures from 1920 to 1937 is presented graphically with an account of the changes in administering agencies.

*Magnitude of the Emergency Relief Program in Rural Virginia 1933-1935*<sup>14</sup> in terms of per cent of the population on relief was less than any other states except Vermont and Delaware. From July, 1934, through June, 1935, Delaware had the smallest (7.1) and South Dakota the largest (36.6) proportion of their total population on relief. These percentages for Iowa and Virginia were 10.7 and 8.6 respectively. Notwithstanding the fact that per capita farm income for Virginia (\$162) in 1930 was less than one half that for the nation (\$309) and annual manufacturing industrial wages for Virginia (\$818) less than three fifths those for the nation (\$1,425), for the period under consideration only seven per cent of the Virginia population as compared with thirteen per cent of the population of the nation was on relief. During January, 1935, the average monthly relief benefits per relief family in Virginia (\$14) were less than half those of the nation (\$30). In June, 1935, one person in nine was on relief in Virginia towns and cities as compared with one in thirteen in rural areas.

Up to October 1, 1937, a total of 1,566 surveys and studies have been completed by Works Progress Administration employees.<sup>15</sup> "More than 539 of these

<sup>13</sup> R. E. Wakeley and A. H. Anderson, *Relief in Rural Iowa*, Iowa AESB 377 (Ames, September, 1938). 42 pp.

<sup>14</sup> B. L. Hummel and C. G. Bennett, *Magnitude of the Emergency Relief Program in Rural Virginia, 1933-1935*, Virginia WPAB (Rural Relief Series) 1 (Blacksburg, November, 1937). Mimeographed, 88 pp.

<sup>15</sup> *Inventory—An Appraisal of Results of the Works Progress Administration* (Washington, Spring, 1933). 100 pp.

were planning surveys for designated planning agencies. The bulk of them were local in scope, although about one fifth were State-wide and several Nation-wide. The remaining 1,027 research and statistical studies were mainly local in character. . . ."

#### RURAL YOUTH

A report<sup>16</sup> by the Works Progress Administration summarizes the available data on rural youth and supplements them with an evaluation of the situation and prospects for the future. "The long-time rural youth problem is that of an excess in numbers in relation to a dearth of rural opportunities, a situation which becomes greatly aggravated during 'hard times.'" It is expected that there will be between 500,000 and 600,000 more rural-farm youth and 500,000 more rural-nonfarm youth in 1940 than in 1930. "The [economic] alternatives presented to underprivileged farm youth appear to be three—to remain in the country at a low level of living, to go to the cities to compete for jobs at very low wages, or, if their need is sufficiently great, to obtain jobs provided by one of the governmental agencies. There is no longer new acreage to be opened up, and much hitherto cultivated land is no longer profitable." Other handicaps confronting rural youth in the selection of occupation are inadequacy of rural educational facilities and lack of vocational guidance. "The extent to which youth participate in social organizations apparently depends largely on their economic status and educational attainments." The lack of recreational activities is particularly acute in poor land areas. The report lists some of the more important governmental and nongovernmental agencies attempting to aid in solving the problems of rural youth, and recommendations are made for future programs.

A study "undertaken for the purpose of securing information which might be helpful to the South Carolina Extension Service in providing plans for a more desirable extension program to meet the needs of unmarried rural young people 16 to 25 years of age" reveals that 97 per cent of the 638 young people interviewed would like to belong to a group to consider matters of common interest.<sup>17</sup> Nine out of ten expressed a preference for meetings participated in by both young men and young women. The need for a more adequate extension program for out-of-school youth was emphasized by the fact that only 22 per cent of those interviewed were members of any organization other than church organizations and only 19 per cent were associated with the extension service. The data indicated that discussions of agriculture, homemaking, and vocational guidance and placement were particularly needed by the out-of-school young people, but that there was also a demand for a broader program to interest the 45 per cent whose choice of a vocation was one other than farming or homemaking.

<sup>16</sup> Bruce L. Melvin and Elna N. Smith, *Rural Youth: Their Situation and Prospects*, WPA RM XV (Washington, 1938). 167 pp.

<sup>17</sup> Dan Lewis, Barnard D. Joy, and Theo Vaughan, *Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People 16-25 Years of Age: South Carolina*, USDA Extension Service Circular 293 (Washington, November, 1938). Mimeographed, 37 pp. See *Rural Sociology* III (December, 1938), 452-53, for reviews of five other publications in this series relating to Connecticut, Iowa, Maryland, Oregon, and Utah.

A bulletin of the American Youth Commission<sup>18</sup> treats the subject of vocational training for older rural youth, the purpose of which is to bridge the gap between adolescence and adulthood. Several different types of programs now in operation are described.

Trends in the development of short courses in Land Grant Colleges are discussed in an American Youth Commission bulletin.<sup>19</sup> "Although there has been a decline in the total number of colleges offering short courses over the past quarter century (the number 46 in 1923 has dropped to 28 at the present time), those which have been maintained or revamped are filling a real need." Short courses in a number of colleges of agriculture are described.

#### POPULATION MOBILITY AND SUBURBANIZATION

The second bulletin in the series of *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut, Norwich: An Industrial Part-time Farming Area*<sup>20</sup> is based upon historical records and a house-to-house survey of 925 families made in 1935 and 1936. The survey data indicates that three out of every five householders moved to the area at some time subsequent to marriage. About three fifths of these newcomers settled in villages and two fifths in open country districts. Over one half of the families moving to rural Norwich since 1920 gave economic reasons for moving, the most important of these being to obtain employment in local industries, to do part-time farming, and to take advantage of cheaper rent or taxes. Many also indicated that they had young children and desired to get out of the city where there would be more room.

About one half of those who moved to the area were doing some farming. In this study of Norwich, as in the earlier study of Windsor, the more recent the arrivals the more frequently they were participants in this back-to-the-land movement. Families in that phase of the family-life cycle during which there were older children more often did some farming than did childless couples or couples with very young children.

Housing facilities of families migrating to rural Norwich were improved. The houses to which the migrants moved were relatively more spacious, possessed more modern conveniences, were more frequently single detached houses and were more frequently owned by the residents than the homes from which the families migrated.

Special analysis of social participation of the suburbanites indicated that while nine out of ten families held membership in some church, few belonged to other organizations. In general the families having memberships in the largest number of organizations had the highest educational and occupational status, and more

<sup>18</sup> Agnes M. Boynton and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Vocational Training for Older Rural Youth*, AYC (Washington, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 60 pp.

<sup>19</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Short Courses in Colleges of Agriculture*, AYC (Washington, November, 1938). Mimeographed, 39 pp.

<sup>20</sup> N. L. Whetten and R. F. Field, *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut, 2. Norwich: An Industrial Part-Time Farming Area*, Connecticut AESB 226 (Storrs, May, 1938). 121 pp.

frequently owned their homes, subscribed for local newspapers, and had lived a considerable time in the neighborhood.

*Differential Mobility Within the Rural Population in 18 Iowa Townships, 1928 to 1935*<sup>21</sup> is the title of a study based upon field interviews with 2,384 village and open country households. Among the significant findings reported are the following:

1. Young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years made relatively more shifts from rural areas to other rural or to urban areas than did other persons.
2. Although young men migrated farther from home than did young women, both groups moved short distances, and in most instances located in Iowa or in adjacent states. Young women left home earlier than men.
3. A smaller proportion of young people whose highest educational attainment was high school left home than did either those who had entered college or those who failed to enter high school.
4. There was a tendency for families to live exclusively either in the village or in the country. During the seven-year period over 90 per cent of the open country families had lived in the open country only, and 83 per cent of the village families had lived in the village only.
5. "Tenure status is the most important single factor associated with mobility of farm households in Iowa. The size of farm and age of farm operator appears to affect mobility only as they are associated with tenure status."
6. The depression delayed but did not stop the youth from leaving the parental home. From the study there was no proof of the existence of a back-to-the-parental-home movement. If there was such, the participants had left home again by 1935.
7. The proportion of offspring leaving the parental home was not related to the relief status of the head of the household.

#### LAND TENURE AND SOIL CONSERVATION

The "problem of soil conservation is basically one of the people's attitudes toward the land . . . and . . . the various forces obstructing conservation have their roots in the institutions and customs which grew out of the exploitive attitude characteristic of a pioneer economy."<sup>22</sup> Tenancy as such does not lead to excessive soil exploitation. Tenants who are related to landlords or tenants with stock-share leases are found to be using conservational land-use patterns similar to those of owners. On the other hand, tenants unrelated to landlords or tenants farming under crop-share leases follow practices which of necessity result in exploitation and soil erosion.

Also "exploitive land use, . . . is both cause and effect of heavy mortgage

<sup>21</sup> Ray E. Wakeley, *Differential Mobility Within the Rural Population in 18 Iowa Townships, 1928 to 1935*, Iowa AESB 249 (Ames, December, 1938). 318 pp.

<sup>22</sup> Rainer Schickele and John P. Himmel, *Socio-Economic Phases of Soil Conservation in the Tarkio Creek Area*, Iowa AESB 241 (Ames, October, 1938). 51 pp.

debts—a cause, since it is partly responsible for the over-valuation and over-encumbrance of the rolling and erodible lands; an effect, because it is the result of current pressure for immediate cash income.”

In general farmers with attitudes favorable to the conservation of the land tend to be operating under conditions allowing for a maximum of stability of tenure. They are not overburdened with debt; and, since farming is to them a way of life, their level of living in terms of housing is relatively high. Those owners who were previously tenants related to landlords climbed to ownership on essentially different ladders. There were fewer rungs symbolic of the farm laborer status and the ascent to ownership was quicker. Slightly less than one fifth of the present tenants had previously achieved ownership but most had been thrown back down the ladder by the depression.

These and other conclusions resulted from a study of *Socio-Economic Phases of Soil Conservation in the Tarkio Creek Area* in southwest Iowa and northwest Missouri. The basis for the study was field interviews and topograph and erosion rating by a single expert.

*Report and Recommendations of the Farm Tenancy Committee*<sup>23</sup> in Iowa has been published in abbreviated form by the Iowa State Planning Board. In condensed form an analysis of 4,000 carefully filled out questionnaires, hearing reports, briefs, and letters resulting from the state and county public hearings are presented.

#### RURAL ORGANIZATION

*The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization*<sup>24</sup> in fifteen rural school districts created from 1926 to 1933 in different sections of New York state has been to bring more people “into a closer relationship with the village center, which in turn brings them to buy more of their goods in this center.” Although the reorganization in some instances resulted in increased taxes for rural districts, the added facilities were used by more people and the leavening influence of the new cultural centers has had far-reaching effects. The area of acquaintances of the people has been increased, community spirit has been strengthened, and high school enrollment has increased. The fifteen new central-school districts averaged a population of 1,843 and an area of sixty-five square miles. The study, based upon observation and interviews with community merchants, leaders, and officers, concludes that “the boundaries of the school districts have been selected carefully, and that the central district may easily become an integrated-community area.”

From 1900 to 1935 there was an increase in the number of *Washington Farm Trade Centers*<sup>25</sup> amounting to 461. Considering a trade center as any hamlet,

<sup>23</sup> *Report and Recommendations of the Farm Tenancy Committee*, Iowa State Planning Board (Des Moines, October, 1938). 63 pp. The larger report was reviewed in *Rural Sociology* III (December, 1938), 462-3.

<sup>24</sup> Eugene T. Stromberg, *The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization*, Cornell AESB 699 (Ithaca, June, 1938). 39 pp.

<sup>25</sup> Paul H. Landis, *Washington Farm Trade Centers, 1900-1935*, Washington AESB 360 (Pullman, July, 1938). 39 pp.

village, town, or city which is listed in Dun and Bradstreet's reference book of ratings, it has been found that about 40 per cent of the trade center population of the state lives in unincorporated places of 0-2500 population. Trade centers of from 250 to 2,500 population include only 48 per cent of the rural nonfarm population of the state, a fact which disproves the belief that practically all of the rural nonfarm population lives in such centers. Compared with the United States as a whole, Washington state has a much smaller percentage of its rural nonfarm population living in trade centers; these percentages being 70 and 55 respectively.

During the twentieth century trade center population increased 200 per cent but the number of trade centers increased only 15 per cent. Smaller trade centers are of relatively less importance since the passage of the horse-and-buggy days but 61 per cent of all trade centers in the state had less than five business units. The hamlet still survives.

The President's Advisory Committee on Education<sup>26</sup> reports that "the farm population not only has a disproportionately heavy educational load; it must carry the load on a per capita income markedly less than that of the nonfarm population. In 1930 the farm population was responsible for the care and education of 31 per cent of the children, but the farmers received only 9 per cent of the national income. In the Southeastern region this disparity was still greater, the farmers of that region having the care of approximately 4,250,000 children age five to seventeen, with only 2 per cent of the national income. At the other extreme the nonfarm population of the Northeast, with approximately 8,500,000 children age five to seventeen, had 42 per cent of the national income."

Concerning libraries the report states that "most urban areas have some library service available for public use, and in some cities the quality of the available service reaches a high level. In rural areas, however, public-library service is to a large extent not available. It is estimated that the urban areas not served by public libraries have a total population of 5,500,000, whereas the rural areas lacking in public-library service other than that provided by school libraries have a total population of 39,500,000." The committee's report compares the various educational facilities and expenditures by states, and sets forth specific recommendations calculated to improve and equalize educational opportunities.

"The problem of providing complete public library service is essentially a rural problem. Forty million rural people, or 74 per cent of the total rural population of 54,000,000, are without public libraries. On the other hand, 5,500,000 urban people, or 8 per cent of the urban population, have no public libraries. To make the comparison specific, 74 per cent of the rural population of the United States have no local public libraries, as compared with 37 per cent of the total population and 8 per cent of the urban population."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Report of the Advisory Committee on Education, Message from the President of the United States* (Washington, February, 1938). 148 pp.

<sup>27</sup> Carleton B. Joeckel, *Library Service*, Prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study 11 (Washington, 1938). 107 pp.

*A Survey of Public Library Service in Oregon*<sup>28</sup> indicates that facilities for rural areas are relatively deficient. Rural people make less use of available library service than do urban people. The number of books lent per capita for home reading "by 36 libraries in the smaller rural communities was 6.8, though 13 approached or exceeded the standard of 10," set by the American Library Association. Circulation per capita for the libraries in cities with population of 2,500 to 4,000 was 8.

Twelve mimeographed reports,<sup>29</sup> most of which are based upon secondary sources, have been received from the Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station this quarter. Those having sociological significance are related to rural organization. Some facts culled from the bulletins are the following: (1) In 1926 approximately three fourths of all church members in Tennessee were either Baptist or Methodist. (2) "In this state 52 per cent of the urban population have membership in some church compared with 35 per cent of the rural population." (3) "Forty-three per cent of total expenditures by county governments was for schools, in 1932." (4) "Available data on magazine and newspaper circulation, volumes in public libraries, and retail sales at newsstands and book-stores indicate that Tennessee ranks approximately 40th in extent to which its population reads. This rank is in line with the South as a whole, although Tennessee ranks slightly higher than the average southern state." (5) In a field study of rural credit made in 1923 "42 per cent of the farmers did not know the difference between time and cash prices" at their stores. "The average interest rate for merchant credit (most of which was used for living expenses) was 12 per cent." (6) "It has been estimated that the annual cost of medical care [in Tennessee] exceeds \$24 per capita." (7) "Tennessee has a relatively high infant death rate, ranking 37th in the United States in 1935. The rate is especially high in Tennessee cities." (8) In Tennessee "midwives attended more than half the colored births in rural areas in 1937."

#### RURAL SOCIOLOGY AT HOME AND ABROAD

Within the *Field of Research in Rural Sociology*<sup>30</sup> lie the following categories of investigation:

- I. Population
- II. Social Organization or Social Structure
- III. Social Psychology

<sup>28</sup> *A Survey of Public Library Service in Oregon*, Oregon State Planning Board (Portland, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 148 pp.

<sup>29</sup> Charles E. Allred, et al., *Human and Physical Resources of Tennessee*, Rural Research Series Monograph Nos.: 78, *Churches and Church Auxiliaries*; 81, *Education: Public and Private; Illiteracy, Reading Habits, and Libraries*; 83, *Health and Health Facilities, Welfare Work, Public and Private*; 84, *State Government, Federal Activities*; and 86, *County Government, Municipal Government*. Also received this month were Nos. 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, and 85.

<sup>30</sup> *The Field of Research in Rural Sociology*, BAE (Washington, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 47 pp.

## IV. Social Ecology

## V. Anthropological Aspects

## VI. Social Change

## VII. Social Pathology

A committee of the Rural Sociological Society, composed of C. E. Lively, Dwight Sanderson, and Carl C. Taylor, has issued a report describing the accomplishments of rural sociological research in these areas during the last twenty-five years, listing 187 studies as examples. The types of research in progress in 1937 are included as well as an appraisal of future needs and suggestions for timely projects. "The major purpose of this report is to point out where rural sociology may make a contribution to the practical problems of agriculture and rural life, at the same time maintaining its scientific integrity and purpose. It attempts to appraise the entire scope and purpose of rural sociology as a science and as a method to improve rural life."

In the *Improvement of Rural Life*,<sup>81</sup> economic considerations are important but these have too long been stressed without a clear understanding of their sociological significance. Too frequently social legislation leaves the rural people out of consideration. Furthermore the fact that the farm family should be the center of extension activities should not be lost sight of. Education for and improvement of rural life has not kept pace with material progress. Rural life has certain advantages such as the possibility of the family retaining its position at the hub of both its social and economic life, and the privilege of physical exercise in the fresh air for all. There is need, however, for the development of a strong love for farming in order that attractions from the city may be resisted. There should be education for rural family life<sup>82</sup> and for vocational needs; landholdings should be grouped and other changes calculated to economize energy should be made; and the rural house and level of living, both material and nonmaterial, should be improved.

In recent years interest in rural life has increased greatly in Germany. However this interest has less frequently resulted in statistical studies than in descriptive bulletins and books on folk art and life, including peasant costumes, cabinet work, home decorations, and customs of all kinds. Most of these publications are richly illustrated by photographs.<sup>83</sup>

The struggle of the peasants up from serfdom is described in a French publication<sup>84</sup> which discusses the peasant revolts, the development of the syndicate and other rural organizations, and the means of "rendering to the peasant that which is the peasant's."

<sup>81</sup> M. P. De Vuyst, *L'Amélioration de la vie rurale* (Brussels, November, 1938). 16 pp.

<sup>82</sup> M. P. De Vuyst, *La Famille et l'école*, Commission Internationale de L'Education Familiale (Brussels, October, 1938). 16 pp.

<sup>83</sup> Karl Rumpf, *Handwerkskunst am Hessischen Bauern Haus*, Beitrage zur Hessischen Volks und Landeskunde, Heft 2 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1938). 69 pp.

<sup>84</sup> Henri Pitaud, *La Terre au paysan* (Paris: Pierre Bossuet, 1936). 443 pp.



## MISCELLANEOUS

*The Relation of Certain Factors in Farm Family Life to Personality Development in Adolescents*<sup>85</sup> was studied for 695 Nebraska farm boys and girls in small town high schools. A battery of nine personality scales, the Otis intelligence test, and a questionnaire requesting information concerning home environment were administered. Of 270 tetrachoric correlation coefficients between the personality variables and the fifteen home-life items, sixty-seven were adjudged to be significant. In the order of their significance the presence of the following four items was found to be important in determining the development of the personality of the boy:

1. An attitude of welcome on the part of parents toward the child's friend in the home.
2. Frequently to have enjoyable times together in the home as a family group.
3. Infrequent punishment.
4. An affectionate relationship between the boy and his mother (expressed by frequently kissing mother).

In the order of significance the following four items were found to be important in determining the development of the girls' personalities:

1. An attitude of welcome on the part of parents toward the child's friends in the home.
2. Infrequent punishment.
3. Nothing in the behavior of the mother which she particularly dislikes.
4. A minimum of participation of the mother in the work outside the home.

Findings of the study agree in general with other similar studies most of which were not limited to farm children. Sex differences are given special emphasis and the mental and physical health of parents were thought in most instances to be of less significance for the group studied than of those included in the White House Conference study.

*Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians*,<sup>86</sup> a publication of the Smithsonian Institution, based both upon first hand field investigations and analyses of existing source materials and references dating from 1540, indicates the position of the group to the general aboriginal cultural pattern of northwest South America. Special attention is given to supernatural beliefs, war customs, and head hunting. Brief treatment is accorded such traits as those related to food and clothing, weapons, houses, instruments, and the like. Photographs and illustrations are included.

<sup>85</sup> Leland H. Stott, *The Relation of Certain Factors in Farm Family Life to Personality Development in Adolescents*, Nebraska AESB 106 (Lincoln, October, 1938). 46 pp.

<sup>86</sup> M. W. Stirling, *Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 117 (Washington, 1938). 148 pp.

# Book Reviews

*Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor*

*Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution Within the United States*, SSRC Bul. 42. By Rupert B. Vance. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938. xi, 134 pp. \$1.00.

*Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, SSRC Bul. 43. By Dorothy Swaine Thomas. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938. xii, 423 pp. \$2.00.

*Needed Population Research*. By P. K. Whelpton. Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press Printing Company, 1938. xv, 196 pp. \$1.00.

*France Faces Depopulation*. By Joseph J. Spengler. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1938. xi, 313 pp. \$3.00.

The first three of the above named reports have for their purpose the focusing of attention on needed population research. Vance's monograph carries forward the work of Carter Goodrich, but instead of contributing a fund of knowledge to serve as a basis for judgment on the matter of population policy, he centers his efforts on the development of coherence within the field of population distribution by stating what is now known with reasonable certainty, and by suggesting research problems which may be projected upon the basis of existing knowledge, and gaps in the knowledge now extant. He sets up twenty-one basic propositions and a large number of postulates which may be said to constitute a theoretical framework about which research on population redistribution may be co-ordinated. Thomas likewise devotes herself to the task of putting together what is known, particularly with reference to internal migration, and of suggesting immediate steps in research to co-ordinate and expand this base. She defines the problem of *migration differentials* as being essentially the same as that of *selective migration* because the question of whether persons who migrate are differentiated from those who do not is one of selection. The differentials which have been considered are age, sex, family statutes, physical health, mental health, intelligence, occupation, motivation, and assimilation. Research workers will find the annotated bibliographies on Anglo-American and German studies convenient as helps. Especially will they be interested in the notes on methods and sources by Fritz Meyer and E. P. Hutchinson in Appendices C-1 and C-2. Both Vance and Thomas have avoided the suggestion of complicated methodology in analysis. For most workers this is important because it elevates knowledge of population phenomena to a position that is preferred above that of methodology for its own sake.

While Whelpton attacks many of the same problems which received treatment by both Vance and Thomas, he gives a major share of his attention to vital processes and to the socioeconomic factors which are related to the natural increase of population. He concludes that many of the gaps in the existing

knowledge of population matters can be filled by slight expansions in the collection and classification of official data. Whelpton makes no attempt to rank the problems needing research except to say that there are three which are outstanding: (1) motives leading to the limitation of offspring; (2) the comparison of the present distribution of population within the nation with the optimum distribution, with special reference to submarginal areas and to areas capable of supporting larger populations; and (3) changes in hereditary makeup of the population, their direction, rate, and causes.

Spengler's study is concerned more with the theory of depopulation as a probable fate of Western societies—France is used as an object lesson—than with research methodology. Somewhat after the fashion of D'Avenel and Levasseur, he traces growth trends in the French population from the early ninth century to the present. He divides French theories of the causes of depopulation in France into three classes: (a) involuntary sterility, (b) Malthusian principles as to failure of economic production to expand as rapidly as it might, and (c) voluntary restriction of offspring due either to institutions somewhat peculiar to France or the Western world and its culture. Having given primarily an economic interpretation to the phenomena observed, he concludes: (1) that personal welfare is dependent to a large degree upon the level of income in a country in which incomes are as low as they are in France; (2) that cessation of population growth will benefit materially the masses of the French people; (3) that efforts to stimulate population growth are essentially the efforts of groups whose social and economic interests run counter to those of the French masses; (4) that efforts to stimulate the growth of population are doomed to failure in the absence of a changed income and social structure in France; (5) that the "struggle for population" may become integrated with the class struggle now under way; and (6) that in the absence of a sane fact-implemented consideration of social ends and demographic means, a "solution" of the population problem in France is not likely for decades.

In all of these monographs the student of population finds a wealth of suggestive and helpful material. Lack of space allotted to this review forbids an expansive critique of these studies. Suffice it to say, each one of them has a significance far greater than could be surmised from the size of the volume.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College      OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

*Land Utilization in China.* By J. Lossing Buck. Three volumes. I. Text, xxxii, 494; II. Maps; III. Statistics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. \$15.00.

This monumental work is the most inclusive examination to date of the farm economy of an Asiatic country. It covers 16,786 farms in 168 localities and 38,256 farm families in 22 provinces. The field work was done in 1929-33. A number of agencies contributed to the undertaking, but the Institute of Pacific Relations and the University of Nanking were primarily responsible for it. The work is published by the university and issued under its auspices and those of the China Institute of Pacific Relations, the National Economics Council, and the

Central Bank of China. The director was assisted by a major staff of twenty-three Chinese and ten Western scientists. Students and local persons were performed in each of the localities studied and the limitations of this procedure are frankly discussed in the excellent methodological section. Indeed certain advantages of this procedure, without which a huge project of this sort could not have been carried through in China, are, if anything, understated.

The underlying philosophy of the work, stated on page one of volume one and never lost sight of, is that "the ultimate criterion of land use is the satisfaction which the farm population receives from the type of agriculture developed, the provision for future production and the contribution to national needs."

To this end, in addition to chapters on climate, soils, crops, an excellent description of China's agricultural regions and the like, there are full discussions of population, the standard of living and of land and its tenure, farm labor, prices and taxation, and marketing. On the theory that one of the important measures of the standard of living is nutrition, a chapter is given to that topic. Throughout the book the immediate and long-time policies that might improve Chinese agriculture and rural life are given attention.

Among the interesting features of the main report are the clear summary of the total study in Chapter I; the frequent pointing out of the interrelations between social and economic data and between both and the physical factors; the unmistakable evidence of regional influences upon the various results; the frequent comparison of Chinese data with that from the United States and several other countries; the discussion of the Chinese family and of the relation of family size to farm size, income, and migration.

Of interest too is the demonstration that despite wide differences in many important respects between rural China and rural America there are significant similarities that suggest that some social forces operate comparably among widely divergent rural populations. One third of the males engaged in agriculture worked part-time in other occupations, and the smaller the farm the greater the likelihood of a supplemental occupation. The smaller the farm the greater the chance of the migration of one or more persons. Tenant families were four times as heavily represented among the migrants as in the general population. Fifty-nine per cent of the migrant families moved to the cities. Again, the standard of living data suggest certain interesting similarities and comparisons.

The main report (Volume I) contains 207 summary tables, 21 maps, 57 graphs, 62 excellent photographs, a valuable glossary, and a good index. There are frequent useful cross references to the other two volumes.

Volumes II and III are of atlas size page. The maps in Volume II furnish a wealth of data on most of the major phases of the study in relation to geography. A useful device is a loose map of the major regions of China, printed on tracing paper, which can be superimposed on the other maps. Volume III gives the supporting statistical data in great detail and also contains the schedules used and further information on the methods employed. This information is skillfully presented within a minimum of space in both English and Chinese.

Director Buck, his staff, and the supporting agencies are to be most heartily congratulated upon the completion and publication of this work despite all the obvious difficulties. Regardless of the outcome of the present tragic events in China there is here contained the foundation on which the same fine co-operation which produced the work can, if allowed, build a program of reasonable action that will profoundly influence for good the future of rural China.

Teachers College, Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

*Readjustments of Agricultural Tenure in Ireland.* By Elizabeth Hooker. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938. xii, 245 pp. \$4.00.

Increasingly of late, and notably in the discussions of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, the experience of Ireland in achieving 97.4 per cent owner-operation of its farm acreage has been held up to the United States as an example to be copied. Miss Hooker's study records the Irish experience in the light of this enthusiasm and asks what, if anything, it has to teach us.

In 1870 only three per cent of the agricultural holdings in Ireland were owner-operated and at that time experiments were begun in changing tenants into owners. This experimental period lasted until 1885 and barely a hundred holdings a year changed status. A period of gradual expansion then set in until 1903 when there began a period of general land purchase during which advances of \$400,000,000 brought well over nine million acres under owner-operation. Subsequent years saw the completion of the program, involving all told more than one half million holdings, over 17 million acres, and almost \$740,000,000.

In addition to this major enterprise there was a program of rehabilitation for the submarginal congested area in western Ireland, there were attempts at land settlement, and there were special provisions for rural laborers in a successful low cost housing program.

It is an inspiring record, but Miss Hooker is not swept off her feet by the achievement. She analyzes clearly the special conditions operating for the success of the Irish experience, such as the British effort to purchase the good will of the peasants. But she also skillfully disentangles these special influences from the total picture and shows, partly by comparison with the Danish attack on tenancy, what lessons the United States can learn from Ireland's successful war on the social and economic problems of a landless agrarian population. One would wish that our Resettlement communities might have been developed with the careful attention to detail that characterized the west Ireland venture.

The book is well and clearly written. The social and economic factors alike receive due emphasis. It is a disappointment to read the publisher's announcement that the edition is limited to 750 copies and that the type has been melted, for all those actively interested in the problems of farm tenancy in the United States should be familiar with this volume.

Teachers College, Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

*The Open Fields.* By C. S. and C. S. L. Orwin. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. 344 pp. \$7.00.

One of the chief characteristics of the early English agricultural communities was to be found in "the practice of farming in great open fields under a common system rather than in compact inclosures in individual occupation." The origin of this open-field system, with its many small strips or "lands" distributed among the villagers so that each had a share of the poor land and good land, poor meadow and good meadow, without actual ownership of any strip by its cultivator, has been a subject for conjecture by many writers. This volume presents a new and exceedingly well-worked-out theory as to the beginnings and administration of the open fields.

Such men as Stubbs, Seebohm, Vinogradoff, and others have attributed the open-field system to various ethnic, legal, constitutional, and social factors. The Orwins, in *The Open Fields*, take great pains to point out and refute the errors in the reasoning and evidence of these authors. They show that rather than being the result of any such abstract agent as man's search for justice or desire for equality, the open fields were a direct adjustment of man to the land in order that he might survive.

The authors base their theory upon a prolonged and meticulous analysis of three factors: (1) primitive agricultural conditions in early England; (2) the development and operation of the plow and its effect upon the land; and, (3) a description of one of the few remaining open-field systems in England, Laxton Manor. The Orwins, as a result of their studies of these three factors, point out that the open fields were a direct adjustment to the knowledge of agriculture, the effect of the plow on the fields, and the varying conditions of the soil and topography of early England.

Over half of the volume consists of an account of Laxton Manor, tracing its history from Domesday to the present, including the complete and detailed survey of 1635, and an account of its operation and management as of the year 1929.

The book is well illustrated, and an excellent glossary and an ample index are included. The logic and evidence of the authors concerning the origin of the open fields is quite convincing and can be accepted as the best from the point of view of logic and evidence of any so far presented. But their concluding suggestion that the open-field system holds a solution for present farming problems is open to question.

University of New Hampshire

J. E. BACHELDER, JR.

*Behold Our Land.* By Russell Lord. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1938. 310 pp. \$3.00.

This book is the result of a three-year study of erosion and soil conservation practice undertaken at the request of Hugh Bennett, Chief of the Soil Conservation Service. It represents, however, a departure from the usual technical bulletin of the soil specialist. If these specialists "know too much about too little," Lord's

chief qualification for this particular effort was, in his own words, "a wholesome ignorance," a fact which may account for a stimulatingly fresh point of view in a book based on fact, yet frankly directed at arousing public opinion.

The first four chapters picture dramatically the agelong natural processes of soil building, in contrast to the startling suddenness of man's ruthless waste in what constitutes "the last few seconds" of the total timespan. The next two chapters turn to a brief history of actual land use on the earth, bearing out the claim that "civilization is a disease of the land" cured only in those places (typified by Sweden and Germany) where a governed use of the land is based on a folk attitude of respect for the soil. The last seven chapters take up the colorful history of land settlement in America from early frontiers of exploitation to the newer frontiers of experimental conservation practice. That conservation of soil resources is scientifically possible without widespread displacement of population from great areas of land is offered hopefully from a review of the many successful demonstrations of the Soil Conservation Service. Nevertheless, the treatment leaves unanswered many questions previously raised by studies of population in relation to economic opportunity in the several regions of the United States.

The significance of this book, however, seems to be based on something more fundamental than just its plea for conservation. It is the story of the American people's adjustment to their land, told in its multiplicity of differences of climate and soil, of people and culture, with all that this implies for those who have come to recognize the importance of a regional approach to national planning.

East Texas State Teachers College

KENNETH EVANS

*A Southerner Discovers the South.* By Jonathan Daniels. New York: The Mac-Millan Co., 1938. viii, 346 pp. \$3.00.

This book adds another title to the ever-increasing list of literature on economic and social conditions in the South. It is not, however, such a "muckrake" as some of the books that have preceded it. The author attempts by a hurried swing over the southern states to observe and pass judgment on projects and conditions in the area. Among the former are the T. V. A., the Dyess Rehabilitation Farm Project, the Co-operative Plantation project at Hillside, Mississippi, and the large absentee plantation projects in the Mississippi Delta.

None of these seem to meet his approval. The T. V. A. is too paternalistic, and the Dyess project too agrarian and retrogressive. The Co-operative Plantation project at Hillside is too much supported by a crop of philanthropic Yankees who could not be enlisted on a large enough scale to help agricultural conditions generally. The Absentee Plantation project is also too paternalistic. The author criticizes some of the southern states, especially Mississippi, for their attempts to entice industrial plants at any cost. He sympathizes with the industrial baron at Birmingham who defies unionism, but realizes that this man is putting up a losing fight. He would also be sympathetic toward the governor of Alabama in his attempt to correct differentials in freight rates and high protective tariffs.

Mr. Daniels thinks that two pincers that have been used on the agricultural

South by the industrial East (far more powerful than were Grant and Sherman in the Civil War) are differentials in freight rates and high protective tariffs, protecting the market for industrial products and leaving it wide open for agricultural products.

A number of social groups are portrayed in this book, such as the fading aristocrats of the old South who are willing to spend more money for the front pillars of their homes than for the rest of the house, and who will even now dispense fine wines to the guest while the family larder is nearly bare. The recent crop of Coca Cola and Cardui barons of the new South, the redheads, the peckerwoods, the poor white trash, the creoles, the Cajuns, the "niggers," and others all come in for mention.

Almost any one might read this book with pleasure and gain information for himself concerning the "number one economic problem" of America today.

Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

DANIEL RUSSELL

*Effects of the Works Program on Rural Relief.* By Rebecca Farnham and Irene Link, Research Monograph XIII, Works Progress Administration, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

This monograph represents, in major part, a report on the economic experiences and characteristics of 5,377 rural families who were on relief rolls in June, 1935, but who were dropped from the rolls during the succeeding five-month period. Extending over 71 sample counties in seven states, the study is largely concerned with changes in economic status between June and December, 1935, "in order to get a representative picture of the effects of economic recovery and of administrative changes on rural relief families in selected states."

As is to be expected, in this period encompassing the rise of the Works Program, the most frequent source of December income was none other than the Works Program. In many states vast numbers of relief cases were shifted directly to the new program. From 10 to 34 per cent of the former relief cases, the proportion varying with the respective states, reported nonagricultural private employment as their major source of income. A very small proportion lived by the sale of farm products; and in Iowa, at least, state relief was a more significant source of income than even the Works Program.

Evaluation of this study can best be made on the basis of the adequacy with which it fulfills its avowed purposes. In respect to the first objective, the effects of economic recovery on relief families, the reviewer must confess inability to locate the portion of the report dealing with this significant problem. It is pointed out that a relatively high proportion of the former relief cases were returned to private industry but this means little more than that farm operators returned to their farms and non-operators entered nonagricultural, *seasonal* employment. If an analysis of the effects of economic recovery is intended it might be thought that some correction, or some intimation of the need for correction, should be made for normal seasonal fluctuations in rural employment and in dependency. The question posed is a worthy one, quite unanswered in the bulletin.

Regarding the second objective more can be said. It is quite clear that the



major effect of the Works Program was simply the substitution, for employable cases, of one major source of income for another, the latter source having more dignified connotations. If the reader has sufficient time, it is possible to learn from this survey the differential effects of the program upon different strata in the rural relief population, the effectiveness of the machinery of transfer between agencies, the comparative economic advantage of the family dependent on Works Program with the family in private industry, and other information of a significant character. The statistical bases for conclusions in respect to these problems are provided, but the integration of materials and drawing of meaningful conclusions is largely a responsibility of the reader, the data having been left in virginal simplicity by the analysts. One is impressed by the fact that many statistical tables have been described but not placed in any integrated, analytical context.

Iowa State College

BRYCE RYAN

*Seven Shifts.* Edited by Jack Common. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1938. 271 pp. \$2.50.

Many fields of interest in social science are not susceptible to analysis by the statistical method. Causal relations between specific factors in a social situation may remain unobserved until qualitative data relative to the whole complex situation are recorded. In such a situation the case study method may be followed and the participant observer technique used in collecting the information. Such is the approach of Jack Common in this study of the meaning to seven British workmen of their jobs and of their periods of unemployment.

The volume comprises contributions from a plasterer, a steel mill worker, an unemployed laborer, a laborer in the gas works, a small-scale merchant in the market place, a blast furnace worker, and a fireman on the railroad. Each of these representatives of the laboring class tells in his own words about his work and leisure, his income from work or the dole, his joys and sorrows in life. The book is filled with vitality and is replete with touches of human interest.

Worthy of special note is the chapter called "Are You Working?" Those who advocate direct relief or the dole as the cheapest means of handling the problem of unemployment will see here revealed the wretched effects of dependency and poverty upon the personality of the individual. From such seed spring dictatorships of either the right or the left. Suffice it to say, the volume is readable and interesting throughout, bringing to light certain facts more adequately than may be possible in a formal research study.

Furman University

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

*Economic Nationalism and the Farmer.* By Arthur C. Bunce. Ames, Iowa: Collegiate Press, Inc., 1938. ix, 232 pp. \$1.50.

The issue of economic nationalism has been a political football from the days of Jefferson and Hamilton to those of Roosevelt and William Randolph Hearst. Throughout most of this long period the tariff has been the focal center of

the argument, but foreign trade policies have been, and still are, dominated for the most part by political motives and necessities. The fact that an economic problem involves the well-being of the people is ignored largely. Tariffs are used as a means of getting votes and as a means of achieving a national solidarity free from outside economic pressure. When the good of the nation is brought to the forefront it is not so much to bring a higher standard of living for all as to attain political ends. Economic self-containment, through the imposition of high tariffs and import quotas, has been basically a military measure aimed at increasing the supplies of food produced at home in order to insure against starvation into submission in case of war. This is particularly true of Germany and Italy. In the United States the Democrats and Republicans wage unceasing war on the question of protectionism. In general the national points of view range all the way from complete isolation to a willingness to trade with all nations which will trade. It is the inability of legislators to see the logical and almost inevitable outcome of a continued policy of protectionism that makes necessary the delegation of trade regulation powers to the chief executive. A high tariff policy restricts exports of agricultural products, and adds to the consumer's price without contributing to the well-being of the farmer.

This book is a doctoral thesis and shows the desiccating effects of having run the usual gamut through which all such studies must pass. The bulk of the material reads with an academic stiffness that makes it seem as if it had been embalmed and placed in the cold room. By far the most stimulating portions of the work are the introduction and the chapters on the cost of tariffs to the consumer and on national planning and foreign trade. Apparently the author was able to put himself into those parts of his work.

At least, he was free to predict that if the 1937-38 trend continues, normal crops granted, it appears inevitable that prices of farm products will again be at a great disadvantage compared with industrial products. Parenthetically, does anyone know when farm products have ever enjoyed a great relative price advantage over that of industrial products since index numbers were invented? At any rate, we can agree that if this continues, it is highly probable that the farmers will start demanding some form of price-raising legislation before long, but it is doubtful that either their comprehension of the full meaning of such an approach or any alternative method of economic control that does not purport to raise their prices can prevent it, whether it would involve the nation in economic nationalism or not.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College      OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

*A Sociological Analysis of Rural Education in Louisiana.* By Marion Bush Smith. Baton Rouge, La.: University Press, 1938. 130 pp. \$1.00.

This study is a creditable beginning of a sociological analysis of the rural school. It opens with a survey of the literature dealing with rural education, then analyzes the population of Louisiana and the quantitative job of rural education. There follows a description of the Louisiana state system of education.

The next four chapters describe the number of selected rural grade and consolidated schools. A final chapter sets forth general conclusions.

The curriculum, administration, and public relations of the schools surveyed are compared with the advantages claimed for consolidated schools with discouraging results, despite the high level of professional preparation required of the teachers. The rural schools offer a curriculum almost identical with the urban, with little or no adaptation to the actual needs of the community. More than twice as many rural students are taking commercial subjects as are enrolled in agriculture, though despite their wishes to the contrary, most of them will return to rural areas. Consolidation has been carried through on an administrative, not a sociological, basis. Three to four hours a day in a school bus is not unusual. There are schools where children seated next to each other live fifty miles apart. Naturally the schools feel little or no responsibility to their communities. "Not a high school reports any form of community activity . . . except the P. T. A."

All told, it is a damning indictment the author constructs on a sound factual basis. It is to be regretted, however, that some of the final conclusions are not limited to Louisiana. That "the consolidated school does not solve the educational problems of rural districts" is doubtless true in Louisiana, but there are fortunately hundreds of cases in other states where quite different results would be secured by a comparable study. One evidence of this is the study published in June, 1938, by the New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, entitled "The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization."

There might well be further analysis to show what sociological explanations there are for some of the conditions described. Is the method of laying out consolidated school districts a reflection of a highly centralized, nondemocratic state administration? Again, "the way in which consolidation takes place" is described purely in terms of the mechanics involved. Usually there are vital social processes involved and often conflicts.

But while the study does not go so far as this reviewer would wish, what ground it does cover is covered well and with careful and sure steps.

Teachers College, Columbia University

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

*Money to Burn.* By Horace Coon. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938. 352 pp. \$3.00.

*Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education.* By Ernest Victor Hollis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. x, 365 pp. \$3.50.

Most social scientists are acquainted in a general way with the activities of funds and foundations, and some very intimately so with those touching their particular interests, but few academic men are fully cognizant of the tremendous importance of philanthropic enterprises as social institutions. Though neither is primarily a sociological treatise, *Money to Burn* and *Philanthropic Foundations*

*and Higher Education* (especially the latter) are recommended reading for every rural sociologist whose work may be affected by such institutions.

Less than a decade ago there was no book which dealt extensively with foundations. Because of the indirection of their activities and the difficulties in securing information (about two thirds of them publish no reports), little knowledge of the field was available prior to the recent publications by Mr. Coon and Dr. Hollis. *Money to Burn* was patently designed for popular consumption and is practically worthless for other purposes; the material is loosely organized, the interpretation is rash and antagonistic, and the generalizations are unsound. On the other hand, Dr. Hollis's book is carefully done, and assumes a critical but not a hostile point of view. The first section of *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education* gives an historical survey, and the second describes the range of foundation purposes and activities. The analysis, particularly that of the social institution, would have been more effective and significant through the use of sociological concepts. Be that as it may, this work is very useful in suggesting the many points at which scientific research is affected by extra-theoretical considerations, and in indicating aspects of higher education which need further investigation.

Harvard University

LOGAN WILSON

*Americans in Process.* By William Carlson Smith. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1937. xv, 359 pp. \$3.00.

With American democracy on the sick list, many are wondering what the diagnosis is. Dr. Smith has contributed something toward the diagnosis in his *Americans in Process*, an analysis of Americanization (the author's term) as it bears upon "our citizens of Oriental ancestry" in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast. Because it is notably objective where objectivity is likely to be rare, and because it is rich in both quantity and quality of empirical materials, this book deserves careful attention. It is, by the way, an excellent companion volume to Elin Anderson's *We Americans*.

The study grew out of the Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast. The author spent six years in California and about three years in Hawaii gathering more than 1,500 life histories, and adequate statistical data. To see the experience of American born Orientals from their own point of view was a primary aim of the investigation. The book is roughly dividable into Hawaiian and Pacific Coast data and interpretations, although the presentation is rather poorly organized and is marked by unimportant repetition. The role of cultural conditioning in essentially similar situations is brought into relief by the comparative technique. A minimum of prejudice in Hawaii is accounted for by the absence of a class of poor whites competing with Orientals and by a lesser degree of heated rivalry between children of the two groups. On the Pacific Coast limitations along racial lines are more definite and more numerous. Both there and in Hawaii to a lesser degree race relations are complicated by Oriental parents' projecting their ambitions upon children torn between conflicting cultural de-

mands. Japanese youths are more eager than the Chinese to achieve characteristic American status, and they are far less willing to accommodate. The ultimate question arises: To what degree will these second generation Oriental citizens become assimilated?

Of particular interest to rural sociologists will be the excellent social psychological analysis of the Hawaiian agricultural labor problem. It is a case wherein deliberate attitude manipulation, altered managerial policy, and the effects of immigration restriction and the depression have made the once despised plantation labor attractive to young Orientals.

The term "Americanization" should have been more carefully defined. At one point the reader feels that it is synonymous with cultural assimilation and behavior integration. But again, it is Americanization which is partly responsible for increased prejudice and conflict. One also feels that Dr. Smith has not made the most of his facts, since the study is relatively weak in theory, loose jointed, and frequently contradictory. As a result the reader is likely to be confused. Such confusion seems preferable, however, to that regimentation which makes for clarity but distorts facts.

Harvard University

N. J. DEMERATH

*Hex Marks the Spot: In the Pennsylvania Dutch Country.* By Ann Hark. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1938. xviii, 316 pp. \$2.50.

Probably the most distinct and interesting regional folk in America are the Pennsylvania Dutch. Hence they can hardly be the subject of a dull book. This volume—a light, journalistic description, as the title suggests—is not dull, but it is overwritten, discursive, and primarily antiquarian in interest. The author, a Pennsylvania girl and a Philadelphia journalist, is as innocent of sociology as a Mennonite minister is of evolution; yet the sheer fascination of her subject induces one to tolerate her feminine prolixity (and invariable coyness with her "chauffeur") in order to read the book through. So little real information about the Pennsylvania Dutch is available, moreover, that any scraps of accurate information are worthwhile, and this book seems accurate.

Some of the chapters are of particular interest to rural sociologists, viz., the account of the history and function of the "Conestoga wagon," the description of country markets, the picture of life in an Amish household. Since most of the book deals with religious sects, it also provides some grist for the sociology of religion. The chapters describing a Reformed Mennonite foot washing, a Dunkard baptism, an Amish "singing," and the Ephrata Cloisters are especially enlightening.

The book is at its best in those rare portions when it describes a segment of life, the behavior and motivation of a group of people so different from ordinary Americans as to bear no resemblance to them.

Pennsylvania State College

KINGSLEY DAVIS

*Swedes in America.* Edited by Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938. xvi, 614 pp. \$3.00.

This collection of some forty essays is an effort to portray in detail "the magnificent debt of the United States to the Swedes." Published as part of the New Sweden Tercentenary celebration, its orientation is panegyric rather than sociological. On the whole, it comprises a *catalogue raisonné* of Swedish achievements, ranging from the introduction of the log cabin to the exploits of Jenny Lind, Garbo, Lindbergh, and Rosendahl. Every compartment of human activity is seen to have profited by the contributions of this people. There is, however, little extended effort to describe the modes of interaction between Swedish and native Americans.

The frankly eulogistic essays are balanced by some which introduce a mass of useful information. Uppvall's discussion of the Swedish language in America, for example, is a helpful introduction to this subject. It includes a serviceable bibliography. Of general academic interest is an annotated list of college professors of Swedish descent.

If this volume is to be evaluated in terms of its explicit purpose, as indeed it should, then it may be recommended as a compendium containing a variety of facts not readily available elsewhere.

Harvard University

ROBERT K. MERTON

*Immigrant Settlements in Connecticut: Their Growth and Characteristics.* By Samuel Koenig. Hartford: Connecticut State Department of Education, 1938. 67 pp. \$.60.

The author's prefatory statement is all too true, not only of Connecticut but of many other centers of immigration in the United States. He says "despite the preponderance of immigrant stocks in the State, pitifully little material is available to the person who desires to gain a better understanding of the ethnic groups in Connecticut."

This little book is a very useful introduction to the role of ethnic groups in local or national life, but it does not attempt to be more than introductory. Prepared under the auspices of the Federal Writers' Project of Connecticut, it is perhaps a forecast of a valuable work to come, a comprehensive treatise on the role of immigrant groups in Connecticut life.

Readable but statistically competent sections sketch the "Growth of the Immigrant Groups in Connecticut," "Characteristic Features of the Immigrant Settlements," and "Organized Life of the Immigrant Communities."

Of most interest to the reviewer, however, was Part I, "The Contemporary Connecticut Scene." There in one lightning flash is shown the position of immigrant groups in the Connecticut social hierarchy. In every phase of life, from industry and agriculture to government and politics, positions of leadership and chief responsibility are held by descendants of the old Yankee stock, but throughout, the immigrant groups are pressing on this élite group and are often displacing them in the institutional life of the state. This dramatic situation is

in fact partly illustrated today in one of Broadway's most successful stage productions, *The American Landscape* by Elmer Rice. An enlargement of this analysis would be of great value to rural sociology.

A carefully selected bibliography is appended.

Colgate University

WENDELL H. BASH

*Human Side of a People and The Right Name.* By Raphael P. Powell. New York: The Philemon Company, 1937. xxi, 399 pp. \$3.00.

Although the author makes a sincere attempt to express a reasoned protest against race discrimination, this work provides little insight into the problem. Based on the thesis that the main source of prejudice, suppression, and caste sentiments lies in the term "Negro," the book presents an earnest plea for a new term. "To take the word *Negro* out of American literature would be like taking the sting out of a snake's mouth. The means of creating the sentiment would be lost; and the white race would be deprived of the weapon used to spread demoralizing propaganda against the African race" (Page 151). Replete with tedious discussions, this logomachy quite fails to describe a single important factor underlying the relationships between races.

Smith College

NEAL B. DE NOOD

*Owatonna: The Social Development of a Minnesota Community.* By Edgar B. Wesley. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1938. xvi, 168 pp. \$2.00.

Current interest in the origin of communities, their agricultural, industrial, and cultural growth, is not due to idle curiosity, but rather to a desire to learn lessons from the past as a basis of understanding the present and planning for the future. Knowledge of the past gives one a perspective that is an essential element in any adequate analysis of a community and its service center. Scattered over the nation are some 16,000 communities and community centers of which Owatonna, the county seat of Steele County, sixty miles south of Minneapolis, is one. The present population of Owatonna is 7,654 (and of the tributary service area about 6,350, though the author does not state it) so that it is not a typical-sized community center, though it probably is a fairly typical-sized county seat.

The author, head of the Social Studies department, University High School, and professor of education, University of Minnesota, gives the culture history of Owatonna, a story not essentially unlike those of a thousand other community centers of similar size. The eleven hotels of 1868, when the population of this center was about 1,500, gradually gave way to four or five larger establishments. We are told (p. 151) that the city has seen the rise and fall of more than twenty newspapers. The organizations and institutions that Owatonna does not have or has not had are hardly worth mentioning. "Reorganization" seems to be the unwritten law in nearly every group activity attempted.

The study of Owatonna is primarily historical, though many of the economic

and sociological implications are apparent. A graph or two portraying the life history of some of the organizations and institutions would have been a welcome addition to the interesting narrative. The developmental process of the community involved the usual early expansion, the hope of becoming a great industrial center, and the final recognition that agricultural activities are an integral part of the community's culture.

The interdependence between the community center and its tributary service area, for communities of this size and type, deserves much more consideration than was accorded it in this study. This account, like so many purported studies of communities, is primarily an analysis of the community center rather than of the entire community. The tributary service of a community center is often the "forgotten man" in analyses of communities. The author fails to indicate the gradual and consistent decline in population since 1900 in most of the nine townships surrounding Owatonna—the territory that Owatonna serves quite as much as the "center." The study also fails to portray Owatonna's position in relation to the Twin Cities.

Possibly at least nine tenths of us spend more than nine tenths of our lifetime in one, two, or three communities. We should, therefore, know our community as thoroughly as we know the elements of arithmetic, writing, and spelling. Some social analyst in each community should prepare a culture history of his community as a basic text for its citizens and future citizens.

Michigan State College

J. F. THADEN

*The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation.* By Willard Waller. New York: The Gordon Co., 1938. 621 pp. \$3.25.

Those who have relished the understanding approach in Professor Waller's writings will not be let down by his recent book, *The Family*. Institutionalists may object to the rather atomistic point of view, but it is precisely this approach which the average undergraduate wants when he enrolls for a course in the family. As Waller remarks in the preface, the nexus with human nature is chosen rather than that with institutional characteristics. The family as a unity of interacting personalities is intimately viewed, and on the whole the author gives an accurate depiction—some of which hitherto has been only vaguely articulated by students in the field—of family life in the middle class.

In no slight degree the treatment reverses Westermarck's maxim that marriage is based upon the family, and Waller is open to the criticism that his book is misentitled, for his relative emphasis is indicated by six chapters on courtship interaction and only one on parenthood. By selecting passages (see page 276, for instance), one could show that the author is like those writers of romantic fiction who treat marriage as a denouement—except that in his type of case the young couple do not "live happily ever after." There is perhaps an overemphasis of the idea that conformity to the mores is often a costly thing to personality, and the immature student may be unintentionally led to conclude that an understanding of institutional prohibitions is identical to emancipation from them.



Freudian psychology is utilized, but despite the rather abrupt shifts from one type of psychological analysis to another, no system is used exclusively or uncritically. The most original sections of the work are those on "Courtship Interaction" and "Marriage Interaction," both of which deserve front ranking in recent sociological literature. Users of this volume will like the forthright treatment of descriptive materials and analytical concepts, ranging from Ursula Parrott to Ivan Pavlov. Regardless of the plethora of textbooks already available on the family, Professor Waller has succeeded in bringing forth a fresh interpretation which will commend itself to many sociologists.

Harvard University

LOGAN WILSON

*Causes of Crime.* By Arthur E. Fink. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938. xi, 309 pp. \$3.00.

From the title of this work, the reviewer had expected to find a specific consideration of all the "causes" of crime and an attempted allocation to each of its proportionate and appropriate weight in the production of the abstract thing called crime. It was certain that such an undertaking would be full of pitfalls, for it is becoming evident that the social sciences are far removed from the attainment of a thoroughly objective understanding of causation. It was an agreeable surprise to find the author had guarded himself against presumptuous commitments in this wise: "This treatise indulges in no discourse on scientific cause; . . . The use of cause and causation is governed by the usage of the period under consideration." From such uses students of crime may draw some valuable conclusions (p. ix).

This treatise is really a history of the various theories of the causes of crime which have developed during the last century or so. The views of the more important writers and researchers associated with each set of theories from about 1800 down to William Healy's great work in 1915 are considered. The titles of the chapters denote the different theories and phases in crime causation which are treated: "Phrenology, Insanity, Moral Insanity, Alcohol and Drugs, Criminal Anthropology (Anatomy and Physiology), Heredity (the Jukes, Human Sterilization), Feeble-mindedness, Conclusions." One observes the beginning of theories in their crude form, largely assumptive and hardly experimental, their modification by later studies, the development of experiment and research, and the attainment of some approximate approach at last to scientific results. Yet in every field, the final results are generally vague and subjective. It is not yet demonstrated what the exact causative relation between crime and such factors as feeble-mindedness, insanity, alcoholism, and heredity is. It is rather apparent, however, that there is a closer and closer approach to scientific objectivity. The author scarcely commits himself to an opinion on any of the final theories. He is the historian and interpreter of developing doctrines and dogmas.

This volume under review realizes its undertaking as set forth above in a satisfactory and illuminating manner. Personally, I feel indebted to the author for the information he has given me.

University of North Dakota

J. M. GILLETTE

# News Notes and Announcements

## THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DETROIT, MICHIGAN, DECEMBER 28-30, 1938

### REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT—DWIGHT SANDERSON

Presidential addresses give opportunity for the incumbent to make a contribution to knowledge and to express his views as to the work of the organization. I have chosen to do the unconventional thing of publishing my main contribution with the other papers which are to form the basis of our discussion this morning. I wish, however, to supplement this with a brief word as to the work of our new organization, which may not be inappropriate at our first annual meeting.

*Historical.* The first serious consideration of Rural Sociology by the American Sociological Society was in 1916 at the annual meeting at Columbus under the presidency of Dr. Geo. E. Vincent, who chose the theme "The Sociology of Rural Life." At that time I presented my first paper in this field on "The Teaching of Rural Sociology."<sup>1</sup>

In 1921 at the Pittsburgh meeting an informal round table and dinner of rural sociologists was held before the regular meeting at the call of Dr. K. L. Butterfield, and I was asked to preside.<sup>2</sup> It was voted to request the American Sociological Society to establish a section on Rural Sociology, and this was done at that time. The first meeting of the new section was held before the regular sessions at Chicago in 1922, and I had the privilege of being chairman. Since then the section on Rural Sociology has had a regular place on the program. In 1928 under the presidency of Dr. John M. Gillette, the theme of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society was The Rural Community. As another decade has passed, it may be time for the parent society to again give specific attention to the sociology of rural life. Last year we decided to establish a separate organization but to retain our affiliation with the parent society if it agreed. Which brings us to this our first annual meeting.

*Progress in Rural Sociology.* The last few years have been ones of notable progress in our field of work. There has been a steady increase in the number of state agricultural experiment stations conducting research in rural sociology, an increase in their staffs, and a larger recognition of the importance of the subject by experiment station directors and agricultural college executives. This has been due largely to the stimulus of the co-operative relations with the Division of Social Research of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and its successor the Works Progress Administration, and with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in co-opera-

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XI (1917), 181.

<sup>2</sup> For a history of the participation of rural sociologists in the meetings of the American Sociological Society before 1930, see B. F. Coen, in *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIV (May, 1930), 181-83.

tion with the Farm Security Administration. Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Dr. Carl C. Taylor, as heads of the work in rural sociology in these organizations, have made remarkable records in the quality and quantity of research which they have produced and which they have stimulated. We are all gratified at the increased support and recognition which their work is receiving and which is so well deserved.

Fundamentally, however, this increased support of rural sociology is the result of the social situation which has arisen since 1930, the current social trend, and an appreciation of the contribution which rural sociologists have been able to make in attacking its problems. As a result of the work of rural sociologists in the fields of rural population, the social aspects of land use and resettlement, and the attitudes of rural people, there is now every promise of the opportunity for a much more effective co-operation with our colleagues, the agricultural economists and with educators in rural school district reorganization.

The prospect for continued progress in our field is most encouraging, but as I said in closing an address before this group four years ago, "The prospects for social science under what we term the New Deal are limited only by its ability to meet the demands which will be made upon it."<sup>8</sup>

For the last twenty years rural sociologists have been fighting for recognition of their research and teaching as a means for the betterment of rural life, and of their contributions to a science of sociology. During this time they have occasionally fallen victim to a feeling, common to those in all new movements, that their work is regarded by others as inferior and they have been prone to fight for their rights. The battle is not yet won, but I have a belief that we are getting recognition as fast as we deserve it and that what is now needed is an assertion of leadership with a positive program in all those areas in which we are qualified to furnish it.

Most of our membership is in the states in which agriculture is the major industry. The northeastern section of the United States, east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio rivers, contains about half of the population and 70 per cent of the nation's income, but it contains a minority of the rural sociologists. The meetings of the national social science societies are usually held within this region, to the disadvantage of a majority of our members. Our organization should advocate holding these meetings more frequently in the Middle West and South, and we should encourage the development of strong rural sections in the regional sociological societies. In order to offset this handicap in attendance at annual meetings, I believe we will do well to have our elections by mail ballot, and I shall propose an amendment to the constitution to this effect.

However satisfactory the present status of our profession may be, I am sure that all of us sometimes have a question in our minds as to whether in the present turmoil of international relations we are doing a job which is worth while and is really significant in preserving and building a better civilization. In these days Democracy is facing a supreme test. Can we as rural sociologists help our people

<sup>8</sup> Dwight Sanderson, "Status and Prospects for Research in Rural Life under the New Deal," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (September, 1935), 193.

to meet this test? We have staked our careers on the belief that rural sociology can reveal the means of a better rural social organization through the scientific method. In my paper four years ago I quoted a significant paragraph from Prof. Charles A. Beard, which bears repeating:

A revolution in thought is at hand, a revolution as significant as the Renaissance: the subjection of science to ethical and esthetic purposes. Hence the next great survey undertaken in the name of the social sciences may begin boldly with a statement of values agreed upon, and then utilize science to discover the conditions, limitations, inventions and methods involved in realization.<sup>4</sup>

We believe in Democracy as a basic value. What can rural sociology do toward its realization? Science may give us knowledge of the structure and functioning of rural society, and it may test the validity of our institutions, but this does not necessarily motivate men to action. We need, therefore, to have more research on the social psychology of rural life, upon how attitudes are developed and how they may be guided. With such knowledge it should be possible through our extension services to do much to allay class antagonisms and to create a firm belief in the fundamental values of Democracy. The Totalitarian States and the experts in public relations have learned the art of manipulating public opinion through skillful propaganda for their own ends. Should we not be actively at work in learning how to show rural people how they may immunize themselves to these subtle forces and how they may control their own institutions in a democratic manner? We do not aim to manipulate them, but we should be able to motivate them to a well-informed conviction as to the importance of maintaining Democracy in all aspects of life. With this there will arise a new patriotism which is not incited merely for defense against an enemy from without, but which is actuated by devotion to the common welfare and a love of the home community, and which is, therefore, alive to defense against the enemy which is within ourselves.

I deeply appreciate the confidence which you have given me as the first president of our new organization. I believe we have made a good start, and that the future is bright if we will meet its challenges. I have every reason to believe we shall do so to the best of our ability and I congratulate you on the opportunities which are yours.

#### MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The meeting was called to order by the president, Dwight Sanderson, at 3 P.M. The report of the Committee on Teaching was called for and 23-page mimeographed report was present by the chairman of the committee, Wilson Gee. Fred C. Frey moved that the society receive and approve the report. C. Horace Hamilton offered the substitute motion that the society vote separately on the five recommendations contained in the report. Seconded and carried. The society then proceeded to consider the recommendations. Recommendation 1, page 22 of the

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 181, quoting Charles A. Beard, "Limitations to the Application of Social Science Implied in Recent Social Trends," *Social Forces*, XI (May, 1933), 510.

report, was amended to read: "That a separate status be sought at the earliest practicable date for rural sociology for teaching, research, and extension in the College of Agriculture in the land-grant agricultural colleges and universities where it is included with agricultural economics or other subjects than sociology, even though the department be a small one at the outset." It was then accepted by the society. Recommendation 2 was amended to read: "If rural sociology is lodged in a department of sociology in a land-grant agricultural college, . . . that it . . . be made a major emphasis, and that the name of the department be changed to indicate this emphasis." It was then accepted by the society. Recommendation 3 was eliminated. Carl C. Taylor moved that Recommendation 4 which reads as follows: "That a committee of this society be set up to reach some agreement on the definition of concepts, the delineation of areas of interest, the content of rural sociology courses, the levels at which these courses should be given, and the background of students taking them," be divided and two committees established—one on concepts, one on teaching. Motion was carried. Recommendation 5 was eliminated.

The chairman next called for the report of the Committee on Extension, J. P. Schmidt, chairman. Phillips B. Boyer moved the acceptance and approval of the report including approval of a special committee on extension appointed by Dr. Sanderson at the Lexington meetings of the American Country Life Association, composed of the following: Howard W. Beers, A. F. Wileden, B. L. Hummel, Mary Eva Duthie, and W. H. Stacy; advisory members, Carl C. Taylor and H. W. Hochbaum.

The chairman next called for the report of the Committee on Research, C. Horace Hamilton, chairman. Conrad Taeuber moved that the report be referred to the incoming Executive Committee. Motion was carried.

The chairman next requested a report on the activities of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, by Carl C. Taylor. Dr. Taylor filed a written report with the secretary and will supply copies to those requesting them. Dr. Taylor also reported that five regional rural sociologists had been appointed in connection with the provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Act. The five are Messrs. Losey, Cronin, Larsen, Holt, and McKain.

The minutes of the last business meeting of the society were then called for and were approved as printed in the March, 1937, issue of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*.

Conrad Taeuber offered a resolution that the members of the Rural Sociological Society express their feeling of personal loss in the death of Dr. Theodore B. Manny, on September 26, 1938. The following resolution was adopted by a rising vote:

**BE IT RESOLVED**, That the members of the Rural Sociological Society express their feeling of personal loss in the death of Dr. Theodore B. Manny on September 26, 1938.

Dr. Manny was one of the valued and active members of our organization from the start. He took a leading part in the organization and activities of the present society, as he had done in the Rural Sociological Section previously.

Dr. Manny's energy, social discernment, and eminent fairness of temper won him

friends everywhere, even in the most trying social situations. His work for many years in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Department of Agriculture and later at the University of Maryland has been marked by a humane and scholarly approach. To those of us who worked intimately with Dr. Manny there comes a feeling of personal loss and a sense of vacancy in the ranks of rural sociologists

*BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED*, That the secretary of the Rural Sociological Society be instructed to enter a copy of this resolution upon the records of the society and to transmit a copy to Mrs. Manny.

The chairman then called on the secretary for a report of the finances of the society. The Auditing Committee, Charles P. Loomis, chairman, certified as to the correctness of the accounts and the following report was approved:

# RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 1938

Cash on Hand, January 1, 1938	\$101.47
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### *Receipts*

206 Active memberships @ \$3 00	\$618.00
16 Active memberships @\$3 00, less 50	40.00
36 Active memberships @ \$3 00, less \$1.00	72.00
*1 Active membership @ \$2.50, less 50	2.00
5 Active memberships @ \$2 00 (half year)	10.00
1 Active membership @ \$2 50 (three-fourths year)	2.50
27 Student memberships @ \$2 50	67.50
1 Student membership @ \$2 50, less .50	2.00
1 Student membership @ \$1.50 (half year)	1.50
Total Receipts	<hr/> 815.50
	<hr/> \$916.97

### *Disbursements*

#### To *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*:

286 subscriptions @ \$2.50	\$715.00
6 half-year, @ \$1.50	9 00
1 three-fourths year, @ \$2.00	2 00
	<hr/> \$726.00
Complimentary membership	3.00
Postage	48.27
Office supplies	37.18
Telegrams	1.23
Programs, 1938	4.50
Program, 1937	7.00
Service charges, bank exchange	2.10
Total Disbursements	<hr/> \$ 829.28

Balance carried forward	\$ 87.69
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\* Subscription to *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* accepted at \$2 rate in November, 1937.

T. LYNN SMITH, *Secretary-Treasurer*  
December 16, 1938

It was explained that at the time of the formation of the Rural Sociological Society some members had already paid dues in the Section on Rural Sociology for 1938; others had paid for 1938 and 1939. Furthermore, some members in the section had entered their subscriptions to *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* to expire with the various issues; and from one of them a subscription had already been accepted at the \$2.00 rate. In each case the proper pro rata credits were allocated, as itemized.

The report of the Committee on the Constitution, John H. Kolb, chairman, was then called for, and the following constitution was adopted:

#### CONSTITUTION RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Article I. *Name.* This organization shall be called the Rural Sociological Society.

Article II. *Objects.* The objects of this society shall be to promote development of rural sociology, through research, teaching, and extension work.

Article III. *Affiliation.* This society shall be affiliated with the American Sociological Society.

Article IV. *Members.* Any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology or who is interested in the objects of this society, may become a member upon the vote of the executive committee and the payment of annual dues.

Article V. *Officers.* The officers of the society shall consist of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to those offices.

Article VI. *Executive Committee.* The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers, the retiring president, and one other member to be elected by the society. The Executive Committee shall be the governing body of the society, except insofar as the society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in co-operation with the Executive Committee.

Article VII. *Elections.* The officers and elected member of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually by a majority of the members voting.

Article VIII. *Annual Meeting.* The society shall meet annually. The time and place of meeting shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

Article IX. *Amendments.* The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, *provided* that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

#### BY-LAWS

Article I. *Membership Dues.*

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of the society may become a

member upon application and recommendation by a member of the society and favorable vote of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The annual dues for active members shall be three dollars per annum, and shall entitle the member to the publications of the society. Students of educational institutions may become associate members upon the payment of two dollars and fifty cents per annum.

#### Article 2. *Standing Committees.*

Section 1. There shall be three standing committees on research, teaching, and extension. Each of these committees shall be composed of three members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years in the same manner as the Executive Committee. The senior member of each committee shall act as its chairman. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to make inquiry as to the status and progress of that phase of rural sociology assigned to it, and to make such reports and recommendations to the society as it may see fit.

Section 2. The Executive Committee and the chairmen of the three standing committees shall constitute a Program Committee for arranging the program of the annual meeting.

#### Article III. *Publications.*

Section 1. The quarterly journal, *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, shall be the official publication of the society and its management shall be vested in a board of editors to be elected by the society.

Section 2. The Board of Editors of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* shall consist of five members, one to be elected each year for a term of five years in the same manner as the Executive Committee, and a managing editor. The Board of Editors shall elect from among its numbers an editor-in-chief, and shall appoint a managing editor to have charge of the management of the journal.

Section 3. Two dollars and fifty cents of the dues of each member shall be paid to the managing editor for a subscription to *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*.

Section 4. The Board of Editors of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* shall submit an annual report of its receipts and expenditures and of its general policies, with a proposed budget for the ensuing year. The Board of Editors shall not obligate the society for expenditures in excess of its receipts from subscriptions, advertising, and other sources.

#### Article IV. *Elections.*

The secretary shall distribute to all members a ballot for nominations during September which to be valid shall be returned to him by October fifteenth in an envelope bearing the signature of the member, whose standing shall be verified by the secretary. The president shall appoint an Election Committee of three members to canvass the ballots, and they shall report to the secretary the names of the three nominees for each position receiving the highest number of ballots. Not later than November fifteenth the secretary shall mail to each member a ballot bearing the names of the three nominees for each position, which ballot to be valid shall be returned to him not later than November thirtieth in an en-



velope bearing the signature of the member. The Election Committee shall then canvass the ballots and shall report to the annual meeting those who have received a majority of the ballots cast. In case there is not a majority for any office, the Election Committee shall report the vote to the annual meeting and election shall be by a majority ballot of the members present.

#### Article V. *Vacancies.*

The Executive Committee is empowered to fill any vacancies that may occur in the committees or among the officers of the society.

#### Article VI. *Amendments.*

Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by the Executive Committee or by any member of the society, and shall be adopted by a majority vote of those present at the annual meeting, providing that the amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

The chairman next asked Lowry Nelson for a report on publications. Mr. Nelson reported that agreement with the Louisiana State University for publication of the quarterly *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* terminated with the December, 1938, issue, and that new arrangements must be completed if the journal were to continue. He suggested four possible plans of action: (1) that the publication of the journal might be discontinued; (2) that the society might assume full responsibility for the publication of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*; (3) that the Louisiana State University might be requested to continue the journal as its own publication; and (4) that a new co-operative agreement between the society and the university might be arranged and entered into. There was a brief discussion of these proposals, and the chairman asked for a statement from Fred C. Frey regarding the Louisiana State University's attitude. Mr. Frey stated that he had secured support from the university for the journal only in an endeavor to assist the development of rural sociology as a strong discipline, and that the university was willing to extend its support to the journal for two additional years on the following conditions: (1) that the Rural Sociological Society continue in every way as a fully autonomous organization; and (2) that the members of the society make every effort to place the journal upon a completely self-sustaining basis. It was moved and seconded that the editorial board of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* be empowered to work out with the university an agreement for publishing the journal during the coming two years. Motion carried.

Phillips B. Boyer moved that the society extend a vote of thanks to the Louisiana State University for the aid and assistance it had rendered in sponsoring the journal *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*. Motion carried.

The report of the Nominating Committee, Conrad Taeuber, chairman, was called for and the committee submitted the following report:

Your committee submits the following nominations for the officers of the Rural Sociological Society:

President—Carl C. Taylor

Vice-President—R. C. Smith

Secretary-Treasurer—T. Lynn Smith

Members of the Executive Committee:

T. J. Woofter, Jr. (elected)

Howard W. Beers

To the Committee on Teaching, for the term ending in 1941:

J. L. Hypes

To the Committee on Research, for the term ending in 1941:

George W. Hill

To the Committee on Extension, for the term ending in 1941:

A. F. Wileden

Members of the Editorial Board, for the term ending in:

Lowry Nelson	1939
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J. H. Kolb	1940
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C. E. Lively	1941
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C. C. Zimmerman	1942
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C. P. Loomis	1943
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Editors of Rural Sociological Monographs, for the term ending in:

Paul H. Landis	1939
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Conrad Taeuber	1940
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Two present members of each of the three standing committees will continue as follows:

Committee on Teaching:

O. D. Duncan, Chairman

C. R. Hoffer

Committee on Research:

C. Horace Hamilton, Chairman

N. L. Whetten

Committee on Extension:

Mary E. Duthie, Chairman

W. H. Stacy

The Managing Editor of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* is appointed by the Editorial Board and becomes a member of that board.

T. Lynn Smith continues as an ex-officio member of the editors of Rural Sociological Monographs.

Owing to a change in the provisional constitution, two nominees for the Executive Committee were presented, and only one could be elected. Accordingly, it was moved and unanimously accepted that the society accept the report of the Nominating Committee, excluding the nominations of the Executive Committee, and the society proceeded to ballot on the two nominees. A count of the votes showed a clear majority for T. J. Woofter, Jr.

The meeting adjourned at 5:55 P.M.

T. LYNN SMITH,  
Secretary-Treasurer

## 1938 MEMBERSHIP LIST OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

*Alabama*

Andrews, Henry L. ....	Box 797 .....	University
Nunn, Alexander .....	c/o <i>Progressive Farmer</i> .....	Birmingham
*Sanders, Irwin T. ....	Alabama College .....	Montevallo

*Arizona*

Tetreau, E. D. ....	University of Arizona .....	Tucson
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*Arkansas*

Bonslagel, Connie J. ....	Capitol Hill Apts. ....	Little Rock
Charlton, J. L. ....	University of Arkansas .....	Fayetteville
Halfacre, G. May .....	Farm Security Adm. ....	Little Rock
Metzler, Wm. H. ....	University of Arkansas .....	Fayetteville

*California*

Benedict, M. R. ....	University of California .....	Berkeley
Brandt, Karl .....	Stanford University .....	Stanford Univ.
Griffin, F. L. ....	University of California .....	Davis
Masters, M. ....	Fresno State College .....	Fresno
Taylor, Paul S. ....	University of California .....	Berkeley

*Colorado*

Larson, Olaf .....	Colorado State College .....	Fort Collins
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Miller, Marshall C. ....	Mesa College .....	Grand Junction
Price, Maurice T. ....	943 Emerson St. ....	Denver

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Atherton, Raymond P. ....	County Agent .....	Litchfield
Brundage, A. J. ....	Connecticut State College .....	Storrs
Field, Raymond .....	Box 1 .....	Storrs
Hypes, J. L. ....	Connecticut State College .....	Storrs
McKain, Walter C., Jr. ....	Y. M. C. A. ....	New Haven
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Thomas, Dorothy Swaine ..	333 Cedar St. ....	New Haven
Whetten, N. L. ....	Connecticut State College .....	Storrs

*Washington, D. C.*

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Boyer, Phillips B. ....	Economics of Soil Conservation	U.S.D.A.
Davidson, Dwight M., Jr. ..	Bureau of Ag. Economics .....	U.S.D.A.
Donnahue, T. C. ....	University Club	
Galpin, C. J. ....	Bureau of Ag. Economics .....	U.S.D.A.
Gardner, Ella .....	Extension Service .....	U.S.D.A.
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Monsees, Carl H. ....	916 16th St., NW	
Parmelee, Maurice .....	Bureau of Ag. Economics .....	U.S.D.A.

Reese, Madge J. ....	Extension Service .....	U.S.D.A.
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Wakefield, Olaf .....	A. A. A. ....	U.S.D.A.
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Woofter, T. J., Jr. ....	Works Progress Adm.	
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Moore, Coyle E. ....	Florida State College for Women ...	Tallahassee
Shankweiler, Paul W. ....	Florida State College for Women ..	Tallahassee

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Osborn, George C. ....	Berry College .....	Mount Berry
Young, Wade P. ....	College of Agriculture .....	Athens

*Idaho*

Mimms, O. L. ....	University of Idaho .....	Moscow
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*Illinois*

Berry, John W. ....	Eureka College . ....	Eureka
Bowden, R. D. ....	South Ill. State Normal Univ. . . .	Carbondale
Breckenridge, S. P. ....	University of Chicago .....	Chicago
Burgess, Ernest W. ....	University of Chicago .....	Chicago
Holt, A. E. ....	Chicago Theol. Seminary .....	Chicago
*Hudson, G. T. ....	University of Illinois .....	Urbana
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Hoffman, Charles S. ....	Farm Security Adm. ....	Indianapolis
Hollingshead, A. B. ....	Indiana University .....	Bloomington
Shideler, Ernest H. ....	Farm Security Adm. . . .	Lafayette
Smith, Raymond C. ....	Farm Security Adm. ....	Indianapolis
Van Huss, A. B. ....	Farm Security Adm. ....	Lebanon

*Iowa*

Anderson, C. Arnold .....	Iowa State College .....	Ames
Landis, Judson T. ....	Iowa State College ...	Ames
Ligutti, Rev. L. G. ....		Granger
Muriel, Sister M. ....	Briar Cliff College .....	Sioux City

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Ryan, Bryce	122 North Riverside Drive	Ames
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Von Tungeln, George H.	Iowa State College	Ames
Wakeley, Ray E.	Iowa State College	Ames

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Oyler, Merton	University of Kentucky	Lexington
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*Bradford, Reed	Louisiana State University	University
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Glenn, Maxwell	Louisiana State University	University
*Grigsby, S. Earl	Louisiana State University	University
*Hitt, Homer L.	Louisiana State University	University
Hoffsommer, Harold	Louisiana State University	University
Hyde, Roy E.	Southeastern La. College	Hammond
Jacobi, Rev. H. Jos.	Assoc. Catholic Charities	New Orleans
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McLaren, Hazel	Louisiana State University	University
*McMillan, Robert T.	Louisiana State University	University
*Marx, Paul	Louisiana State University	University
Mims, Mary	Louisiana State University	University
Montgomery, J. P.	Louisiana State University	University
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Schuler, Edgar	Louisiana State University	University
Smith, M. B.	Louisiana State University	University
Smith, T. Lynn	Louisiana State University	University
Thompson, Susanne	Louisiana State University	University
Vrooman, C. Earl	Louisiana State University	University

*Maine*

Niederfrank, E. J.	University of Maine	Orono
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Zimmerman, Carle C. ..	Harvard University .....	Cambridge

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Dickins, Dorothy.....	Miss. State College .....	State College
Evans, J. F. ....	Miss. State College .....	State College

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Williams, Robin M.	State College	Raleigh

*North Dakota*

Cape, Wilson	University of North Dakota	University
Gillette, J. M.	University of North Dakota	Grand Forks
Hay, Donald G.	N. D. Experiment Station	State College
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Garnett, W. E.  
Gee, Wilson  
Harris, Marshall  
Mangus, A. Raymond  
Shawen, Rev. Wm. C.  
\*Smith, Joseph M.  
Tate, Leland B.  
Wasson, Chester  
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Morgantown  
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### Foreign

Alter, S. Neale ....	American Mission .....	Hama, Syria
Cépède, Michel ....	135 Rue Falguière .....	Paris, France
Midkiff, Frank E. ....	Castle & Cooke Bldg. . . .	Honolulu, T. H.
Seedorf, W. ....	Universitat Göttingen .....	Göttingen, Germany

### \* Student Members.

*Connecticut State College*:—N. L. Whetten will spend the second half of the present academic year on sabbatical leave in Mexico. He plans to do research on current agrarian and rural life movements in Mexico.

*The Pacific Sociological Society*:—The tenth annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society was held at the University of California in Berkeley, December 28-30, 1938. Among papers read were "Patterns of Age, Sex and Direction in Net White Mobility Streams," presented by Elon H. Moore of the University of Oregon and discussed by Carl F. Reuss of the State College of Washington and Paul Walter, Jr., of the University of New Mexico; and "A Study of the Mormon Village Family," presented by Roy A. West, of the Institute of Religion, Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, and followed by discussions by Robert H. Dann of Oregon State College, and Carlo L. Lastrucci of Stanford University.

# Notes for Contributors

Manuscripts should be typewritten (original copy), on bond paper, double-spaced, with ample margins. The sheets should be of uniform size, carefully numbered, and should not be rolled or stapled together.

Insertions should be made on full-size paper, or should be pasted in where they occur.

Charts, figures, tables, or other illustrations should be numbered, the tops indicated, and accompanied with legends of corresponding number. Drawings should be in India ink on white paper or tracing cloth.

Footnotes (preferably double-spaced) should be numbered consecutively throughout an article, and should be designated by separation from the text by lines running entirely across the page. They may be typed either at the bottom of the page or preferably at the point in the page where the reference occurs in the text.

The following abbreviations are acceptable in footnotes:

AES	for Agricultural Experiment Station
AESB	for Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin
USDA	for United States Department of Agriculture
BAE	for Bureau of Agricultural Economics
SSRC	for Social Science Research Council
WPA	for Works Progress Administration
AYC	for American Youth Commission
FSA	for Farm Security Administration
RB	for Research Bulletin
FERA	for Federal Emergency Relief Administration
SRR	for Social Research Report

The following footnote forms are to be used:

For books:

- <sup>1</sup> Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (Boston, 1932), p. 481.
- <sup>2</sup> H. C. Nixon, *Forty Acres and Steel Mules* (Chapel Hill, 1938), pp. 20-21.
- <sup>3</sup> Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York, 1937), III, 420-38.
- <sup>4</sup> Morse Salisbury, "The Effect of Broadcasting upon Rural Life," *Educational Broadcasting*, 1936, ed. C. S. Marsh (Chicago, 1937), pp. 250-59.

For periodicals:

- <sup>5</sup> Paul H. Landis, "Seasonal Agricultural Labor in the Yakima Valley," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLV (August, 1937), 1-11.
- <sup>6</sup> W. F. Ogburn, "Technology and Sociology," *Social Forces*, XVII (October, 1938), 1-8.

For bulletins:

- <sup>7</sup> Deane G. Carter, *Study of Rural Housing*, Arkansas AESB 364 (Fayetteville, June, 1938). Mimeographed, 31 pp.
- <sup>8</sup> Harold Hoffsommer, *Landlord-Tenant Relations and Relief in Alabama*, Division of Research Statistics and Finance, FERA RB 9 (Washington, November, 1935), pp. 1-7.
- <sup>9</sup> C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, SRR 10 (Washington, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 59 pp.

# RURAL SOCIOLOGY



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## CONTENTS

<i>The Present Status of Rural Sociology in the South and Desirable Steps for Its More Adequate Development.</i> By Bonney Youngblood	143
<i>Migration, Marriage, and Divorce.</i> By Dorothy Swaine Thomas	155
<i>Rural Youth Studies in the United States.</i> By Robin M. Williams	166
<i>State Police in a Rural Area.</i> By Marshall E. Jones	179
<i>The Sociology of Drought.</i> By Allen D. Edwards	190
<i>The Allenteil: German Farmers' Old Age Security.</i> By H. W. Spiegel	203
<b>Notes</b>	
<i>The Beginnings of Rural Social Studies in the U.S.D.A.</i> By Dwight Sanderson	219
<i>The Work of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.</i> By Carl C. Taylor	221
<i>Current Bulletins.</i> Edited by Charles P. Loomis	229
<b>Book Reviews.</b> Edited by Carle C. Zimmerman	
Odum and Moore, <i>American Regionalism</i> , by T. J. Woofter, Jr	250
Woodward, <i>Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel</i> , by Carl C. Taylor	252
Powdermaker, <i>After Freedom</i> , by Felton G. Clark	254
Warriner, <i>Economics of Peasant Farming</i> , by C. C. Zimmerman	255
Wilson, <i>The Geography of Reading</i> , by William R. Gordon	256
Woofter, et al., <i>Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation</i> , by C. O. Brannen	257
Moore, <i>Cityward Migration</i> , by Dudley Kirk	258
Cavers (ed.), <i>Law and Contemporary Problems</i> , by J. A. Baker and George S. Wehrwein	259
Boas, <i>The Mind of Primitive Man</i> , by Guy B. Johnson	260
Hurston, <i>Tell My Horse</i> , by Edgar T. Thompson	261
Landis and Page, <i>Modern Society and Mental Disease</i> , by J. M. Gillette	262
Neuberger, <i>Our Promised Land</i> , by Fred R. Yoder	263
Fairchild, <i>Survey of Contemporary Sociology</i> , by Kenneth Evans	263
Sellin, <i>Culture Conflict and Crime</i> , by Neal B. De Nood	264
Overstreet and Overstreet, <i>Town Meeting Comes to Town</i> , Carter and Ogden, by A. F. Wileden	265
Colcord, <i>Your Community</i> , by E. deS. Brunner	266
Burt, <i>Powder River: Let 'er Buck</i> , by Wilbert E. Moore	267
Agricultural Committee of the I.L.O., <i>Social Problems in Agriculture</i> , by Lowry Nelson	267
<i>Congrès international de la population</i> , by Homer L. Hitt	268
Black and Mudgett, <i>Research in Agricultural Index Numbers</i> , by Roy A. Balingier	268
Hanna, Anderson, and Gray, <i>Centerville</i> , by E. deS. Brunner	268
Price, <i>White Settlers in the Tropics</i> , by T. Lynn Smith	269
Coffin, <i>Maine Ballads</i> , by George E. Lord	269
Parkins, <i>The South—Its Economic-Geographic Development</i> , by M. B. Smith	269
CBS and NBC Sponsors, <i>The Joint Committee Study of Rural Radio Ownership and Use in the U.S.</i> , CBS, Columbia R.F.D. Audience, by C. C. Zimmerman	270
Ball, <i>Federal, State, and Local Administrative Relationships in Agriculture</i> , by T. Lynn Smith	270
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i> .. . . .	271

# The Present Status of Rural Sociology in the South and Desirable Steps for Its More Adequate Development†

*Bonney Youngblood\**

## ABSTRACT

The people of the South are making a more intelligent effort to find answers to their social questions than have been possible heretofore. Both federal and state, including some nonagricultural, institutions are making important contributions to an understanding of these questions.

Steps to be taken include:

1. Helping the rural people in particular and the public generally to understand their social problems.
2. Southern institutions must lead the way to rural social progress in the region. Research is the most serious business of these institutions. For research to be the most effective instrument for rural progress it must not be made a side line to teaching or other functions. Teachers who undertake research must have sufficient relief from teaching loads to do it aggressively.
3. The research specialist must bring to his task a cultivated, scientific mind, a mastery of scientific method, and a social philosophy.
4. The rural sociologist must maintain something more than a speaking acquaintance, an effective working relationship, with the physical and biological sciences, must help organize the forces of Science, help develop a Science of Man in which man is the master of a favorable ecological balance.

As the subjects represented on this program indicate, sociological research, having either a direct or an indirect bearing upon rural life, is taking root not only in the agricultural institutions but also in some of the nonagricultural colleges and universities of the South. This is as it should be. The Purnell fund, a federal-grant fund under which most of the social science research is conducted at the state agricultural experiment stations, must be expended upon specific problems having a direct bearing upon agriculture and rural life. This means that other less restricted funds must be found for conducting broad studies bearing upon urban and national life. It goes without saying, however, that rural-life problems cannot be resolved independently of urban life, or

† Presented at the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 1, 1938.

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of the life of the nation as a whole. Let us hope, therefore, that both the agricultural and the nonagricultural institutions of research and education in the South may envision alike the basic sociological problems of the region and that these institutions may harmonize their forces in efforts to bring about the improvements sought.

The South, along with the rest of the nation, is perhaps more sociologically conscious now than ever before. Evidently the people are making a more intelligent effort to find answers to their social questions than was possible in the past. With the help of their state and federal governments, they are beginning to make headway in the conservation of their natural and human resources. They are making excellent progress in better land utilization and in saving their soils from depletion and erosion. The economic and social effects of erosion control and its prevention is the subject of nationwide study. There is, of course, a demand for better standards and planes of living, better balanced economy and life. There is also in evidence a desire on the part of the social leaders of the South to improve relations among the varied elements which compose the population, and to harmonize local and regional programs of social progress with similar programs in other regions and with the broad objectives of the nation as a whole.

In general, there appears to be a growing desire for an intelligent adjustment between the population and the human carrying capacity of the land, its varied resources and diversity of enterprise considered. In fact, current efforts designed to bring about economic and social progress may be viewed as a striving for human ecological balance, regionally and nationally. The nation seems to be trying to learn something about what combination of human, plant, and animal populations and what types of social organization, institutions, and enterprise would constitute the most desirable pattern within a given environment. From this point of view, many of the major activities of the South—for example, agricultural adjustment, diversification, soil conservation, farm security, social security, rehabilitation and relief efforts—might be defined as broad social movements designed to help conserve and properly utilize our natural and human resources and to assure stability, security, and progress for the nation as a whole.

Everything considered, the future of rural sociological research, not only in the South but throughout the nation, seems very promising. While its proponents have certain obstacles to overcome, they have certain advantages not enjoyed by the pioneers in agricultural research.

A disadvantage is the restriction in public opinion concerning the scope and operation of an agricultural experiment station. In the early days, the work of the stations was restricted chiefly to the improvement of soils, crops, livestock, and their protection from diseases and insect pests. The concept of an agricultural research agency, therefore, did not extend to the study of the more intimately human problems such as come within the scope of rural sociological research. Rural sociologists are fortunate, however, in not having to create the research agencies in which they function. This was the task of the pioneers. They established and developed these agencies, and these in turn, upon the basis of their practical scientific achievements, have won for themselves a high place in public esteem.

A disadvantage lies in the fact that rural sociology is an exacting, not an exact science. It is a much simpler matter to study the phenomena of nature as observed in environment, plants, and animals, than it is to study human behavior in groups varying in size from a family to a nation, wherein psychological phenomena, including both rational and emotional elements, must be considered. Someone has said that while some rural sociological phenomena may be measured quantitatively, many others, particularly the emotional, are not subject to mathematical analysis. If, however, the research specialists possess the scientific spirit and fortitude of the pioneers, they can look and see—observe things, count things, measure things, and weigh things independently of prevailing patterns of thought among the people—just as Aristotle did more than two thousand years ago.

Time, of course, is necessary in the evolvement of a people, including their national ideals. It took more than 250 years for our people to settle the question of national unity and of publicly-supported education and research as instruments of rural progress. Much as our agricultural institutions have achieved, they may still be regarded, in many respects, as in their formative stage. Only seventy-five years have elapsed since the establishment of the United States Department of Agriculture and the agricultural and mechanical colleges; only sixty-three years have elapsed since the establishment of the first state agricultural experiment station; and only fifty years since the approval of the Hatch Act further endowing an agricultural experiment station in each state and territory. Likewise, time, patience, and good work will be required to place rural sociological research in the position which it should occupy as one of the instruments of human progress.



Before enacting legislation providing for the establishment and support of agricultural institutions and agencies, legislative bodies were guided in large measure by what the farmers had to say about their problems. Pioneer farmers wanted agricultural instruction, information, statistics, and better plants and animals introduced from abroad. It seems that the farmers were only incidentally concerned about the ways and means employed in supplying the information and service which they needed. I think, therefore, that it is safe to assume that the agricultural institutions and agencies, state and federal, are themselves to be credited with the initiative in obtaining the general adoption of scientific research as the most effective means of solving the problems of agriculture and rural life.

The particular problems which the pioneers emphasized at a given time depended, in part, upon where the shoe pinched the hardest and, in part upon the stage of agricultural progress. The different scientific applications, therefore, came to the forefront of public support, in part, in the order of the relative importance which farmers attached to their immediate problems; in part, upon the relative maturity of the science itself; and, in part, in the order of the relative effectiveness of the agricultural institutions themselves in convincing public opinion of the efficacy of the sciences as instruments of rural progress. Generally speaking, prior to 1900, American farmers visualized their production problems more clearly than they did their economic and social problems. They were more concerned with the matter of reducing the physical burdens of farming and increasing yields without proportionate increases in production costs, than in what we now define as social progress. They were not, of course, unmindful of the importance of marketing, taxation, transportation, and monetary questions, but these subjects were not, until comparatively recent decades, recognized as appropriate subjects for agricultural research. Even today, many farmers will tell you that if you can show them the way to better incomes, they will show you how to live. Perhaps it is one of the functions of rural sociological research to dispel the fallacies of some rural attitudes, such as those listed in *The Future of the Great Plains*,<sup>1</sup> Chapter V, for example, that natural resources are inexhaustible, etc.

On the basis of farmer preference, therefore, the physical and biological problems of agriculture were the first to be subjected to scientific

<sup>1</sup> *The Future of the Great Plains*, Report of the Great Plains Committee, published as House Document No. 144 (Washington, December, 1936).

study. Within the past thirty years, agricultural economics has come into public favor as a field of agricultural research about in proportion as the public generally has come to recognize the increasing importance of rural economic problems and as the science itself has been developed as a reliable means of interpreting economic conditions. In fact, the farm economists themselves have had much to do with bringing about this recognition. Likewise, much of the initial spade work of securing recognition for rural sociological research will fall, in the main, to the rural sociologists themselves.

Despite the delimitations imposed upon the title of this paper, it seems inevitable that I must review briefly, at least, the history of rural sociology in the United States. The zero mile post from which modern progress in rural sociology is measured in this country is a report of the Commission on Rural Life made in 1909. In appointing this Commission, President Theodore Roosevelt said, in part: "The great rural interests are human interests, and good crops are of little value to the farmer unless they open the door to a good kind of life on the farm." Dean Liberty Hyde Bailey of Cornell University, an early advocate of rural life studies, was Chairman of the Commission.

That men with inquiring minds build the sciences, and not the sciences the men, is illustrated in the life of Dr. C. J. Galpin, the first to study rural life problems under a formal project of a state agricultural experiment station. Dr. Galpin began his studies of rural communities about 1910. He published Bulletin 234 of the Wisconsin Station, *Rural Social Centers in Wisconsin*, in January, 1914. He began a social survey of Walworth County, Wisconsin, in 1911. This study resulted in his now historic Wisconsin Station Bulletin 34, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, published in May, 1915. Previous to his coming to Wisconsin, he had made a study of an agricultural community in New York state independently of any educational institution. In 1919, Dr. Galpin accepted a position with the Federal Bureau of Agricultural Economics and organized the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. Between that date and his retirement, Dr. Galpin made a number of significant studies of rural sociological problems of the South, particularly those dealing with rural population, standards of living, the rural church, tenancy, and related subjects.

Dr. Galpin, who retired in October, 1935, was succeeded by Dr. Carl C. Taylor, who pioneered in this field at the University of Missouri, the University of Texas, and the North Carolina State College. At the

present time, Dr. Taylor is head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and is also acting as head of the Social Research Division of the Farm Security Administration, successor to the Resettlement Administration. In the bureau of Agricultural Economics, Dr. Taylor is conducting co-operative studies of tenancy, labor, and population mobility and composition in the South, as well as elsewhere. For the Farm Security Administration, he is conducting a number of social studies, some of which have been completed and reported upon. Of these, at least eight were made in the South and dealt with such questions as social status, farm tenure, social planning, rural rehabilitation, standards of living, rural population analysis, and social institutions and relationships.

In many respects remarkable developments in rural social science research have also taken place in some of the nonagricultural universities of the South, particularly those of North Carolina and Virginia. The work at the University of North Carolina is said to date back to 1914 when Dr. E. C. Branson organized the Department of Rural Social Economics. A review of Dr. Branson's life work makes it clear that he placed great emphasis upon research. This review states that "The main contribution of the Department of Rural Social Economics has been its research work. Because of the volume and quality of its research work, it is favorably known throughout the Nation and in foreign countries. For seventeen years it has been exploring North Carolina: Economic, Social, and Civic." The Review lists seventy-seven unpublished studies and fifty-five which had been published between the years 1913 and 1933. Dr. S. H. Hobbs, Jr., is now head of this Department. To this must be added the work of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, established in 1924, headed by Dr. Howard W. Odum. It is, of course, beyond the scope of this paper to enumerate the many achievements of Southern leaders in sociological research like Dr. Odum and his associates, who are the authors of a number of important contributions to sociological thought; but as the author of *Southern Regions* alone, Dr. Odum has made an outstanding contribution to Southern sociological thought, both rural and urban.

Another pioneer in rural sociological research in the South, all of whose accomplishments cannot be mentioned here, is Dr. Wilson Gee. At the University of South Carolina, between 1919 and 1923, Dr. Gee was the author of a number of county economic and social surveys. In 1923, he was elected professor of rural economics and rural sociology at

the James Wilson School of Economics at the University of Virginia. In 1926, the University established a separate school known as the School of Rural Social Economics involving both agricultural economics and rural sociology, with Professor Gee as its head. That same year, the University also established a School of Sociology with Professor Floyd N. House as its head and an Institute for Research in the Social Sciences with Professor Gee as Director. Since 1926, the School of Rural Social Economics and the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences have issued a dozen volumes of news letters dealing with economic and social questions, a large number of economic and social surveys of counties and geographical supplements, a number of books, many bulletins and, of course, many professional papers dealing particularly with the economic and social problems of Virginia and the South. It appears, therefore, that the universities of North Carolina and Virginia are playing leading rôles in social science research, much of which has an important bearing upon the problems of agriculture and rural life in the South.

Between 1911 and 1920, there was little to report concerning developments in rural life studies at the land-grant colleges. In its "Report on the Agricultural Experiment Stations for 1919," the Office of Experiment Stations listed only two projects in rural sociology, one at the Wisconsin and one at the West Virginia Station. Evidently, the establishment of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in 1919 stimulated a wave of interest in the states, for in 1921 the Office of Experiment Stations reported thirty active projects at the state experiment stations.

Since 1921, the increase in the number of state station projects has been very gradual. In 1924-25, the year preceding the Purnell Act, the office reported thirty-four rural sociological projects under way, compared with thirty in 1921, and in 1925-26, the first year of the Purnell fund, forty-four. In 1927, J. H. Kolb made a report to the Rural Section of the American Sociological Society for the Social Science Research Council indicating that sociological research was under way during 1926-27 at twenty-seven state agricultural experiment stations, five non-agricultural colleges or universities, two federal agencies, and two individuals. Kolb also reported a total of eighty-six projects under way. Evidently some of these were not experiment station projects.

In 1930, the office reported forty-six projects and in 1931, when the writer prepared a classified list of projects in agricultural economics and rural sociology, the total number of rural sociological projects reported

by state stations, federal agencies, and nonagricultural institutions was eighty-nine,<sup>2</sup> fifty-seven of which were state station projects. Of these, twenty-two were reported by Southern stations, not including the Missouri Station, which reported five projects in this field. Finally, in 1937, the office reported sixty-four active state station projects, sixty-two of which were supported by the Purnell fund.

It is realized, of course, that the mere number of projects under way at the state stations gives an inadequate picture of progress in this field. During the past ten to fifteen years, there has been a marked increase in the number of specialists well qualified for research in rural sociology. There are now one or more specialists in this field in each of the Southern experiment stations, except in those of Florida, Georgia, and Alabama. Without flattery, it may be added that those now occupying positions in rural sociological research from Virginia to Arizona constitute a group which compares favorably with similar groups in other parts of the country.

A still better perspective of present progress is gained when the rural social research of federal agencies is taken into consideration. The work headed by Dr. Carl C. Taylor has already been mentioned. In addition, let me call attention to the impetus given sociological research throughout the country by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and its successor, the Works Progress Administration. During the past four years, the social research of this agency has been led by able social scientists, such as Howard B. Myers, Dwight Sanderson, J. H. Kolb, and T. J. Woofter. It has co-operated with educational institutions in rural sociological research in practically all of the states. When this work began, only twenty-one state stations were employing rural sociological research specialists of which five were Southern stations; whereas, in 1937, thirty-one state stations had one or more such specialists on their staffs. Dr. Woofter tells me that as a result of this co-operation, more than a hundred research bulletins have been issued by the state stations and a number of monographs are being published by the WPA. Most of these monographs have a direct bearing on rural life in the South. While the number of printed bulletins, reports, and monographs dealing with rural social questions has increased substantially over the past five years, the number of mimeographed papers, of course, is much greater. Much

<sup>2</sup> Eighty-nine is undoubtedly an understatement of the number of research projects under way, particularly in the nonagricultural institutions, many of which failed to reply to the inquiry sent them.

of this mimeographed material is of permanent value and should be printed; otherwise it may be lost forever, because of the cheap paper used and the fact that mimeographed material has no permanent place in the libraries. In addition to the published material, the state stations have profited greatly from the large bodies of unpublished data, gathered largely at the expense of the federal agencies, which may be interpreted and issued in the years ahead.

While there is, of course, much yet to be accomplished in the definition of its problems, the development of methods and procedures, the interpretation of results, and the evolvment of a literature, rural sociological research is gaining a foothold as an agricultural science in the South as well as in other geographical divisions of the country. In fact, its record of achievement in recent years is one of which its sponsors may well be proud.

### STEPS

Some of the steps to be taken leading to the further development of rural sociological research in the South have already been indicated in this paper. It will suffice, therefore, to summarize a few of them briefly, as follows:

*Step 1* is to help rural people, rural leaders, and the public generally to visualize their social problems more clearly. The basic problems of rural sociology should be set forth not as idealistic concepts but as stern realities of rural life affecting the stability, comfort, and progress not of rural people alone but of the entire nation. The Rural Sociological Society, formerly the Rural Section of the American Sociological Society, has a committee now engaged in defining the basic problems of rural life, as nearly as possible, in the order of their importance and urgency.

*Step 2* is one to be taken by the institutions of research and education whose responsibility it is to lead the way to rural progress. These institutions have the responsibility, for example, of obtaining funds and developing or employing talent to conduct research and help formulate the "plans and specifications" for the structure of rural life in the South. Perhaps Dr. Gee's "Research Barriers in the South" has helped turn the tide of talent in the social sciences towards the South, instead of away from it as Dr. Gee indicated. It is to be hoped, however, that new research will not be undertaken by an institution until it has adequate funds to support the projects involved. Worthwhile research must be aggressively and continuously pursued until the objectives set forth are

reached. This requirement can be met only when positions are secure, professional opportunities and rewards are attractive, and the research specialists are happy and contented in their work. It is time for reflection when any considerable number of specialists leave an institution for better opportunities elsewhere. Of course, a certain amount of shifting is unavoidable and, in many cases, mutually beneficial, but these changes increase the turnover in personnel and the overhead costs of research. An institution is most fortunate when the flow of talent is toward it, not away from it.

On the basis of insufficient funds, or the unavailability of talent, many experiment station directors have heretofore been justified in resisting the pressure from both within and without for new and additional lines of research. Perhaps the best results are obtained when the experiment stations of a compact region do not try to have every imaginable type of research talent represented on their staffs but, instead, adequately endow the research that they do undertake and co-ordinate their research programs with the programs of neighboring states, so that a given station may assume leadership in certain lines of research while the other stations assume leadership in other lines which they are best prepared to conduct and thus round out the program of the entire region. While retaining their individual freedom to study what they pleased, the Northeastern State stations, for example, have correlated their programs of research to great advantage and, I might add, this idea is growing among Southern stations. An example of co-ordinated effort in social science research is the study of the economic and social problems of the Southern Appalachian Highlands undertaken in 1929 and participated in by the highland experiment stations and a number of federal agencies.

*Step 3* has to do with the amount and distribution of effort requisite to successful research. When a project is assigned to a specialist, it is vitally important that the institution grant him, and that he insist on, the necessary release from other duties to follow up his research aggressively and continuously until the problem is solved. It hardly seems necessary to remark that research is perhaps the most serious business of educational institutions. It is the source of information for teaching, extension, social planning, and social adjustment. It is therefore a major, not an incidental, function of an educational institution. If, for example, a teacher is assigned a research project, his teaching load must

be reduced to the point where he has the consecutive time required for the success of his project.

*Step 4* can only be taken by the project leader himself. He must bring to his project a scientific mind, one capable of conducting the research at hand ably and effectually. He must bring a good general education as a background to his scientific work. To be proficient in his research, he must have command of the method of science as it must be adapted to suit the requirements of his particular problems. Methodology enables him to deal with the realities of rural life while his social philosophy enables him to visualize the ideal towards which society aims, but, perhaps, will never fully attain.

It is the duty, therefore, of both the individual who undertakes research and of the institution with which he is connected to make a success of it. In agricultural science, this means not only getting dependable results, but also getting them used. Pure science unapplied to human problems will not save society from decay. "Every science begins as philosophy and ends as art; it arises in hypothesis and flows into achievement. Philosophy . . . is the front trench in the siege of truth. Science is the captured territory; and behind it are those secure regions in which knowledge and art build our imperfect and marvelous world."<sup>a</sup>

*Step 5.* Finally, let me suggest that the rural sociologists develop and maintain something more than a speaking acquaintance with other fields of science than their own. The success of rural sociology is perhaps far more dependent upon the findings of the physical and biological sciences and upon the findings of the social sciences other than sociology than is generally recognized. Properly integrated, they all work toward the common end of human progress.

There are those among scientists of more than ordinary renown who feel that the world is becoming cluttered up with too many isolated and unrelated facts; men like Dr. Alexis Carrel, for example, are saying that, in the present state of human society, there is an urgent demand for syntheses of scientific knowledge to give balance and proportion to a lop-sided world. Such men believe that if all the forces of science were harmoniously focused upon mankind and its needs, the world might be made a more natural, a more comfortable, and a more livable place for all of us. In such a world, perhaps, rural and urban life would be correlated, a knowledge of production and of productive re-

<sup>a</sup> Will Durant, *The Story of Philosophy* (New York, 1927), p. 2.



quirements would be balanced with a knowledge of consumption and consumptive requirements. Above all else, perhaps, we would know more about the present and do more for the future of mankind.

The rural sociologists can by no means afford to neglect the findings of their more intimate associates, the economists, the cultural anthropologists, the psychologists, and the social philosophers. In addition, study cultural history and learn some of the steps by which mankind has risen from savagery to civilization. Build up a sound and adequate literature of rural life, and thus help the most remarkable civilization of history to stand the test of time.

# Migration, Marriage, and Divorce

*Dorothy Swaine Thomas\**

## ABSTRACT

Taking marriage as an index of personal organization, and divorce as an index of disorganization to determine whether or not migrants themselves have less stable family relationships than nonmigrants as indicated by proportions married and divorced by sex and age, an analysis was made of data from the Swedish census of 1930. Against a control group of nonmigrants (persons living in the community of birth) migrants were classified as near and far migrants to rural areas, small towns, and large cities, and were further classified as to sex and age. Migrants were found to have higher proportions married than the corresponding control groups of nonmigrants, with the exception of migrants to rural areas from distant communities.

The theory of urbanization developed by Park and Burgess postulates personal disorganization as a concomitant of migration. Burgess states this point of view quite explicitly: "Disorganization as preliminary to reorganization of attitudes and conduct is almost invariably the lot of the newcomer to the city."<sup>1</sup> McKenzie, examining a wide selection of literature, concluded "that the mobility of modern life is intimately connected with many of our social problems, there is general consensus of opinion . . . [and] it is unquestionably true that the excessive population movements of modern times are fraught with many serious consequences."<sup>2</sup> Mowrer, taking divorce as an index of personal disorganization, related its frequency by Chicago areas to a measure of mobility.<sup>3</sup> Finally, Malzberg in his attempt to explain the high frequency of insanity among Negro migrants to New York state, as compared with native Negroes in the same state, attributed the differential not only to the lesser economic security of the migrants but also to the hazards of "a less stable family relationship."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *The City* (Chicago, 1925), p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> R. D. McKenzie, *The Neighborhood* (Chicago, 1923), p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> E. R. Mowrer, "Family Disorganization and Mobility," *American Sociological Society Publications*, XXIII (1929), 134-45.

<sup>4</sup> B. Malzberg, "Migration and Mental Disease Among Negroes in New York State," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, XXI (1936), 109.

If marriage (the establishment and maintenance of family relationships) is accepted as an index of organization, and divorce (the breaking of family relationships) as an index of disorganization, there are obviously two aspects to the question of migrant responsibility for disorganization. (1) Does migration depress the marriage frequency by disturbing the age and sex composition<sup>5</sup> of areas of absorption and dispersion, and setting in motion counter movements of population, and enhance the tendency towards divorce by increasing the "number and intensity of stimulations"?<sup>6</sup> (2) Do migrants themselves have less stable family relationships, as indicated by proportions married and proportions divorced by sex and age?

The present paper attempts to throw some light on the second of these aspects of the problem through an analysis of data from the Swedish census of 1930. This census provides data on the birthplace of the population by civil status, sex, age, and residence in rural and urban areas. The birthplace classification is in terms of whether residence in 1930 was in the community of birth or outside the community of birth. Persons living outside the community of birth are, for the most part, internal migrants, although small numbers of foreign-born are included. Persons living in the community of birth may be taken as a reasonably satisfactory control group of nonmigrants, although, of course, an unknown number of return migrants are included.

The census grouping of "rural" and "urban" is not only too crude for significant sociological analysis but introduces certain ambiguities in the interpretation of the data. In Sweden urban places vary in population from about 800 to 500,000. Stockholm, the capital, is distinguished from all other urban places, not only by size, but by its pronounced metropolitan and cosmopolitan characteristics. Gothenburg and Malmö, the two next largest cities, are administrative, commercial and economic centers of much greater importance than any other cities except Stockholm. It was considered desirable, therefore, to set off at least these three cities from the heterogeneous group of industrial and provincial towns, local administrative centers, market towns, holiday resorts, and satellite suburbs which constitute the remainder of urban areas. Through the courtesy of the Swedish Census Bureau, a special tabulation was ob-

<sup>5</sup> See E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships* (New York, 1928), pp. 193-218.

<sup>6</sup> Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

tained for these three cities and in addition the next largest, Norrköping. Three urban classes were, therefore, formed:

- (1) Stockholm, the capital and metropolis.
- (2) The three next largest cities.
- (3) The remainder, designated as "small towns" and varying in population from 800 to 56,000.

For technical as well as sociological reasons, it was necessary to isolate groups (1) and (2) from the others, for whereas each rural community and smaller town is considered part of a "region" within which internal migrations may occur, each of these four cities forms a region of its own. Thus, it is possible to differentiate between "near" and "far" migrants for rural areas and small towns, in terms of intraregional and extraregional moves, whereas all migrants to the larger cities are, by definition, extraregional.

The proportions married were computed for each migrant group and for the control group, by sex and five-year age groups, for rural areas and each of the urban classes.<sup>7</sup> Since the maximum frequency of the married falls, on the average, within an age group five years younger for females than for males, the analysis for females begins at ages 20-24, for males 25-29, both extending through ages 70-74. Because of random fluctuations in the data, some system of smoothing was necessary. A three-year period moving average was therefore computed for each series and these moving averages were corrected for convexity<sup>8</sup> (see Tables 1 and 2).

<sup>7</sup> Swedish census data on age, civil status and residence by sex are highly reliable. See D. S. Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials* (Social Science Research Council, New York, 1938) pp. 410-13 for a brief description of the source, and pp. 26-41, 60-65 and 87-92 for other uses of data from this source.

<sup>8</sup> The moving average of a convex series is below the "true" trend, hence the sum of the values of the moving average is always less than that of the observations. This systematic discrepancy (apparent in all the series considered) was allowed for by applying the formula

$$y = a + b \sqrt{x}$$

to the differences between the observations and the moving average and adding the correction, so obtained, to the moving average.

**TABLE 1**  
**POPULATION, MARRIED AND DIVORCED, BY SEX, AGE, COMMUNITY GROUP AND MIGRATION STATUS, SWEDEN, 1930\***

Ages	Nonmigrants Resident in Community of Birth				Near migrants Resident in Region (not Community) of Birth				Far migrants Resident Outside Region of Birth			
	Population	Married	Divorced		Population	Married	Divorced		Population	Married	Divorced	
<b>Rural Areas    Males</b>												
25-29	91,621	22,692			27,580	10,738			45,977	18,173		
30-34	75,501	36,449	110		27,161	17,786	51		45,857	30,822	151	
35-39	62,723	39,155	144		24,679	19,136	74		44,426	35,523	234	
40-44	55,212	38,058	177		23,076	18,942	89		41,562	34,722	258	
45-49	50,246	35,925	178		21,241	17,591	92		37,648	31,744	317	
50-54	46,922	33,974	190		20,570	17,007	107		35,274	29,484	315	
55-59	41,785	29,803	193		18,790	15,148	110		30,274	24,584	316	
60-64	34,333	23,679			15,658	12,045			24,020	18,715		
65-69	32,765	21,116			15,362	10,938			22,290	15,957		
70-74	26,852	15,506			12,324	7,832			17,072	10,794		
<b>Small Towns    Males</b>												
25-29	18,221	5,866			7,105	2,959			18,402	6,981		
30-34	13,168	7,593	63		7,293	4,896	43		19,525	13,195	114	
35-39	9,904	6,907	103		6,999	5,568	39		19,622	15,723	180	
40-44	7,841	5,682	81		6,407	5,320	54		18,953	15,947	214	
45-49	6,111	4,474	74		6,188	5,154	59		17,793	15,118	227	
50-54	4,900	3,674	55		5,787	4,728	67		15,780	13,338	222	
55-59	3,431	2,478	45		5,057	4,052	63		12,826	10,566	179	
60-64	2,373	1,578			4,115	3,069			10,011	7,807		
65-69	1,977	1,243			3,713	2,635			8,555	6,124		
70-74	1,297	709			2,769	1,753			6,259	4,065		

\*Source Data for rural areas are from *Sveriges Officiella Statistik, Folkräkningen den 31 december 1930*, II, 24-25, for three large cities and Stockholm, from a special tabulation obtained through the courtesy of Dr. Ernst Höjer of the Swedish Census Bureau, for small towns, by subtracting the sum of the data for three large cities and Stockholm from the data for all towns and cities in *Sveriges Officiella Statistik, op cit*, 26-27

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

Ages	Nonmigrants Resident in Community of Birth				Near migrants Resident in Region (not Community) of Birth				Far migrants Resident Outside Region of Birth			
	Population	Married	Divorced		Population	Married	Divorced		Population	Married	Divorced	
Rural Areas: Females												
20-24....	87,630	13,378	....		27,556	8,747	....		46,037	13,845	....	
25-29....	69,770	27,533	....		29,116	18,290	..		51,446	31,501	....	
30-34....	59,961	33,384	213		29,607	22,471	96		53,374	39,689	294	
35-39....	53,087	33,400	235		27,764	22,036	137		51,396	40,354	370	
40-44....	49,464	31,452	286		26,465	20,783	162		47,610	37,485	438	
45-49....	45,460	29,078	289		24,010	28,557	143		41,859	32,566	455	
50-54....	42,675	26,556	275		23,091	17,139	145		37,484	28,097	408	
55-59....	38,808	23,072	235		20,944	14,764	118		31,600	22,431	310	
60-64....	33,433	18,031	....		18,442	11,696	....		25,828	16,528	....	
65-69....	33,152	15,859	....		18,566	10,326	....		24,293	13,621	....	
70-74....	28,034	10,603	....		15,281	6,819	..		18,550	8,326	....	
Small Towns: Females												
20-24....	23,026	2,949	....		10,525	2,120	....		24,969	4,643	....	
25-29....	16,347	5,886	....		10,291	5,055	....		26,420	12,180	....	
30-34....	11,942	6,111	100		9,050	5,978	60		25,169	16,070	236	
35-39....	9,342	5,135	138		8,088	5,575	102		24,259	17,176	299	
40-44....	8,026	4,412	136		7,732	5,302	107		22,648	15,969	375	
45-49....	6,613	3,601	114		7,586	5,075	121		20,756	14,310	385	
50-54....	5,437	2,731	107		7,271	4,509	131		18,390	12,032	408	
55-59....	4,137	1,898	64		6,295	3,640	118		15,331	9,154	339	
60-64....	3,459	1,273	....		5,407	2,717	....		12,756	6,475	....	
65-69....	3,111	937	....		5,479	2,344	....		11,564	5,010	....	
70-74....	2,312	567	..		4,330	1,465	....		8,861	2,939	....	

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

Ages	Nonmigrants Resident in Community of Birth			Migrants Resident Outside Region of Birth		
	Population	Married	Divorced	Population	Married	Divorced

*Three Large Cities Males*

25-29	10,997	3,778		7,194	2,727	
30-34	8,516	5,296	92	8,871	5,841	86
35-39	6,543	4,782	97	9,319	7,216	135
40-44	5,898	4,448	92	9,041	7,346	136
45-49	4,574	3,392	88	8,389	6,786	176
50-54	3,183	2,294	78	7,624	6,104	171
55-59	2,155	1,509	37	6,208	4,795	136
60-64	1,419	945		4,611	3,513	
65-69	1,059	643		3,891	2,667	
70-74	595	311		2,754	1,635	

*Stockholm Males*

25-29	9,497	3,155		13,830	4,772	
30-34	7,894	4,830	127	13,807	8,454	204
35-39	6,880	4,939	184	13,274	9,793	295
40-44	5,866	4,345	199	13,039	10,109	361
45-49	4,242	3,100	168	12,613	9,788	388
50-54	2,730	1,936	92	10,873	8,253	356
55-59	1,739	1,196	54	8,004	5,940	248
60-64	1,321	896		5,728	3,994	
65-69	976	566		4,631	3,042	
70-74	524	306		3,216	1,856	

*Three Large Cities Females*

20-24	13,402	1,910		10,345	1,795	
25-29	10,828	4,531		11,357	5,126	
30-34	8,070	4,617	120	11,482	7,237	140
35-39	6,897	4,247	139	11,011	7,568	189
40-44	6,214	3,712	132	10,453	7,119	237
45-49	4,966	2,810	119	9,639	6,359	258
50-54	3,850	2,075	90	8,705	5,339	250
55-59	2,779	1,305	67	7,268	4,001	210
60-64	2,068	814		5,935	2,847	
65-69	1,600	481		5,444	2,206	
70-74	1,165	286		4,275	1,336	

*Stockholm Females*

20-24	12,404	1,717		19,278	2,515	
25-29	9,428	3,801		21,004	7,694	
30-34	8,009	4,499	213	19,311	10,358	342.
35-39	7,265	4,190	267	17,621	10,415	500
40-44	6,625	3,768	260	16,161	9,731	608
45-49	4,903	2,638	253	14,246	8,333	568
50-54	3,623	1,783	169	12,592	6,870	545
55-59	2,680	1,125	116	10,127	4,887	428
60-64	2,359	723		8,429	3,404	
65-69	1,912	474		7,818	2,474	
70-74	1,323	236		5,813	1,352	..





The migration differential, if expressed in terms of the percentage deviation of the proportion married of each migrant group from the proportion married in the corresponding control group of nonmigrants, is as follows (per cent excess +, per cent deficiency —):

Ages	Rural Areas				Small Towns				Three Large Cities		Stockholm	
	Near		Far		Near		Far					
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
25-29.....	....	+55	....	+51	....	+34	....	+26	....	+ 8	....	- 9
30-34.....	+34	+39	+38	+36	+17	+29	+17	+26	+ 6	+ 9	0	- 4
35-39.....	+25	+29	+29	+28	+14	+26	+16	+27	+ 6	+12	+ 2	+ 1
40-44.....	+20	+23	+22	+23	+14	+24	+16	+28	+ 7	+14	+ 4	+ 5
45-49.....	+16	+21	+18	+22	+12	+24	+15	+29	+ 9	+15	+ 6	+ 8
50-54.....	+14	+19	+16	+20	+11	+24	+14	+29	+10	+16	+ 8	+11
55-59.....	+13	+18	+14	+19	+10	+28	+14	+33	+12	+18	+ 7	+18
60-64.....	+11	+16	+12	+18	+12	+34	+15	+37	+13	+25	+ 9	+25
65-69.....	+10	+16	+11	+17	+13	+39	+16	+41	+14	+29	+ 7	+33

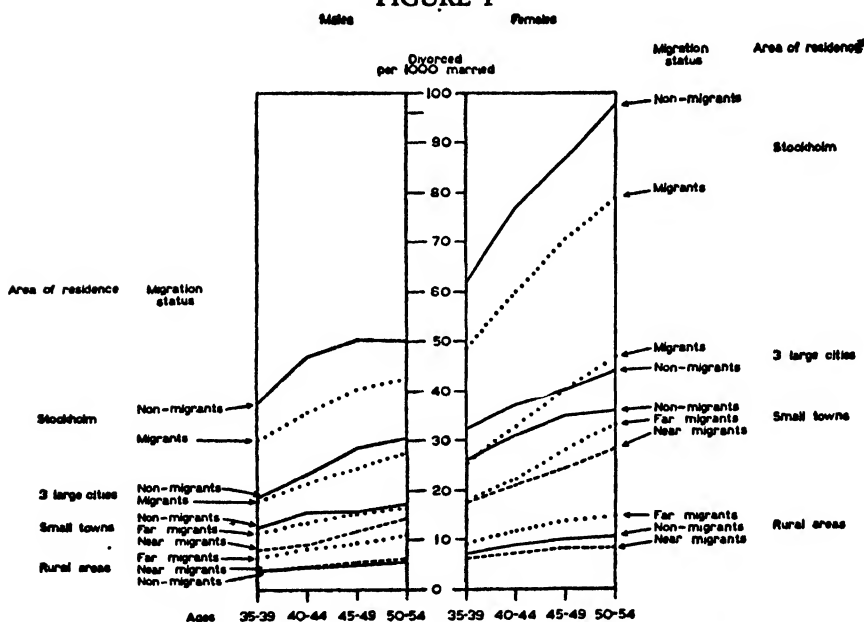
Migrant groups have higher proportions married than do the corresponding control groups of nonmigrants. This relationship holds for both sexes, for near and far migrants, for all types of community of residence, and, with only two exceptions, for the whole range of ages considered. These two exceptions are both for Stockholm migrants: males aged 30-34 have the same and females aged 25-34 slightly higher proportions married among nonmigrants than among migrants. The differential decreases with age for both near and far migrants, for both males and females to rural areas; remains relatively constant over the whole range of age groups for male migrants, near and far, to small towns; and tends to increase with age for all other groups but particularly for females to large cities and Stockholm. The favorable differential is, in general, more pronounced for females than for males. Thus we are able to state categorically that Swedish migrants do not have less stable family relationships than nonmigrants. On the contrary, persons living outside the community of birth are considerably more likely to be found in the married state than persons living in the community of birth. In reaching this generalization we have held constant age, sex, distance spanned (crudely), and type of community of residence. We cannot, however, without further research, disentangle the causal nexus. Selection of the physically fit may play a not unimportant role.<sup>9</sup> Both migration and marriage being age selective of young adults, the increase

<sup>9</sup> See E. P. Hutchinson, "Internal Migration and Tuberculosis Mortality in Sweden," *American Sociological Review*, I (1936), 273-83.

of the differential with age in towns and cities lends some weight to the selective migration hypothesis. On the other hand, change of residence may often occur in connection with plans for marriage. The sharp decrease of the differential with age in rural areas suggests that this latter factor may be important in connection with entrance to rural communities. Similarly the more favorable differential for females, in general, suggests that this same factor may operate in connection with andro-local residence.

If we attempted to determine the contribution of migrants to disorganization as measured by the proportion divorced, we would expect these groups to be unfavorably differentiated from the control group (i.e., higher proportions divorced), merely on the basis of their favor-

FIGURE 1



Source: Table 2

able marriage differential (i.e., higher proportions married), for marriage is prerequisite to divorce. If, however, we express the proportion divorced in terms of the married rather than of the total population, this factor is immediately controlled. The smoothed<sup>10</sup> proportions of divorced per 1000 married are shown in Table 2 and in Figure 1. Be-

<sup>10</sup> Most of the divorce series were convex, and were corrected in the same way as the marriage series (see footnote 8). The removal of the marriage differential from the divorce series, however, left a few series concave and these were corrected by applying the formula  $y = a + bx^2$  to the differences between the observed proportions and the moving average.

cause of irregularities in the data, analysis is limited to ages 35-54. The chart shows, in the first place, the very marked community and sex differentials: for each series (migrants or nonmigrants, males or females) the proportions divorced increase with the degree of urbanization from rural areas through small towns to large cities to the metropolis, and the proportions for each series of females are higher than those for the corresponding series of males. Similar differentials have, of course, been observed frequently for other areas and periods. The unique feature of this analysis is the comparison of migrants and nonmigrants for each community type and sex series: for all urban groups (with a minor exception for older females in large cities), the divorced proportions among the migrant population are significantly lower than those among the indigenous population. In rural areas, however, the situation is reversed for both near and far male migrants and for far female migrants. The percentage excess (+) or deficiency (—) of each migrant group over the corresponding nonmigrant group is as follows:

Ages	Rural Areas				Small Towns				Three Large Cities		Stockholm	
	Near		Far		Near		Far					
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
35-39.....	+ 2	-13	+68	+28	-36	-33	- 8	-31	- 5	-21	-20	-22
40-44.....	+ 3	-15	+81	+35	-42	-32	-13	-29	- 8	-13	-24	-22
45-49.....	+ 7	-18	+85	+38	-25	-31	- 3	-20	-15	+ 0	-20	-19
50-54.....	+12	-21	+96	+39	-17	-22	- 4	- 7	- 9	+ 7	-15	-19

The unfavorable showing of far migrants to rural areas is in sharp contrast to the favorable showing of male near migrants to small towns and to Stockholm, and of all urban groups of female migrants (with the exception for older females in large cities), the divorced proportions among make a favorable showing in respect to divorce, and this tendency is positively associated, not with the marriage differential, but with the urban environment. Again, we cannot interpret the causal antecedents with any degree of assurance. A likely explanation is that divorce is an urban culture pattern, which is assimilated less rapidly by migrants than by natives. It is possible, however, that disorganization may take other forms (desertion, etc.) among migrants. Furthermore, it is not improbable that migrants to urban areas have attained a less favorable socioeconomic position than resident natives, which may account for

part of the discrepancy, owing to different habits of different socio-economic classes, and to the fact that divorce is costly.

It should be noted, in passing, that the large rural differential must be interpreted in terms of the extremely low proportions of the divorced among the indigenous population, and not in terms of excessive proportions among rural migrants, compared with other migrant groups. It should be further kept in mind that return migrants *to the community of birth* are excluded by definition from the migrant classes, which means that the results cannot be interpreted in terms either of patterns learned in the city and carried back to the community of birth, or of the probability of a high incidence of social failures among such return migrants. It is undoubtedly true, however, that many migrants to rural areas were born in other rural communities than the one of residence in 1930, and, in the course of their repeated migrations, had resided for longer or shorter periods in towns or cities.

The results are not merely an artifact of the technique of analysis. If the number of divorced is expressed on the base of the total population instead of the married population of a given age, sex, and community group, rural areas with an unfavorable migration differential are most strongly contrasted with Stockholm, with a favorable differential. The other city and town groups are less consistently differentiated but tend to conform to the pattern described.

In spite of various uncertainties in interpretation, the results of this analysis are clear-cut: migrants make in general a favorable showing in achieving and maintaining the marital state, when compared with nonmigrants. Migrants to rural areas, from distant communities, are a striking exception to this general tendency insofar as the proportion divorced is concerned.

# Rural Youth Studies in the United States

*Robin M. Williams\**

## ABSTRACT

Many studies of rural youth have been made in recent years. Analysis of the findings shows a residue of empirical generalizations relating to migration, employment and occupational status, income, education, leisure-time activities, and organizational participations. The problems of youth are found to reflect regional characteristics as well as trends in the total social organization. Evidence points to important tendencies of "urbanization" and "secularization" in rural society as exemplified in the youth population. An age-cycle in the relation of youths to the institutional framework of their communities is indicated by several studies.

Monographic youth studies have made valuable contributions but have sometimes lacked adequate conceptualization of the facts observed. The strategic importance of research on youth at the present time lies in the position of this group as a focus of societal tensions. Suggestions are offered as to promising approaches for further research.

Part of the recent increase of interest in "youth" has arisen as a result of the economic depression. The plight of young people out-of-school and out-of-work has caught public attention as have few other aspects of the depression period. In view of the large number of studies in this field,<sup>1</sup> this presentation is limited to a compilation of some of the findings reported by selected investigations. Although all youth studies have not been included, this paper analyzes a majority of the representative investigations published since 1930. The definition of "youth" has differed from study to study but the age limits most often used are 15-29 and 16-24. Both open country and village youths have been studied, as well as married and unmarried, and those in school and out of school. Several studies have been concerned exclusively with "disadvantaged" youth.

Since it is impossible to review all of the specific facts collected by these investigations, the procedure here will be to summarize briefly the findings regarding those topics which have been investigated most frequently. Where possible these findings have been stated in concise

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<sup>1</sup> The rapid increase since 1933 in the number of publications dealing with rural youth is indicated by the items in the bibliography entitled *Farm Youth in the United States: A Selected List of References Issued Since October, 1926*. BAE Agricultural Economics Bibliography 65, supplement 17 (Washington, June, 1936). Mimeographed.

form, as in Section I to follow; in other cases, due to lack of strict comparability of the data, it has been necessary to present a running account of the facts and generalizations which have been advanced.

## I. MIGRATION FROM PARENTAL HOME

One topic frequently treated is that of the migrations of rural youth. It is a commonplace, for example, that rural-urban migration occurs mainly in the younger age groups<sup>2</sup> and that the breaking away of youths from the parental home is a normal process in the life-cycle of rural families in American culture.<sup>3</sup> Some of the generalizations which have been advanced with respect to such migration are summarized below:

1. Females leave the farms in greater numbers and at an earlier age than males. This is a well established point. Among the numerous studies may be cited such representative investigations as those of Hamilton, Lively, Beck, Murchie and Jarchow, and W. A. Anderson.
2. Migration begins in early adolescence, reaches its greatest volume at about age 18 for females and age 21 for males, and is practically complete by age 30.<sup>4</sup>
3. Although there are local exceptions due to varying urban employment opportunities, in general rural-urban migration selects a disproportionate percentage of females.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, 1932); P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York, 1929); H. A. Phelps, *Principles and Laws of Sociology* (New York, 1936).

<sup>3</sup> C. P. Loomis, *The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities*, North Carolina AESB 208 (Raleigh, June, 1934); E. L. Kirkpatrick, Rosalind Tough, and May L. Cowles, *The Life Cycle of the Farm Family*, University of Wisconsin AESB 121 (Madison, June, 1934); C. H. Hamilton, "The Annual Rate of Departure of Rural Youths from Their Parental Homes," *Rural Sociology*, I (June, 1936); Carter Goodrich, *et al.*, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia, 1936).

<sup>4</sup> A. A. Smick and F. R. Yoder, *A Study of Migration in Selected Communities in the State of Washington*, Washington AESB 233 (Pullman, June, 1929); W. A. Anderson, *Migration of Sons and Daughters of White Farmers in Wake County*, North Carolina AESB 275 (Raleigh, June, 1930); R. M. Williams, *Rural Youth in North Carolina*, North Carolina AES unpublished MS, 1938.

<sup>5</sup> C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, *Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio*, Ohio AESB 467 (Columbus, November, 1930); R. W. Murchie and M. E. Jarchow, *Population Trends in Minnesota*, University of Minnesota AESB 327 (University Farm, May, 1936); P. G. Beck, *Recent Trends in the Rural Population of Ohio*, Ohio AESB 533 (Columbus, May, 1934); W. A. Anderson, *Mobility of Rural Families, II*, Cornell University AESB 623 (Ithaca, March, 1935); Anderson, *Migration of Sons and Daughters of White Farmers in Wake County*; Paul H. Landis, *Rural Population Trends in Washington*, Washington AESB 333 (Pullman, July, 1936).

4. The majority of rural youths settle near their parental homes upon migration; i.e., most migrations are for short distances.<sup>6</sup>
5. There is a tendency for the better educated youths to go to the cities and towns. The average differential in training, however, is not large; selection operates chiefly on the extremes of the educational distribution.<sup>7</sup>
6. In Southern areas having a large percentage of Negro population, Negroes migrate to the cities at a higher rate than do the whites. Also it appears that there is a tendency for Negroes either to stay very near the parental home or to migrate to relatively distant cities.<sup>8</sup>
7. The greater the distance of migration the larger the city of destination.<sup>9</sup>
8. Youths from farm tenant households are more mobile than those from owner households on short moves but less mobile on long moves. Also, females from tenant households migrate earlier than those from owner families, whereas the opposite situation prevails among males.<sup>10</sup>
9. Male migrants to cities travel longer distances than do females.<sup>11</sup>
10. With respect to the proportion of youths migrating to cities the similarities among the various socioeconomic groups of the farm population appear to be more important than the differences. No very consistent selective tendencies have been shown.<sup>12</sup>
11. The occupations into which rural-urban migrants enter are chiefly in the lower socioeconomic levels. Smick and Yoder found that the greater proportion of urban migrants entered either the laboring or the professional classes. Williams indicated that the majority of migrants to the cities first entered unskilled labor or clerical occupations. Anderson's study similarly showed a predominance of unskilled and skilled laborers among migrants in occupations other than farming. It may be suggested that the situation is somewhat as follows: among white youths, the nearby cities attract larger proportions of laborers, very large cities and distant urban centers

<sup>6</sup> Loomis, *op. cit.*; Hamilton, *op. cit.*; Anderson, *Mobility of Rural Families*; Williams, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> See the studies of Hamilton, Anderson, and Williams cited above. Also: Smick and Yoder, *op. cit.*; T. C. McCormick, *Rural Social Organization in Washington County, Arkansas*, Arkansas AESB 285 (Little Rock, May, 1933); McCormick, *Rural Social Organization in the Rice Area*, Arkansas AESB 296 (Little Rock, December, 1933).

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton, *Recent Trends in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families*, North Carolina AESB 309 (Raleigh, May, 1937); Hamilton, *Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina, 1920-30*, North Carolina AESB 205 (Raleigh, February, 1934); Williams, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Anderson, *Migration of Sons and Daughters of White Farmers in Wake County*.

<sup>10</sup> Loomis, *op. cit.*; Hamilton, *Recent Trends in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families*; Anderson, *Migration of Sons and Daughters*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *ibid.* Not shown by Hamilton in *Recent Trends in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families*.

<sup>12</sup> The literature is voluminous. A summary is given in Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin, *op. cit.*, pp. 491-98. Among later studies, Anderson (*Mobility of Rural Families*) found only slight differences.

attract larger proportions of the very capable into professional and other "upper class" occupations. Among Negroes, the situation is complicated by the fact of a South-to-North movement, involving somewhat different cultural situations as regards race relations. Although there is some evidence of the "selection of extremes" in this migration, the amount of selection in all groups seems to be quite sensitive to local employment opportunities and other factors, and few tendencies may be said to be of general application at all times and in all localities.

12. In spite of a falling rate of natural increase in the rural population, the number of rural youths will continue to increase for several years to come. The result is likely to be a youth population in excess of the labor requirements of agriculture. Varying regional incidences of maturation of youths show that this problem will be particularly important in the Southeastern states.
13. Curtailment of rural-urban migration during the depression years was greater among relief than among non-relief families in the same areas, and was also greater in the "poorer" than in the "richer" rural areas.<sup>18</sup>

## II. VOCATIONAL CHOICES AND EXPECTATIONS

In simple and stable rural societies occupation is largely a matter of status, tradition, and social rôle. In more complex and shifting societies such as that of the United States at the present time, there is greater uncertainty as to future occupational status, a wider range of "choice." Occupation depends more largely on individual and class competition based on training, differential social and economic opportunities, and changing economic conditions in different regions and industries. In such a culture, the occupational preferences of youth are of considerable sociological interest from the standpoint of occupational prestige, status aspirations, and the divergence between such ambitions and the opportunities actually afforded by the culture. This problem is of administrative importance in view of the recent emphasis upon vocational training and guidance in educational programs.

Several studies have investigated the vocational choices of rural youth. Although both the classifications of occupations and the techniques of eliciting choices have varied from study to study, there is a rather high agreement as to the occupations most frequently chosen or anticipated by rural young people. On the basis of the most frequently mentioned choices in each study, among open country boys the occupations rank as follows: (a) farming, (b) mechanics, (c) engineering, (d) aviation,

<sup>18</sup> See Hamilton, *Recent Trends in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families*; and Goodrich, *op. cit.*, chapter IX, with further references listed there.



(e) professional work. Village boys select skilled labor and mechanics as their first choice, the next most popular vocations being unskilled and semiskilled labor, aviation and the professions, farming, and forestry, in the order named. Among both open country and village girls teaching is the occupation most frequently chosen, being closely followed by clerical, stenographic, and secretarial occupations. Nursing, homemaking, and beauty culture complete the list.

The proportion of boys choosing farming varies from a minimum of one sixth to a maximum of only one half of the cases studied. In Connecticut, for example, 34 per cent of the farm males and 19 per cent of the farm females stated that farming would be satisfactory as a life work.<sup>14</sup> Many more of these young people would like to live in the country than would prefer farming as a life work. In Maryland, 50 per cent of the boys out of school preferred farming but only 24 per cent of those in school chose this occupation.<sup>15</sup> If the vocational choices expressed by youths have any significance, they indicate a widespread desire for occupations leading away from the farm.<sup>16</sup> The mechanical and professional pursuits have captured the aspirations of rural boys while the rôles of the teacher and of the office worker are those most desired by the girls.

### III. EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The counterpart of *unemployment* in industry is *under-employment* in agriculture.<sup>17</sup> In periods of depression there is an additional "surplus" of rural youth due to curtailed rural-urban migration which increases the proportion of unpaid family laborers; of the farm youth have been found few persons unemployed in the sense of having nothing to do.<sup>18</sup> It is not possible to state what proportion of persons reported as "employed" were unpaid family laborers who under more

<sup>14</sup> A. J. Brundage and M. C. Wilson, *Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People 16-25 Years of Age, Survey of Five Connecticut Townships, 1934*, USDA Extension Service Circular 239 (Washington, April, 1936).

<sup>15</sup> Barnard D. Joy and T. B. Manny, *Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People, 16-25 Years of Age, Maryland*, USDA Extension Service Circular 269 (Washington, August, 1937). Data are also available in H. M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story* (Washington, 1938).

<sup>16</sup> Evidence, from a different type of analysis, of the slackening of interest in farming is given in: J. L. Hypes, et al., *Connecticut Rural Youth and Farming Occupations*, Storrs AESB 182 (Storrs, 1932).

<sup>17</sup> Louise E. Howard, *Labour in Agriculture: An International Survey* (New York, 1935).

<sup>18</sup> Carl H. Jessen and H. C. Hutchins, *Youth-Community Surveys*, USDI, Office of Education, Bulletin 1936, No. 18-VI (Washington, 1936).

favorable economic conditions would have been working for pay. Probably at least one half of all unmarried rural youths are employed in farm work without regular remuneration. A survey of rural youths on relief in Colorado<sup>19</sup> indicated that nearly one half of the open country males were employed as laborers on the home farm. In North Carolina almost two thirds of the single boys were unpaid family laborers.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, an Ohio survey indicated that among youth out of school 56 per cent of the boys and 73 per cent of the girls were without definite arrangements for economic return from their labor,<sup>21</sup> and in Maryland 55 per cent of the out-of-school unmarried boys were working on the home farm.<sup>22</sup> Unemployment in the sense of having nothing to do is most serious among village youths and is more prevalent among girls than among boys. The economic situation among farm youths is fairly clear. Large numbers of young people out of school have been unable to secure remunerative employment and have remained with their parents as family workers.<sup>23</sup> If and when increased industrial activity provides for a removal of part of the unneeded rural youth population, this situation may be expected to improve, but the revival of industrial employment is only a partial answer to the question of employment for youths.<sup>24</sup>

Not all studies have reported unsatisfactory economic conditions among rural youths. A survey of five Connecticut townships in the depression year of 1934 found 70 per cent of unmarried boys and 46 per cent of unmarried girls reporting opportunities for employment away from home. The authors state, "on the whole, therefore, the young people studied were well provided for from the standpoint of funds to care for their social and recreational needs."<sup>25</sup>

#### IV. OCCUPATIONS

Inspection of the results of the various studies shows wide variability among different regions and different population classes in the

<sup>19</sup> Olaf F. Larson and J. E. Wilson, *Rural Youth on Relief in Colorado*, Colorado State AES RB 3 (Fort Collins, June, 1936). Mimeographed.

<sup>20</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> W. A. Anderson and W. Kerns, *Interests, Activities, and Problems of Rural Young Folk*, Cornell University AESB 631 (Ithaca, May, 1935).

<sup>22</sup> Joy and Manny, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> E. L. Morgan and M. W. Sneed, *The Activities of Rural Young People in Missouri*, Missouri AES RB 269 (Columbia, November, 1937).

<sup>24</sup> Bruce L. Melvin, *Rural Youth on Relief*, WPA, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph XI (Washington, 1937).

<sup>25</sup> Brundage and Wilson, *op. cit.*

occupations in which young people are engaged; however, agriculture supplies a large proportion of the employment opportunities of both open country and village youths. As might be expected, very few youths are employed in skilled, clerical, or professional vocations. Common labor, for example, is the occupation of one fifth of the open country unmarried males and of 38 per cent of the village males in a New York community. The range in the percentage of unskilled workers is from about one tenth to nearly one half of the cases.<sup>26</sup>

## V. EARNINGS

Obviously, the incomes of any particular age-segment of the population will follow the tendencies of the region and of the population class to which it belongs. On this basis it is possible to demarcate areas of low income covering much of the Southeastern region, the Appalachians, the Lake States Cut-Over area, and certain areas in the Southwest.<sup>27</sup> Within these areas the opportunities of youth for earning high incomes are unfavorable and the increasing youth population is not likely to ease the situation for some decades to come. In view of the high proportion of unpaid family workers among rural youths, it is not to be expected that their incomes would be comparable with those of adults. In Waushara county, Wisconsin, incomes of youths averaged \$101 annually, rising from \$29 at 15-19 years of age to \$220 in the 25-29 age group.<sup>28</sup> A similar situation was found in Wood county, Wisconsin.<sup>29</sup> Among out-of-school farm youths in Iowa, one third earned \$5-10 per week; one third, \$10-15; and one sixth, \$15-20.<sup>30</sup> A survey of high school youths in Missouri showed that about one fourth of the boys and two thirds of the girls had no earnings, while nearly one half of the boys and one third of the girls reported incomes of \$1-75 per year.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Bulletins previously cited. Few comparable classifications were found. For a detailed study of occupations see: Dorothy Dickins, *Occupations of Sons and Daughters of Mississippi Cotton Farmers*, Mississippi AESB 318 (State College, May, 1937).

<sup>27</sup> Carl C. Taylor, *Constructive Measures for Dealing with the South's Population Problems*, address, Southern Sociological Society, April 2, 1938, and USDA Mimeographed Release, 1938.

<sup>28</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton, "Rural Young People," *Rural Sociology*, I (June, 1936).

<sup>29</sup> Mildred B. Thurow, *Interests, Activities and Problems of Rural Young Folk*, Cornell University AESB 617 (Ithaca, December, 1934).

<sup>30</sup> J. A. Starrack, *A Survey of Out-of-School Rural Youth in Iowa*, State Planning Board, Mimeographed Release (Des Moines, 1935).

<sup>31</sup> C. E. Lively and L. J. Miller, *Rural Young People, 16 to 24 Years of Age*, Ohio AESB 73 (Columbus, July, 1934). Mimeographed.

The studies in New York found average weekly earnings of \$13 for unmarried boys and girls. Eighty-eight per cent of the married girls received no weekly pay.<sup>82</sup> Beers's study of incomes among youths in school showed that the modal income among boys 15-20 years of age was in the \$100-199 class.<sup>83</sup> In North Carolina, among youths 15-24 years of age, yearly cash incomes averaged \$177 for white boys, \$84 for white girls, \$72 for colored boys, and \$32 for colored girls.<sup>84</sup> Finally, in Connecticut an average cash income of \$232 was reported by 95 per cent of rural youths.<sup>85</sup> In contrast was the situation in Maryland where median cash incomes were \$103 for young men and \$50 for young women.<sup>86</sup>

Several generalizations with regard to income among rural youth seem to be valid. Among these are the following: Earnings of boys are generally higher than those of girls; village youths have higher incomes than open country persons; incomes increase with advancing age; married males have higher incomes than single males; out-of-school youths earn more than those in school; the majority of youths below 25 years of age are wholly or in part dependent upon their parents for maintenance and spending money; earnings of youths are lowest in certain low income areas of the South, the Southwest, the Appalachians, and the Cut-Over regions of the Lake States.

## VI. EDUCATION

The studies have reported some rather definite findings with respect to educational levels. Rural girls attend school in larger proportions and reach a higher grade level than boys do.<sup>87</sup> While the average dif-

<sup>82</sup> Anderson, *Rural Youth: Activities, Interests and Problems*, Cornell University AESB 649 (Ithaca, May, 1936); Cornell University AESB 661 (Ithaca, January, 1937); Anderson and Kerns, *op. cit.*; Kirkpatrick and Boynton, *Interests and Needs of Rural Youth in Wood County, Wisconsin*, University of Wisconsin, Extension Service of College of Agriculture Special Circular (Madison, January, 1936).

<sup>83</sup> Howard W. Beers, *The Income, Savings, and Work of Boys and Girls on Farms in New York, 1930*, Cornell University AESB 560 (Ithaca, May, 1933).

<sup>84</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*

<sup>85</sup> Brundage and Wilson, *op. cit.*

<sup>86</sup> Joy and Manny, *op. cit.*

<sup>87</sup> This has been shown by many studies including those of Anderson, Kerns, Thurow, Kirkpatrick and Boynton, Morgan and Sneed, Hamilton, Larson and Wilson, Melvin, Williams, Joy and Manny, previously cited. Additional facts are given in: A. F. Wileden, *What Douglas County Young People Want and What They Are Doing About It*, University of Wisconsin Extension Service of College of Agriculture Special Circular (Madison, December, 1935); B. L. Hummel, *et al.*, *Youth on Relief in Virginia, 1935*, V.P.I. Rural Relief Series 9 (Blacksburg, December, 1936). Mimeographed; J. A. James and

ferential in grade attainment is not great, it is probably not unrelated to the changing status of women and to the interests of girls in white-collar occupations. Geographic variations in educational opportunities are reflected in the educational attainments of youth. It appears that the average Southern youth living in open country areas has only an elementary school education, whereas the Northern youth has practically completed high school. Village youth generally have more schooling than open country or farm youth, but there is evidence that this advantage is being narrowed: the studies in upstate New York showed little difference in education between open country and village groups,<sup>38</sup> and a Wisconsin survey indicated that the percentage increase in high school attendance in recent years has been greater among farm than among village youth.<sup>39</sup> The increasing use of village and town schools by children from the open country and the growth of state aid to schools may be expected further to reduce such differentials as now exist.<sup>40</sup> In addition to differences associated with sex, geographic location, and size of community, variations in the educational status of racial and socio-economic groups are shown in several investigations. White youths have more education than non-white youths;<sup>41</sup> youths from farm owner households more than those from lower tenure groups; non-relief children, more education than relief children. Children of the 7-15 age class in "disadvantaged" families go to school in as large proportions as non-relief children, but relief youths attend less at other age levels.<sup>42</sup>

Studies in Wisconsin have shown from one fifth to one third of all youths aged 15-29 in school. The proportion of *unmarried* persons in school is considerably higher, the reported figures ranging from one half to four fifths in New York and from one half to two thirds in Ohio. In North Carolina, one third of the colored, and slightly less than one half of the white youths, aged 15-29, were in school. In Connecticut 53.6 per cent of the women were in school as compared with 23.5 per cent of the men. Among unmarried youths in Maryland 36 per cent

J. H. Kolb, *Wisconsin Rural Youth: Education and Occupation*, University of Wisconsin AESB 347 (Madison, November, 1936).

<sup>38</sup> See the Cornell bulletins to which reference has been made above.

<sup>39</sup> James and Kolb, *op. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> Cf. E. deS. Brunner and I. Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years* (New York, 1937).

<sup>41</sup> Hamilton, *Recent Trends in the Social and Economic Status of North Carolina Farm Families*; Hummel, *et al.*, *op. cit.*; Larson and Wilson, *op. cit.*; Melvin, *op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> N. L. Whetten, *et al.*, *Rural Families on Relief in Connecticut*, Storrs AESB 215 (Storrs, January, 1937); Larson and Wilson, *op. cit.*

of the men and 47 per cent of the women were in school. Many unmarried young people are thus out of school and living at home. They are beyond the ages reached by such organizations as the 4-H clubs, but have not found their places as adults in the community. That a definite social "gap" exists between school and the achievement of an independent social and economic status cannot be doubted. Research is needed further to elucidate the problems and characteristics of this group, particularly in regard to the effects of their present situation upon personality development.

## VII. LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES

Reading is the most frequently reported form of leisure-time activity among rural young people.<sup>43</sup> Movies and plays share second place in popularity with sports and athletics, these being followed in order by (a) music or listening to the radio, (b) games such as cards and checkers, (c) household arts such as cooking and sewing, (d) motoring, (e) parties and dances.<sup>44</sup> The surveys upon which these rankings are based were made in the Northern and Middle Western states and it may be that a different picture would be found in other regions. Since reading is of such wide popularity as a leisure-time activity, it is of interest to note the types of reading material most often selected. The books most frequently mentioned are (a) general fiction, followed by specific types such as (b) adventure and mystery stories, (c) travel stories, and (d) biographies. General, household, and screen magazines are most popular among girls; farm journals and magazines dealing with mechanics and science are preferred by boys. When rural youths read the newspapers they give first attention to the news, then to the comics, sports, and features in the order named.<sup>45</sup> The extremely small percentage who read the editorials is an indication that this method of influencing attitudes is of slight importance among rural young people.

The emphasis placed upon social and recreational needs by young people themselves is quite striking. When youths are asked for suggestions as to community improvement, a large group register passive acceptance, having no suggestions to offer. Among those who express

<sup>43</sup> See the summary in Jessen and Hutchins, *op. cit.*; also the studies of Morgan and Sneed and of Brundage and Manny.

<sup>44</sup> Lively and Miller, *op. cit.*; Jessen and Hutchins, *op. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> Based on analysis of the results published in the following: Lively and Miller, *op. cit.*; the Cornell studies by Anderson, Kerns, Thurow; the Wisconsin studies of Kirkpatrick and associates.

interests or advance suggestions, however, a preponderance of recreational wishes is the usual pattern. The possibility of a conflict of values in this situation has been noted by one study. "There appears to exist, however, a silent conflict between the interests of the old and young. This is shown in the emphasis which the largest class of older people (the farmer class) places upon traditional values (the church in particular) and the competing emphasis which the young people place upon play and recreation."<sup>46</sup> It may be that these findings are indicative of a shift from an older set of rural values centering around the "family-neighborhood-work-church" complex to those of an "individual-interest group-pleasure" culture configuration;<sup>47</sup> if so, these data are important both theoretically and from the standpoint of societal diagnosis.

#### VIII. CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE

In all areas which have been studied, the church is an important source of contacts for young people, its dominance being emphasized by the scarcity of other types of organizations. In rural Ohio 66 per cent of youths belonged to the church but other organizational affiliations were meager.<sup>48</sup> Many other investigations also indicate that the church is the chief source of organized social contacts. Participations in church activities vary among the several classes of the rural population; girls generally participate to a greater extent than boys. Participation seems to vary directly with tenure status.<sup>49</sup> Further, at least one study has shown that the proportion of contacts furnished by the church is higher among non-owning families than among farm owners, although the actual amount of participation is less.<sup>50</sup> It may be suggested that the smaller the number of types of organizations available to a rural area or population class, the greater will be the relative importance of the church as a source of social contacts.

<sup>46</sup> E. L. Morgan and H. J. Burt, *Community Relations of Rural Young People*, Missouri AES RB 110 (Columbia, 1927).

<sup>47</sup> Compare the well-known studies of J. M. Williams in *Our Rural Heritage* and *The Expansion of Rural Life*. For a study of the impact of new values upon an isolated rural community see M. T. Matthews, *Experience-Worlds of Mountain People* (New York, 1937).

<sup>48</sup> Lively and Miller, *op. cit.*

<sup>49</sup> R. M. Williams, *op. cit.*; McCormick, *Rural Social Organization in the Rice Area*; Mary E. Frayser, *The Play and Recreation of Children and Youth in Selected Rural Areas of South Carolina*, South Carolina AESB 275 (Clemson, June, 1931); W. V. Dennis, *Organizations Affecting Farm Youth in Locust Township, Columbia County, Pennsylvania* AESB 265 (State College, June, 1931).

<sup>50</sup> R. M. Williams, *op. cit.*

## IX. OTHER "ORGANIZATIONS"

Certain tendencies elsewhere noted such as greater participation by girls than boys, tenure differences, etc., are evident in the data relating to participation in social organizations other than the church. There is also evidence of a definite age cycle in participations, the amount of such participations increasing from childhood to the ages of 15-19 and thereafter declining with advancing age.<sup>51</sup> In the more stable and isolated rural localities increasing age and the assumption of adult responsibilities is associated with a routinization of participations as the person more and more channelizes his behavior into definite institutional activities.<sup>52</sup> The North Carolina study showed that marriage was marked by a turning inward of participations from the town and the farm community to the family group. Gradually the church and the family absorb the interests of the person and the range of participations in other activities is correspondingly narrowed.<sup>53</sup> The studies in New York show that married youths are less likely to belong to organizations than single persons still in school but more likely to belong than unmarried youths out of school. This indication of some degree of social isolation among out-of-school youths points to an additional handicap among those who have deferred marriage due to the difficulty of becoming established in a life work under depression conditions.

## METHODOLOGICAL EVALUATION

Increased comparability of data in studies of youth is desirable in view of the present handicaps to synthesis of such research. The factual studies which have been made have been quite valuable as empirical guides for action programs in local areas; other similar studies, i.e., monographic surveys, will unquestionably continue to be useful. However, the majority of existing studies have concentrated upon the collection of isolated facts without adequate conceptualization of the problems to be investigated. As a result, they have contributed little to the testing of hypotheses or to the advancement of systematic sociological

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> There are some data which indicate that, at least up to age 25, there is no curtailment of extrafamily social participations. The institutionalization of activities and the narrowing of interests and contacts will vary according to the degree of rigidity and secularization in community controls. On the function of youth in plurality patterns, see L. Von Weise, *Systematic Sociology*, tr. by H. Becker (New York, 1932), pp. 151, 388.

<sup>53</sup> Also shown by F. Boyd, M. Oyler, and W. D. Nichols, *Rural Organization Contacts in Three Kentucky Communities*, Kentucky AESB 350 (Lexington, 1934).



knowledge. It seems clear that enough has been done along these lines to call for an inventory of the results achieved and for an attempt to orient youth studies somewhat more specifically toward the end of contributions to the body of sociological generalizations.

In itself, the differentiation of a "youth group" is part of a characteristic culture pattern of interaction between generations. Every category of sociological research is applicable in some degree to the study of youth: the justification for focusing studies of socioeconomic status, social participation, leisure-time activities, attitudes and interests, institutional influences, and so on, upon this particular age segment is to be found in a conception of the study of the person *sui generis* as he passes through the stages of life in a given culture. The strategic importance of research on youth at the present time lies in the fact that in periods of rapid social change the youth group is the focus of tensions in the social order. It has been said that we will probably be unable to ascertain the deeper effects of the depression upon group attitudes and modes of life for another twenty years or more. Certainly, one of the critical indices of change must be the interaction of youths in this period of transition.

Others have indicated the scope of research on rural youth which is now needed.<sup>54</sup> In addition to the types of studies which have been proposed, it is suggested that an opportunity exists for research under such major headings as the following:

1. Institutional influences and relations, i.e., studies which would measure the influence of specific institutional activities and values and would define the place of the youth group in these institutions.
2. Developmental studies which would emphasize changes in social rôle and personality characteristics at various ages.
3. Special studies designed to indicate the status and needs of particular racial, social class, and regional groups.
4. Studies of social movements among youths, including types of organizations and leadership, ideologies and propaganda techniques, factors affecting growth of specific types of movements, and relation of social movements to personality characteristics.

<sup>54</sup> Melvin, "Scope of Research on Rural Youth Needed Today," *Social Forces*, XV (October, 1936), 55-58; Dwight Sanderson, *Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression*, SSRC Bulletin 34 (New York, 1937).

# State Police in a Rural Area

*Marshall E. Jones\**

## ABSTRACT

An investigation of the activities of Troop B of the Massachusetts State Police in a rural area indicates that a significant percentage of the crimes committed in that area are committed by "migrant" criminals, that is, those either not resident in the area at all or not resident in the town in which the crime occurs. When the area of authority and control coincides with, or is larger than, the area of residence of the criminals, efficient crime control is possible. Centralization of control in any organization, if it leads to a coincidence of the area of operations and the area of authority, may lead to a crystallization of relationships in those areas which in turn may promote efficiency of operation.

Massachusetts has had a state police force of one kind or another since 1865 when a state constabulary with general police powers throughout the state was established. Varying in size and in function, it nonetheless maintained a continuity of existence and method as state constabulary from 1865 to 1875; as state detective force, from 1875 to 1880; as district police, from 1880 to 1919; and as state police force, from 1919 to the present time. The present force may be said to date from the general reorganization of state government in Massachusetts about 1919-20. The specific purpose of the reorganization as it related to the state police was the provision of adequate police protection to the rural areas of the state in which local government had "broken down" because of "depopulation" with the result that rural residents suffered from incursions of urban criminals in automobiles.<sup>1</sup> In line with this original purpose, the Massachusetts state police force confines its work, except in rare instances, to the rural areas, though it has state-wide jurisdiction and the legal right to operate in cities also.

The present study concerns itself with the activities of Troop B only of the state police whose patrol area covers the four western counties of the state, a region which bore a very bad reputation for crime at the turn of the century. Attention was called to the prevalence of murder and other serious crimes which went unpunished, as well as a general

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<sup>1</sup> House Document 539, *Massachusetts Legislative Documents* for the year 1917, p. 17.

condition of rowdiness and disorder.<sup>2</sup> Inexperienced, part-time, elective constables and sheriffs subject to local influences and prejudices were the only police officers.

Following are recent population statistics for the four counties:

TABLE 1  
POPULATION AND DENSITY, TROOP B AREA

County	Population		Area Sq. Mi.	Density 1930
	U. S. Census 1930	Mass. Census 1935		
Berkshire.....	120,700	121,099	966	124.9
Franklin.....	49,612	51,043	697	71.2
Hampden.....	335,496	333,495	636	527.5
Hampshire.....	72,801	74,205	585	124.4
Whole Area.....	578,609	579,842	2,884	201.0

There is one city of about 150,000 people; three approximating 50,000; four between 25,000 and 10,000; with the remaining ninety towns of less than 10,000 population.

Without going into detail, we may note that in general the characteristics of a rural area as noted by Sorokin and Zimmerman apply to Troop B territory.<sup>3</sup>

#### TROOP B OF THE STATE POLICE

Troop B is one of the four troops of the Massachusetts State Police. It has a headquarters building located almost in the exact center of the area with five substations at strategic points. Headquarters provides radio broadcasting equipment, finger-print and photography sections, teletype service, and direct contact with the other troops of the force. For the year 1936 there was a monthly average of forty-six officers available for duty, with about sixteen assigned to special work, leaving an average of thirty for general patrol and detective work throughout the entire area. For a typical month, there were twenty-one men at headquarters and eight at each of the substations, those at headquarters including one Lieutenant, five Sergeants, and a female Special Officer.

<sup>2</sup> Waldo N. Cook, "Murders in Massachusetts," *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, III (1892-93), 357-78.

<sup>3</sup> Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology* (New York, 1929), p. 56.

To cover the territory, patrol routes are established in the usual manner with men assigned to the patrols in cruiser cars or on motorcycles. Because of shortage of men, however, it is often necessary to assign patrolmen from the patrol routes to special investigations, so that there is little regularity of patrol.

Although the state police have jurisdiction in all cities and towns located in the area, they do not operate in towns having adequate local forces, except at the request of the local officials or in unusual circumstances such as gambling raids or gross negligence of local officers. If routine investigations or arrests are necessary in a town having a local force, the state officers as a matter of courtesy ask the "assistance" of the local force.

The methods of the state police differ in some details from those of the local, particularly urban, police chiefly because of the differing environments in which the two forces operate.<sup>4</sup> The local police work in a compact area in which it is relatively easy to know local criminals, some of whom will act as informers either for money or for a promise of immunity if they are apprehended in petty crime. Even though these informers are usually petty criminals, they associate with more powerful criminals, or they frequent places in which criminals foregather so that they are able to supply the police with information. Thus, when a crime is committed by a criminal from a distant point, the local informers can usually pick up information concerning him and pass it on to the authorities. Police work then becomes only a matter of picking up the individual wanted and proving that he committed the crime. Even without the services of informers, city forces usually know where criminals meet and can watch those places for wanted men. Further, city police have more men available for concentration of effort on a single investigation than the state police have. True, city police deal with a larger population than the state police, usually, and so need more men. But the point is that they have the men to assign when intensive work on a particular investigation is necessary. Note that we are not saying this whole method is better or worse than that of the state police. We are saying only that it is different.

<sup>4</sup> Judge Paul G. Kirk, until recently Massachusetts Commissioner of Public Safety and head of the State Police, gave the writer carte blanche to examine all the records of the force, to talk freely with the officers and men, and to be present at any investigations, to gather material for a history of the state police. Material in the present paper from this point on was gathered from state police records, from personal observation, and from conversations with the officers.

The state police work in a large and sparsely populated area. There are no gathering places for criminals in rural sections comparable to those in the cities. Many offenses in the rural areas are committed by semi-amateurs in crime who have no great police record and who are not therefore obvious suspects. Since there are no gathering-places for criminals and few professional criminals, there are no informers; also the practice of buying information is discouraged by the state police. The information they get is from two sources: first, from many ordinary individuals in the community who co-operate with the state police for their own protection from criminal depredations and (a very important point) who know that their information will be treated confidentially; and second, from digging away at long-time leads as they develop. In one investigation, every family living along a cross-country bus route was interviewed to determine what seemed a minor point. In another case, a relatively unimportant one of selling liquor without a license, the officers drove out a snow-covered road until the drifts made further progress impossible; then hired a sleigh to go as far as the horse could carry them, and then took to snow shoes. They reached their man but could not prove that he had sold the bottle of liquor which had been brought to them until they found a mail order catalogue with a torn page, the tear exactly matching paper wrapped around the bottle cork. This was an example of hard work, determination, and cleverness in the prosecution of a case which many officers would think might well wait until the snow was off the ground. The point here is not to praise the state police but simply to emphasize that, working in a rural area, they must have the combination of hard work, determination, and cleverness in order to do their work or it will not be done at all.

#### THE ACTIVITIES OF TROOP B

We have thus far indicated in a general way the rural area in which Troop B works, its numbers, equipment, and methods. Our next point is the consideration of what the officers are doing in the area. As a first step in such consideration we may note the following summary of activities:

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, TROOP B, DECEMBER 1, 1935-SEPTEMBER 1, 1937

<i>Item</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Monthly Average</i>
1. Investigations.....	5,160	241
2. Arrests.....	5,354	252
3. Complaints.....	5,384	253
4. Miles Traveled.....	820,448	39,069

Analyzing in some detail *Items 1, 2 and 3* in the above table, we note that certain offenses predominate. Most numerous is the group listed under "Traffic" and including speeding, dangerous driving, improper registration of automobiles, and improper licensing of drivers with other violations of the road laws. In this study we omit this group entirely and deal only with offenses other than traffic offenses. There are several reasons for so doing. First, inclusion of traffic offenses would tend to raise the factor of mobility of offenders in relation to the rural area, since traffic offenders involve *ipso facto* the driving of an automobile. Again, traffic work, while it is generally performed by the state police and takes up a good proportion of their time, is regarded in a sense as a necessary evil, since it removes officers from other and more necessary investigations of serious offenses. State police patrolmen have all been trained as criminal investigators. Traffic work, because of its routine nature, can be done by men who have had no such training. Finally, the people who violate the traffic laws cannot be considered criminals. They are not provoked by criminal intent, but rather by a lack of good sense. Omission of traffic offenses, therefore, will not greatly affect any study of the problem of criminality in rural areas.

Leaving aside, then, the traffic violations, we find the following of-fenses occurring in B territory during the period studied:

TABLE 3

OFFENSES OCCURRING IN B TERRITORY DECEMBER 1, 1935-OCTOBER 18, 1936

<i>Offense</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
1. Against the person.....	90	7.3
2. Against property, with violence.....	56	4.5
3. Against property, without violence.....	203	16.5
4. Against property, with malicious injury.....	25	2.4
5. Infraction of forgery and currency laws.....	4	.4
6. Infraction of license laws.....	4	.4
7. Infraction of morals laws.....	85	6.9
8. Violation of the public order.....	104	8.5
9. Infraction of liquor selling laws.....	11	.9
10. Drunkenness and vagrancy.....	644	51.5
TOTAL.....	1,226	100.0

It will be noted that this sample includes about ten months only. The number of cases listed was considered a sufficient sample for the present study after checks starting at 800 cases demonstrated that the addition of 100 new cases did not materially alter the proportion of offenses in each category.

*Item 10*, arrests for drunkenness and vagrancy, accounts for slightly more than one half of the total number of offenses committed. While these infractions may not in themselves be serious, arrests involved are considered important because they are preventive in nature. They prevent harm to the offenders by removing them from the danger of injury or, in some cases, of freezing or starving to death. They also tend to prevent the occurrence of more serious offenses, since persons under the influence of liquor are likely to take part in assaults of various kinds, larcenies, and other crimes. Again, many of the vagrants are habitual criminals and reference to state and federal authorities often reveals men wanted for serious offenses in other parts of the country.

Next in order of frequency are offenses against property, *Items 2, 3, and 4* in Table 3. *Item 2* includes offenses in which there is forcible entry into a building; *Item 3* includes thefts without forcible entry; and *Item 4* includes those offenses against property which are committed from a motive other than gain, usually revenge. The table indicates that offenses against property of all types make up one fourth of all offenses listed.

*Item 1*, offenses against the person, includes crimes such as assault and battery, manslaughter, and murder. In the sample studied, all of these were simple assault and battery except five cases of armed robbery.

*Item 8*, offenses against public order, is in this sample made up entirely of disturbances caused by fighting or other boisterous conduct in a public place. There were no strike-riot cases involved.

The others items in the table are self explanatory. It should be noted that these are not all of the offenses committed in the territory during the time specified. They are only those offenses for which the state police prosecuted the offenders. Offenses not known to the state police and offenses not prosecuted, for whatever reason, are not included.

#### MIGRATION OF OFFENDERS

We are interested in this paper not only in what the state police are doing, but in the offenders with whom they deal, particularly from the viewpoint of movement of offenders from one community to another for the purpose of committing crime. We note that the 1917 Commission<sup>5</sup> suggested that rural crimes were committed by urban criminals who returned to their urban places of residence and were "lost to the

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Note 1, page 1.

law." It is not only a question, however, of urban-rural migration. Inter-community migration of offenders, whether from urban to rural or the reverse, is also a factor of importance in police work. If most of the offenders are local residents it would seem logical that a local force should cope with them. If the reverse is true, it would seem logical that a larger-than-local force would be necessary.

We consider first the migration of offenders from outside B area into the area:

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF EACH TYPE OF OFFENSE COMMITTED BY RESIDENTS AND NONRESIDENTS OF B AREA

<i>Offense</i>	<i>B residents</i>	<i>Non B residents</i>
1 Against the person	87 7	12 3
2 Against property, with violence	66 0	34 0
3 Against property, without violence	64 5	35 5
4 Against property, with malicious intent	96 0	4 0
5 Infraction of morals laws	92 0	8 0
6 Violation of the public order	85 5	14 5
7 Drunkenness and vagrancy	78 5	21 5
ALL OFFENCES	78 0	22 0

We may fairly say that slightly less than one fourth of the offenders lived outside B area. While this is not a large percentage, an examination of the table from the viewpoint of seriousness of offense reveals that migrants from outside B area account for an unduly large proportion of the more serious offenses. Thus, offenses against property, *Items* 2 and 3 in the table, give slightly more than one third of non B-residents, as against one fourth of non B-residents for all offenses. To put it another way, the frequency of commission of offenses against property among migrants is about three times the frequency of less serious offenses committed by the same group with the exception of *Items* 6 and 7, where the frequency of more serious crimes is about twice that of the less serious. It seems fair to say that migrants into B territory are not predominantly drunkards and vagrants but are individuals with more serious criminal intent.

In addition to the question of migration into B territory, there is for further consideration the factor of migration from town to town within B territory. The following table indicates the situation with respect to town-to-town migration within B area.



TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF EACH TYPE OF OFFENSE COMMITTED BY RESIDENTS AND  
NONRESIDENTS OF THE TOWN IN WHICH THE CRIME WAS  
COMMITTED WITHIN B AREA

<i>Offense</i>	<i>Residents</i>	<i>Nonresidents</i>
1. Against the person.....	65.0	35.0
2. Against property.....	27.0	73.0
3. Infraction of the morals laws.....	70.0	30.0
4. Violation of the public order.....	57.0	43.0
5. Drunkenness and vagrancy.....	38.0	62.0
ALL OFFENCES.....	42.0	58.0

It will be noted that the proportion of crimes committed by nonresidents of the town in which the crime occurred is high for all categories, roughly three fifths. It is especially high, however, for offenses against property, *Item 2*, in which it reaches three fourths for nonresidents, even with the inclusion of malicious injury to property. Obviously the residents of a community may be themselves relatively law-abiding, yet may suffer from attacks of migrant criminals. From the viewpoint of police practice this raises the question of the ability of a purely local force to deal adequately with the crime problem. From the viewpoint of practical government it raises the question of whether local jurisdictions should be burdened with police costs needed largely for migrant criminals. Finally, from the larger viewpoint of the relationships between local autonomy and centralized control, it raises the question of the benefits of centralized control as against its harmful aspects.

#### URBAN-RURAL MIGRATION

A special aspect of the general movement of offenders is that which takes place from the cities to the rural sections for purposes of crime commission. It has been noted earlier that the state police operate in the rural sections of their territory only, specifically avoiding those larger centers of population which maintain adequate local forces. If there were no migration of offenders at all, the state police would be dealing with rural residents only. Since there is migration, the question arises as to what proportion of the offenses are committed by residents of urban sections, and what proportion by residents of rural sections. We repeat, any residents of urban sections are *ipso facto* migrants because the state police do not operate in urban areas.

The following table indicates the rural-urban proportions for residents and nonresidents of B area in the present sample:

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF EACH TYPE OF OFFENSE COMMITTED BY RURAL AND URBAN RESIDENTS AND NONRESIDENTS OF B AREA\*

Offense	Residents		Nonresidents	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1. Against the person	60 0	27 8	1 1	11 1
2. Against property, with violence	17 0	50 0	8 0	25 0
3. Against property, without violence	28 2	35 2	4 8	31 8
4. Against property, with malicious intent	92 0	4 0	0	4 0
5. Infraction of morals laws	61 2	30 5	0	8 3
6. Violation of the public order	53 7	31 6	0	14 7
7. Drunkenness and vagrancy	48 0	30 3	5 0	16 7
ALL OFFENCES	46 7	31 3	3 8	18 2

\*The distinction between rural and urban areas is made on the basis of whether the population is above or below 2,500, with the added consideration of whether or not the principal occupation of the inhabitants is farming. The township of Hadley, for example, has a population of about 2,700, but is counted as rural because practically the only occupation is farming.

In examining this table, we consider first only offenders resident in B territory: The total indicates that urban residents account for 31.3% of all offenses listed. Other computations show that 28.7% of these urban residents come from ten of the cities of more than 10,000 population each. But since the population of these ten cities is 68% of the total population of B area, a contribution of 31.3% of offenders does not seem abnormally large. If, however, we consider the offenses from the viewpoint of seriousness, we find that the picture is somewhat changed. For we discover that 31.3% of urban residents account for 50% of the offenses committed against property with violence, and for 35% of offenses against property without violence. Aside from these two more serious categories we find urban residents of B territory committing almost one third of the offenses. Since all of the offenses occurred within the rural sections of B territory we have an indication of the migration of offenders from city to country within that area.

Turning to offenders living outside B territory we find that 18% come from urban sections. Once again the urban offenders contribute more than their proportionate share to property offenses.

If we take both residents and nonresidents of B area, the whole group of offenders considered from the urban-rural viewpoint, we find that offenders from urban areas contribute almost exactly one half the total

of offenders. They account for three fourth of the offenses against property committed with violence, and for two thirds of the offenses against property committed without violence. They give slightly under one half for offenses against public order, and a similar proportion of drunkenness and vagrancy offenses. Their share of offenses against the person and involving morals laws is about one third.

The implications of these tables for rural police work are obvious. The state police are dealing, in one half their cases, with offenders who do not live in areas ordinarily patrolled by the state police. Since the state police are, in effect, a rural force, local rural forces would be faced with this same problem if there were no state police. In other words, the local rural community would have to equip itself to deal with large numbers of non-local, urban criminals if the centrally controlled police organization did not exist. If local forces were the only means of police protection, some readjustment of jurisdictional rights would be necessary because of the mobility of criminals. Larger forces, with better technical equipment would be necessary. This would mean more expense with consequent higher taxation. Further, if one or more local communities refused to co-operate, the whole plan would fall through. There is no question that the state police system is cheaper; it is more efficient because of its centralized control of personnel, of training, and of equipment; and it avoids entirely any question of jurisdiction.

#### CENTRALIZATION VERSUS LOCAL AUTONOMY

What are the implications of this study for a general theory of centralized versus local government? The following tentative propositions may be made:

1. The development of centralized control of the police force for rural areas in Massachusetts was a *development*, and not an arbitrary imposition of an unwelcome arm of the central government. The basis for its evaluation, and for the evaluation of other centrally controlled governmental organizations, should be its efficiency in performing stipulated duties. Too often the only basis for evaluation is the feeling-tone inherent in such words as "bureaucracy," "regimentation," and "individualism."

2. Centralized control of executive organizations will lead to an efficient performance of duties where the duties to be performed are clearly and factually stated. This is the case with the state police.

3. Centralization of control tends towards a crystallization of relationships and a codification of individual rights and duties. In other words, centralization, once introduced, tends to maintain and increase that system of stipulated rights and duties in which it works most efficiently.<sup>6</sup>

4. The present trend is, we are assured, towards a general centralization of control in government. In view of the tendency noted just above, we may expect, if the trend continues, a more general crystallization of relationships throughout that part of the social organization affected by government. This would be considered most unfortunate by many people as inhibiting the freedom of the individual. On the other hand, Professor Sorokin<sup>7</sup> finds that *lack* of crystallization in social relationships is a "neglected factor of war." Again, the individual is not free from control under a decentralized system of government since he is subject to the restraints and influences of mores, customs, propaganda, often working under cover. Centralization might only make explicit controls which are now implicit.

5. If centralization works efficiently and without harmful effects in the case of the state police we must either admit that it will work well in all branches of the government, or carefully delimit those branches in which it will not function, such delimitation to be on a factual basis not on a basis of feeling-tone.

<sup>6</sup> This statement is largely substantiated by the early history of the state police which had to be omitted from this paper.

<sup>7</sup> *A Neglected Factor of War*, a paper presented at the General Meeting of the American Sociological Society, 1937.

# The Sociology of Drought

*Allen D. Edwards\**

## ABSTRACT

This study of a drought area county in the Southern Great Plains attempts to analyze the effects of recurrent droughts on population, systems of farming, standard of living, community organization, public relief and assistance, and attitudes and opinions. A striking similarity of the effects of drought upon community life is apparent in a comparison of several drought periods. The general pattern of social changes during drought is summarized. An outstanding feature of the recent drought of 1932-36 has been the large amount of federal assistance which has served to stabilize the farming economy. Recommendations to avert the most disastrous effects of future droughts do not involve a complete shift from wheat growing but rather a better adaptation of this type of farming to the climate of the Great Plains along with increased diversification and greater emphasis on measures designed to control soil blowing.

This paper presents some results of a field study carried on in the Great Plains Area by the writer during the latter part of 1936.<sup>1</sup> Its purpose was to study and analyze the social effects of recurrent droughts.

Droughts differ from other types of disaster with respect to duration and area covered. An explosion happens in a moment; a shipwreck is a matter of hours at most; a flood may spread havoc for days or weeks; but a drought may continue through months or even years. Then too, many types of disaster are more or less limited in area, whereas a drought may extend over a large part of a nation and across national lines.

It was known that during the period of the eighteen nineties a series of dry years and a widespread economic depression caused heavy migration from the Great Plains counties, and that a similar combination of circumstances occasioned a like migration beginning in 1932. It was therefore decided to learn what counties in the Great Plains had most nearly repeated between 1930 and 1935 the experience of the 'nineties. A detailed study of secondary sources of information was made, and Haskell County, Kansas, together with nine other counties in the Great

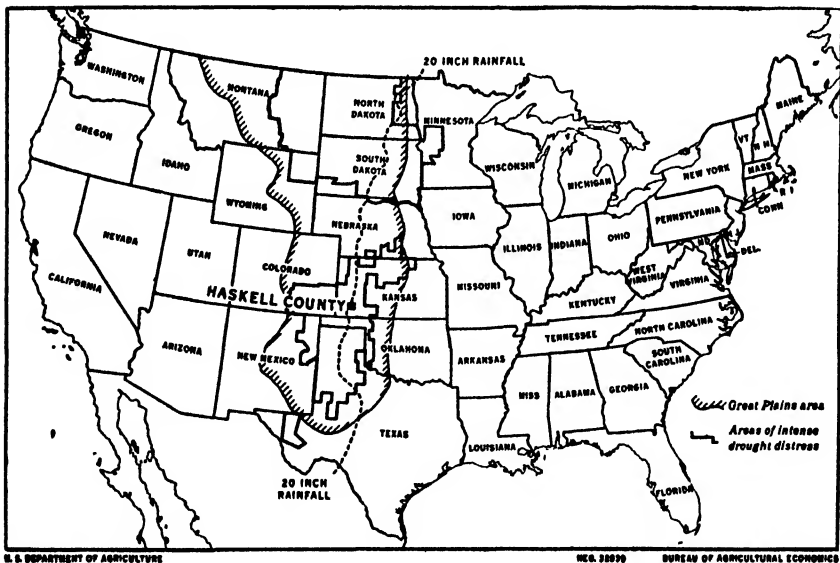
<sup>1</sup> A. D. Edwards, *Effect of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community: A Case Study of Haskell County, Kansas*, FSA SRR VII (Washington, 1938). This study was also submitted as a doctoral thesis at Duke University.

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Plains, were selected for further study before the field work began. Haskell County was selected as the sample county because it had been subject to the effects of recurrent droughts since its settlement and was a purely agricultural county, and therefore not complicated by oil, mineral, or industrial developments. It is located in the Winter Wheat Area of southwestern Kansas and was in the officially designated drought areas of 1934 and 1936. The Soil Conservation Service classified it as a district of severe wind erosion, and the Works Progress Administration in a recent study of drought intensity<sup>2</sup> included it as "an area of intense drought distress." (Figure 1.)

FIGURE 1

LOCATION OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, IN RELATION TO THE TWENTY-INCH RAINFALL LINE, THE GREAT PLAINS, AND "AREAS OF INTENSE DROUGHT DISTRESS"



The period covered in this study is the fifty-three years subsequent to the arrival of the first settlers in the area which is now Haskell County. Adjustments of people to land and to social institutions were less secure than in more settled communities, and hence they were more susceptible to the effects of drought. Similarly, the people were better able to with-

<sup>2</sup> F. D. Cronin and H. W. Beers, *Areas of Intense Drought Distress*, WPA Division of Social Research Publication Series 5, No. 1 (Washington, 1937).

stand the effects of drought during more recent years than immediately following settlement.

### POPULATION

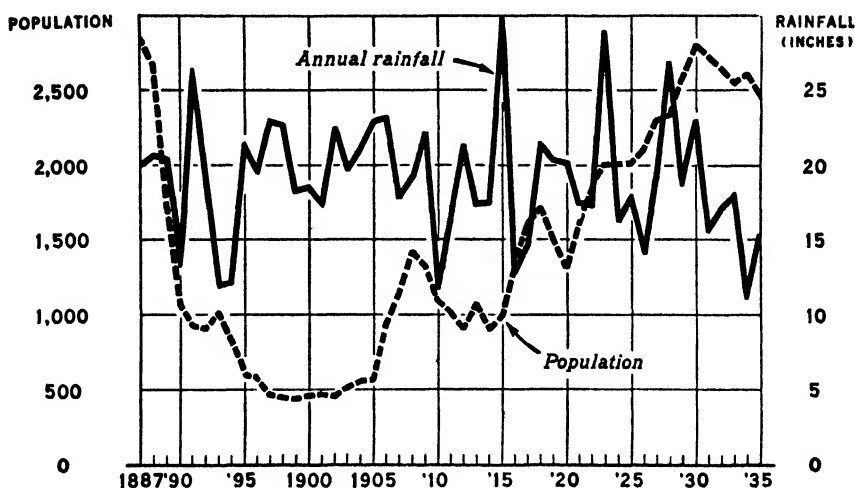
The settlement of Haskell County, Kansas, was a part of the westward movement of the population that reached the fringe of the Great Plains about 1870. The first settlers in this district arrived in 1885 and the county was organized in 1887. By the end of that two-year period nearly all public land had been occupied, dugouts and sod houses dotted the plains, and mushroom towns had sprung up in anticipation of a dense farm population. Here, in contrast to other parts of the Great Plains, there were no cattle ranches to be displaced, for the lack of sufficient surface water had hitherto prevented such enterprises.

The first settlers were mainly from Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and Iowa, but a few of them came from Germany, England, and Ireland. None of the farm operators enumerated in 1895, and only four of those listed in 1905, were born in Kansas. Native Kansans comprised one fourth of all newcomers to the county enumerated in 1915, and one third in 1925. The present population is comparatively homogeneous except for two settlements of Mennonites, who, since the arrival of the first group in 1916, have maintained a fairly distinct cultural and social group life.

The population has tended to increase during periods of favorable weather and to decrease during droughts. Since the settlement of the county, marked deficiencies in rainfall have occurred in 1887, 1889, 1893-97, 1899-1901, 1907-08, 1910-11, 1913, 1916-17, 1924, 1926, and 1932-36. (Figure 2.) Droughts which occurred soon after settlement resulted in extreme fluctuations in the size of population; many of the settlers had only scanty resources and were unable to withstand even a single crop failure. As the settlers became more firmly established they were better able to withstand the effects of dry years. During the severe drought of 1893-97, many were able to withstand its effects for one or two years, but the continued dry weather forced most of them to leave, and resulted in widespread social disorganization. The recent drought of 1932-36, comparable to that of 1893-97 in duration and severity, showed less marked fluctuations in the size of population. It cannot be denied, however, that substantial public assistance during the latter period played an important part in maintaining what stability there was.

FIGURE 2

POPULATION OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, AND ANNUAL RAINFALL FOR THE WESTERN DIVISION OF KANSAS, 1887-1935



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG 32826

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Sources: Population Data from Biennial Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture. Rainfall Data from U. S. Weather Bureau Report: "Climatic Summary of the U. S., 1887-1930."

Some single persons, both men and women, filed on homesteads but the early settlers of the county were chiefly families who took up claims for the purpose of establishing homes. The proportion of males to females has been consistently high, the ratio for the county varying as follows: 1890, 111 males per 100 females; 1900, 124; 1910, 131; 1920, 114; 1930, 121. Among persons fifteen years of age and over, the ratio of males to 100 females was 125 in 1930, but the ratio of single males to single females was 229; whereas the ratio for the state of Kansas was 140, and for the United States, 132. This relative scarcity of marriageable women in the county is characteristic of pioneer or recently settled communities.

In 1930, age groups made up of persons under forty-five years of age included a larger percentage of the total population in Haskell County than of that in the state as a whole, while the opposite was true of the age groups composed of persons forty-five years of age and over (Table 1). This situation was largely the result of the steady increase in population from 1905 to 1930. If a greater stability is achieved in the future, and this may be expected, the age distribution for the county will approach that for the entire state.



TABLE 1  
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, HASKELL COUNTY AND STATE OF  
KANSAS, 1930

ITEM	Population	Percentage in each age group						
		Under 5	5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65 and over
<i>Total population:</i>								
Kansas.....	1,880,999	9	20	18	15	13	18	7
Haskell County.....	2,805	13	24	19	16	14	11	3
<i>Rural farm population:</i>								
Kansas.....	704,601	10	23	18	13	13	18	5
Haskell County.....	1,752	14	25	19	15	14	11	2
<i>Rural nonfarm population:</i>								
Kansas.....	446,564	9	18	17	15	13	19	9
Haskell County.....	1,053	12	20	19	18	14	12	5

Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, III.

As no village in the county has as many as 2,500 residents, the total population is classified as rural in the United States Census of Population. In 1930 about 42 per cent, or 1,181 of the 2,805 persons reported in the Census, lived in the villages of Sublette and Satanta. This proportion of village residents appears relatively high for an agricultural community, but it is not unusual in this area. The fact that about one out of seven of the farmers lives in one or the other of the villages, and a number of the business men and local officials operate farms partially explains this. As the wheat crop is worked during only a small part of the year, a village residence and other occupations are possible along with wheat farming.

A highly mobile population has been characteristic of the county during its entire development. Immigration has been most conspicuous during periods of favorable weather, and emigration during droughts; these movements, as it has already been noted, result in extreme fluctuations in the size of population. A more detailed analysis shows that while immigration has been characteristic mainly of more prosperous years, emigration has been characteristic of humid years as well as dry. During years of favorable weather, however, this outward movement has been obscured by the inrush of new settlers.

With the farm operators enumerated in 1895 as a base, 40 per cent are found to persist at the end of a decade.<sup>3</sup> When the farm operators

<sup>3</sup> Persistence means that the farm operator or a male descendant is still farming in the county.

reported in 1905 are used as a base, 39 per cent persist after ten years, and when those for 1915, 1920, and 1925 are considered, 44, 41, and 42 per cent respectively are present in the county ten years later (Table 2).

TABLE 2  
PERSISTENCE OF FARM OPERATORS IN HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS,  
1895-1935

Year	Number of Cases	Percentage						
		1895	1905	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935
1895	139	100	40	22	14	13	8	7
1905	132		100	39	26	31	15	11
1915	192			100	49	44	28	23
1920	286				100	66	41	40
1925	360					100	57	42
1930	461						100	64
1935	429							100

Data for 1895-1920 from Kansas State Census Schedules.

Data for 1925-1935 from U. S. Census of Agriculture Schedules.

The lack of tendency toward stabilization, at least before 1930, can be understood only in the light of the development of the county. The first census for which we have records, that of 1895, was taken at a time when the first wave of resettlement had receded, leaving only a picked few of the early settlers. After 1905 population increased to such an extent that a large proportion of the total farm operators were newcomers, the numbers being as follows: 73 in 1905; 131 in 1915; 181 in 1920; 152 in 1925; 200 in 1930; but only 72 in 1935. These newcomers had a consistently lower rate of persistence than old resident farm operators, and this largely accounts for the high rate of turnover.

Although turnover was consistently high when measured by ten-year intervals, analysis of the data beginning in 1915 shows that there were differences for five-year periods. The persistence of operators was relatively high between 1920 and 1925 and between 1930 and 1935, while the period 1925-30 was characterized by greater mobility. Data on this point, although not conclusive, point to the hypothesis that a highly prosperous boom period shows greater instability than periods of either drought or medium prosperity.

The high degree of mobility and extreme fluctuations in the size of population in Haskell County cannot be considered abnormal when compared with older communities in Kansas at a corresponding state

of development. These, too, were characterized by a high rate of turnover during their early history.<sup>4</sup>

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF FARM OPERATORS REPORTING SPECIFIED ITEMS, AND AVERAGES FOR THOSE REPORTING, HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1895-1935

Years	Number of operators reporting	Average size of farm in acres	Percentage reporting					Averages for those reporting				
			Winter wheat acreage	Milk Cows	Other Cattle	Hogs	Poultry	Winter wheat acreage	Milk Cows	Other Cattle	Hogs	Poultry
1895	139	234	73	70	35	32	30	89	3	12	2	18
1905	132	1238	51	74	81	57	35	51	4	64	3	37
1915	191	620	42	49	58	33	†	113	5	36	7	†
1925	360	683	85	73*	77	60	77	230‡	5	28	11	108
1930	461	672	89	51*	53	39	63	468‡	3	11	12	104
1935	429	692	65	70*	64	38	74	198‡	5	11	8	99

Special Tabulation, Kansas State Census Schedules—1895-1915.

Special Tabulation, United States Census of Agriculture—1925-1935.

\*Number of cows milked.

†No data.

‡Acres of wheat harvested.

## AGRICULTURE

Three systems of farming have been attempted in Haskell County, Kansas: (1) small-scale agriculture, 1885-1900; (2) cattle ranching and stock farming, 1901-15; and (3) wheat farming since 1916. The first settlers attempted to establish a small scale farming economy. Although the area is manifestly unsuited to intensive operations, the crop yields of favorable years apparently warranted such a development. Moreover, the settlers were greatly influenced by a fallacious doctrine that plowing up the land would immediately increase the rainfall. A succession of humid years preceding and during the settlement of the county tended to lend credence to this theory.

There has been a consistent attempt to farm the land more intensively during all periods of favorable rainfall. The main changes in systems of farming from small scale intensive units to cattle raising and later to wheat growing are reflected in Table 3. The first attempt at small scale

<sup>4</sup> James C. Malin, "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas, 1860-1935," *Kansas State Historical Quarterly*, IV (November, 1935), 339-72.

agriculture ended in failure during the drought of 1893-97. Those who remained adjusted their farming practices by depending to a greater extent on cattle raising. The retreat of the settlers left large areas of vacant land which was soon occupied by cattle ranchers with the return of more humid weather. Cattle ranching and stock farming were interrupted by another wave of homesteaders centering about 1905-06. These new settlers also attempted small-scale farming and many left during the dry years of 1907-08 or 1910-11. Ranchers and farmers with longer experience in the county averted the most disastrous effects of the drought by practicing a type of agriculture that combined the cultivation of crops and the maintenance of at least a small herd of cattle.

Cattle raising and stock farming, though well adapted to the agricultural resources of the area, were superseded during the nineteen twenties by wheat farming—a more intensive use of the land. The demand for wheat during and following the World War, the completion of the railroad through the county in 1912, and the introduction of power machinery especially adapted to conditions on the Great Plains, coincided with a period of favorable weather to bring about a rapid development of wheat growing. By 1930 nearly all arable land had been broken up and planted in wheat.

Low prices for wheat in 1931 followed by crop failures for the years 1932-36 created a major crisis in the history of the county and again readjustments in farming were necessary. These changes were in the direction of greater self-sufficiency and in the expansion of livestock enterprises, but they have not been so great as might have been expected from a drought of this degree of severity. Federal subsidies which have enabled farmers to continue planting wheat in spite of crop failures have had a stabilizing effect.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING

The first settlers of Haskell County lacked many comforts to which they had been accustomed in their previous homes. The self-sufficiency of their agricultural economy could provide them with only the barest necessities, but they endured the dugouts or sod houses and the other hardships of pioneer life because of their eagerness to obtain the free land. Improvements in standard of living occurred during periods of favorable rainfall but were interrupted from time to time by droughts. The most rapid rise in family living budgets occurred between 1920 and 1930, a period of great prosperity accompanying the development of

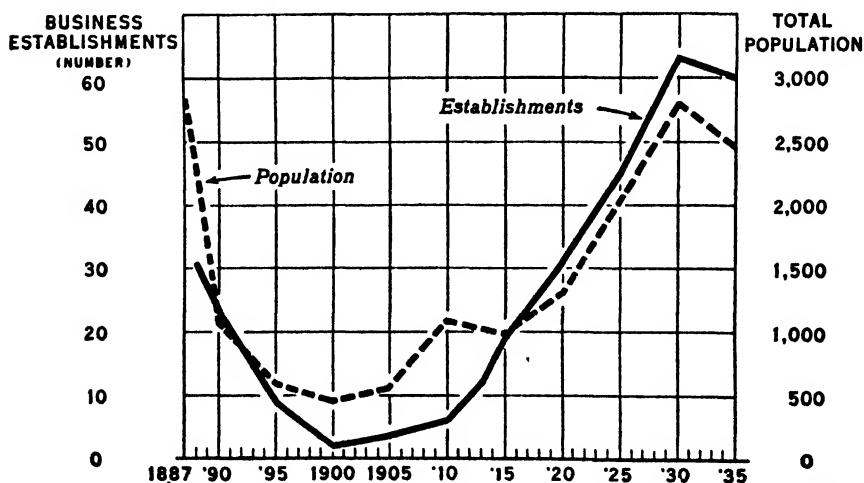
wheat farming. There was an urgent need for assistance in the early 1930's because of the low wheat prices in 1931 and the subsequent drought. Federal subsidies have directly or indirectly comprised a major source of income for nearly all families in the county since 1933 and have been chiefly responsible for the fact that most of the residents have been able to remain there without suffering greatly from lack of food or clothing.

### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The pattern of early settlement was that of family farms surrounding small villages. Isolated farmsteads developed at first because of the provision of the settlement laws which required dwellings on each homestead of 160 acres. The settlers tended to idealize the patterns of social life familiar to them in other communities and strove to duplicate them in the new environment. During periods of prosperity they made great progress in acquiring both the forms and the material elements of the social organization to which they were accustomed, but droughts had a retarding effect. Drastic changes in size of population are reflected in the decreasing number of business establishments (Figure 3).

FIGURE 3

NUMBER OF BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS AND TOTAL POPULATION,  
HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1887-1935



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 32635

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Sources: Dun and Bradstreet, *Directory of Business Establishments*. Population Data from Biennial Reports of Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

During the drought of 1893-97, the county seat was reduced from a thriving village to a single store and a few dwellings, while in the open country the depopulation of large areas in the county completely obliterated the small country stores that had served as postoffices and trading centers during the early settlement.

The loss of population was a severe blow to the schools. The number of school districts declined from thirty-four to thirty-three between 1890 and 1895, but by 1900 had been reduced to thirteen. The school term was shortened to an average of thirteen weeks in 1895 where five years earlier it had been as much as twenty-five weeks. In 1897-98 the term was five months in Santa Fe, but was even shorter in the country districts. Although the population had declined to less than 500 by 1900, no change was made in the county boundaries. The number of townships, however, was reduced from nine to three by an act of the legislature in 1897.

The drought of 1932-36, in great contrast to that of 1893-97 affected formal community activities only slightly; in some respects these had become better organized. The explanation for this lies not only in the fact that the drought brought the people closer together by encouraging co-operative effort in meeting their problems, but largely in the extent and effectiveness of the government assistance that has been rendered.

As the problems arising from the depression, drought and subsequent dust storms, have been too great for the local government to handle, co-operation with larger units has been necessary. The functions of the county have altered and it has become, to a large extent, an instrument for the administration of state and national programs. Relief has been dispensed with the co-operation of the county commissioners and has required only a relatively slight adaptation of the local government. The farm programs, however, have been established outside the existing county setup and are not responsible to the local authorities. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Farm Credit Administration, and Rural Rehabilitation work directly with the farmer or with committees of farmers and not with the commissioners.

#### RELIEF AND ASSISTANCE

Assistance from public funds is not new in Haskell County, for it has been given from time to time to relieve distress. During both the recent and previous droughts such aid has been available to citizens not only through direct relief but through other means as well. Benefit payments

of recent years have their counterpart in payments made in 1889 when farmers were compensated for plowing their own land and all section lines were purchased as roads. In both instances, the primary object was to assist farmers in a way that would tend to maintain their morale. Practically no local relief was extended during the prolonged drought of 1893-97, for the county had exhausted its credit. Thus, there was nothing to halt the rapid emigration of settlers that resulted in the depopulation of large areas and in widespread social disorganization.

Since 1933 nearly all federal agencies have made larger contributions to the welfare of the people in the drought region than to those in other rural areas. Although the great bulk of federal expenditures, consisting of benefit payments, relief, and farm loans, were not specifically for drought relief, such aid was effective in stabilizing the farming economy on a higher level than would otherwise have been possible, judging by the series of events during the drought of 1893-97. Moreover, the cattle purchase program of 1934-35 and the drought feed loans of the same years were measures specifically designed to relieve drought distress among the farmers. These special appropriations were in addition to an extremely liberal policy in the granting of relief and making loans, and the fact that benefit payments per farmer were unusually high.

The disastrous consequences of extreme fluctuations, which have accompanied previous droughts, tend to justify federal subsidies to stabilize the economy, at least as an emergency measure. From the long-time point of view, the wisdom of continuing wheat growing in areas with the widest fluctuations in production might be questioned. A good crop frequently coincides with a bumper crop in the nation as a whole, thus swelling the surplus and depressing the price. At the present time there are no opportunities for farmers who might leave the Great Plains to engage in farming elsewhere or to obtain jobs in industry. Under conditions such as prevail at present, continued subsidy, if needed, and the disrupting effects of instability of production must be weighed against the cost of resettling the people elsewhere, of regressing the land, and some estimate of the unwillingness of these people to move to other areas. Moreover, past experience indicates that moisture will be sufficient for a crop about every other year on the average and that farming is profitable on that basis. Since several dry years may occur in sequence, some means of distributing the income of good years over poor (i.e. crop insurance) may reasonably be expected to remove the need for federal subsidies in the future.

## ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

The social psychology of people in the county has been influenced by recurrent droughts. As a rule, the persons attracted to Haskell County have been of an adventurous type; that is, they are willing to take risks whether by the adoption of new methods, gambling on crops, or undertaking public improvements. This characteristic has been reflected not so much in their attitude toward society—although individual action in the settlement of disputes has not been unusual—but rather in their ability to adapt themselves to a changing situation and to make decisions quickly. Throughout the history of the county, residents have been forced to make continual adjustments in order to survive.

The emotional character of people's reaction to drought has not only an immediate effect on personality but affects deep-seated attitudes. It has been observed that when there is a prospect for a crop during the next year, optimism is much greater than a rational judgment based upon known facts would seem to justify. This irrational optimism appears to be an emotional reaction to the tenseness and discouragement of dry periods. The ability to forget the past and look forward to an optimistic future seems to be almost essential to survival, although such a tendency also has serious disadvantages. Other influences noted include a greater tendency to fatalistic attitudes and a readiness to gamble on "making a killing on wheat" rather than diversifying.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The drought cycle tends to follow a definite sequence pattern<sup>5</sup> affecting every phase of community life:

(1) A period of disorganization follows the onset of each drought. This is marked by an effort to maintain the prevailing social organization, but there is uncertainty and hesitancy as to farm practices, crops, and the advisability of leaving the region. Income and expenditures are reduced, some residents leave either temporarily or permanently, and each farmer remaining in the area makes partial adjustments.

(2) The continuance of the drought over a period of years forces communities to make more drastic adjustments finally worked out by the

<sup>5</sup> Compare with Lowell J. Carr, "Sequence Pattern of Disaster," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (1932), 207-18; and S. H. Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, CCXII (New York, 1920).



individual families and by the community as a whole. They lead to a decrease in size of population, a decrease in the number of trade agencies, a lowered standard of living, a more self-sufficient and diversified farming, and a diminished emphasis on commercial forms of recreation. Assistance from local and federal sources has been an important factor in alleviating the consequences of drought or in failing to do so.

(3) The end of each extended dry period is followed by a readjustment to more favorable weather conditions. This phase has usually involved a period of relative prosperity and has at times amounted to a boom.

Suggestions for community planning to avert the most disastrous effects of future droughts include the following:

(1) Guidance in finding suitable locations in other areas for families who wish to leave, but no large-scale resettlement of those in the county.

(2) Continuance of wheat-growing as the principal farm enterprise, but more diversified farming to supply the family living and a cash income during dry years.

(3) A wider application of such practices as summer fallowing, contour farming, and other measures to conserve moisture and control soil blowing.

(4) Crop insurance.

(5) Greater co-ordination of efforts of federal agencies dealing with agriculture, and greater flexibility in the farm program to meet local needs.

(6) Revision of taxation and functions of local government.

(7) Introduction of agricultural training into the high schools, and consolidation of one-room country schools.

(8) Increase in the effectiveness of farm organizations in providing recreational contacts.

# The *Altenteil*: German Farmers' Old Age Security

H. W. Spiegel\*

## ABSTRACT

The *Altenteil* secures the maintenance of the old farmer on his own farm after it has passed to a son. The *Altenteil* is an anticipated inheritance which secures the transfer of the farm to one heir. The time of the transfer depends upon whether the farm is handed over to the eldest or another son. The rights of the retired farmer are very carefully specified in the *Altenteil* contract. From the economic point of view the *Altenteil* is probably a desirable institution since it secures the replacement of the farmer when he becomes too old to work profitably. However, the disadvantages of the institution outweigh its advantages. The small size of the farms, the uncertainty of the lifetime of the parents, and their dependency upon the successor are sources of permanent tension which profoundly threaten the peace of the family. This observation is verified by the deprecatory treatment of the *Altenteil* in folklore and novels.

The *Altenteil* is an institution which secures the maintenance of old farmers and their wives on the farm, it having passed to a son or to another relative who supplies the retired farmer with lodging and livelihood. The allowances, the lodging, the contract between the farmer and his son, and the institution have all the same name of *Altenteil*; there are, however, numerous other names, as *Leibzucht*, *Leibgedinge*, *Auszug*, *Ausgedinge*, etc., which all mean the same thing.

The *Altenteil* is an anticipated inheritance. The following table shows its frequency in several German regions, in Sweden, and in Austria.

Varieties of the institution can be found in many countries. They are in the United States, too, as Carl Wehrwein has shown.<sup>1</sup> This is, however, an exceptional case, for the *Altenteil* has originated from conditions different from those which prevail in the United States.

The *Altenteil* is an ancient institution. In the feudal era the undisturbed passing of the management to a new farmer was in the interest of the feudal lords who likewise commanded the transfer of the farm to one son. The *Altenteil* is, first of all, a means of retirement for the

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<sup>1</sup> C. F. Wehrwein, "Bonds of Maintenance as Aids in Acquiring Farm Ownership," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, VIII (1932), 396-403.

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY OF THE ALTENTEIL IN SEVERAL GERMAN REGIONS, IN SWEDEN,  
AND IN AUSTRIA

Country	Percentage Frequency
<b>Germany</b>	<i>of farm "inheritance" cases</i>
Württemberg (1865-1934)*	60 0
Mecklenburg (before the war)†	56 0
Mecklenburg (after the war)†	43 0
<b>Sweden‡</b>	<i>of all farm owners</i>
(1870)	21 2
(1900)	14 4
(1920)	8 4
<b>Austria  </b>	<i>of all farm operators</i>
(1895-96)	3 1

## Sources

\*P Brugger, *Der Anerbe und das Schicksal seiner Geschwister*, Berichte über Landwirtschaft, new ser., spec. no. 121 (Berlin, 1936), p. 29

†H J Seraphim, *Die Vererbung des landlichen Grundbesitzes in der Nachkriegszeit*, ed. by M Sering and C v Dietze, Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik (Munich and Leipzig, 1930), CLXXVIII, 118-19

‡G Stockmann, *Die Vererbung des landlichen Grundbesitzes*, op. cit., part 2

||C Horacek, *Das Ausgedinge* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1904), pp. 22-23

farmer. As it will easily be understood, the *Altenteil* is, in addition, closely connected to "closed inheritance," the inheritance of the farm by one son. German farmers bequeath their property by will only in very exceptional cases. According to the Civil Code which provides equal rights to all children, the farm may be divided among them or sold, if there is no will favoring one son. Before the Entailed Farms Law of 1933 which provided closed inheritance for 25 per cent of all German farms, the *Altenteil* happened to fulfill the function of such a testament: it had become the "last means which guarantees the undivided maintenance of the farm in the hands of the family."<sup>2</sup> If one understands this function of the *Altenteil*, one can explain why this institution is and was favored even by those who recognize that it very often results in intolerable conditions. Renting the farm to a son does not mean that the son should inherit the farm and the other children be cut off; transferring the farm to a son who has to maintain the father often does mean it. Thus those who try to maintain closed inheritance among German farmers defend, as a rule, the *Altenteil*, too.

In those regions where the division of inherited land is customary, the *Altenteil* can occasionally be found. The retired farmer then lives with

<sup>2</sup> A. v. Miaskowski, *Das Erbrecht und die Grundeigentumsverteilung im deutschen Reiche* (Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik, v. 25) (Leipzig, 1884), II, 165.

that son who receives the largest or the best part of the farm or the farm buildings.<sup>3</sup> In France, for instance, inherited farm land is usually divided. However, it happens very seldom that the parents during their lifetime divide their property among the presumptive heirs. The French Civil Code contains provisions which permit them to do so, but these provisions do not work well for certain reasons. Occasionally, however, the division of the land takes place during the lifetime of the parents. Then it may happen that they stay on the farm and are maintained by the children. This, however, can be found only among the lower classes of the peasantry. The parents then have a pitiful fate. They live with one child for a short time and then move to another. It is reported that they are treated like servants, and even have to fear for their life.<sup>4</sup>

#### WHEN IS THE ALTENTEIL ESTABLISHED AND HOW IS THE SUCCESSOR CHOSEN?

For various reasons, the time of the transfer of the farm, or, in other words, the age of the farmer when he retires, and of the son when he receives the farm, is of great importance. The time of the transfer depends in the first place upon the manner in which the successor is selected. In addition, specific conditions of the farmer, the farm, the country, and the time have to be taken into account.

The age of the farmer at the time of his retirement depends, of course, upon whether the farm is handed over to the eldest son. It is not the place here to discuss the origins and the occurrences of the various customs. We deal with them only insofar as they influence the time the farm changes hands. The selection of the eldest son was more usual in the past than it is now. In the feudal era, when the peasant had to pay fees to the lord for transferring the farm to the son, the lords preferred the eldest son: the farm then had to change owners more often, and more fees had to be paid.<sup>5</sup> If the eldest son is chosen, the transfer of the farm may take place at a time when the retiring farmer is still able to work. The German Entailed Farms Law of 1933 prefers the youngest son, if there is no other custom in a certain region. In the past, the youngest son has been preferred either for traditional reasons, or because the older sons were no longer living on the farm at the time

<sup>3</sup> F. Aereboe, *Agarpolitik* (Berlin, 1928), p. 507.

<sup>4</sup> Turot, *L'enquête agricole de 1866-70* (Paris, 1871), pp. 30-35, quoted in Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, 212-13; cf. Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, 167-68; A. v. Brandt, "Erbrecht und ländliche Erbsitten in Frankreich," *Ländwirtschaftliche Jahrbücher*, XXIV (1900), 148-49.

<sup>5</sup> Lujo Brentano, "Erbrechtspolitik: Alte und neue Feudalität," *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Stuttgart, 1899), I, 432.

of the father's retirement, or, according to the famous political writer Justus Möser (1720-94), "in order that the older ones have left the nest, when the heir wants to brood again."<sup>6</sup> The most important reason, perhaps, is that the farmer, by preferring the youngest son, can take care of the older ones while he is still the master of the estate, and can dispose of the revenues of the farm so that the older sons can be educated and endowed. Moreover, if this has already been done under the management of the father, the young son who receives the farm has to incur fewer debts when the farm is passed to him. This factor has induced many farmers to select a younger son instead of the oldest. They even went so far as to choose a daughter, if she was the youngest child. Moreover, there is another motive which is probably more powerful than any other: "The peasants show the clear intention to keep their unrestricted property as long as possible; they do not want to become dependent upon the children. They do not know how the children will treat them, and if they are fitted for an appropriate management of the farm."<sup>7</sup>

With the exception of those farmers who are regimented by the Entailed Farms Law of 1933, many German farmers no longer base their choice upon a predetermined customary selection. More rational points of view are taken into account, and the circumstances and conditions of each specific case are considered. That heir is chosen who seems to be the most capable and efficient, who has a wife with whom the parents are on good terms.<sup>8</sup> There are no figures available which reflect this development in a larger region. Figures for a few districts in Württemberg are shown in the following table:

TABLE 2  
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARM HEIRS BY BIRTH IN SELECTED DISTRICTS  
OF WURTEMBERG, 1865-1934

<i>The heir was</i>	1865-89	1890-1914	1915-34
Oldest son	57.8	54.5	49.3
Youngest son	21.1	23.4	21.8
Another son	21.1	22.1	28.9

Source: P. Brugger, *Der Anerbe und das Schicksal seiner Geschwister*, p. 23

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 290.

<sup>7</sup> L. Fick, *Die bauerliche Erbfolge im rechtsrheinischen Bayern* (Stuttgart, 1895), p. 74.

<sup>8</sup> Bissing, in *Die Vererbung des landlichen Grundbesitzes in der Nachkriegszeit*, ed. by M. Sering and C. V. Dietze, Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik (Munich, 1930), CLXXVIII<sup>1</sup>, 56, G. Stockmann, *Die Vererbung des landlichen Grundbesitzes, op. cit.*, CLXXVIII<sup>2</sup>, 421 ff.

Another principle of selection has often been emphasized: that son is selected whose wife has the largest dowry, and the transfer takes place as soon as an appropriate marriage is concluded.<sup>9</sup>

During the last hundred years the time of the transfer of the farm has gradually become later. More than forty years ago, parents were reported who retired at the age of forty.<sup>10</sup> Now the average age of the father is between sixty-five and sixty-nine years when he retires from farming. The following table shows the considerable rise within the last few generations. The number of cases where the farmer was under sixty when he retired has decreased by 50 per cent in the last seventy years, and the number of farmers who do not retire before they are seventy years or older has increased by 73 per cent in the same period.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUPS OF RETIRING FARMERS AT THE TIME OF THE TRANSFER OF THE FARM TO THE SON IN WURTEMBERG AND MECKLENBURG, 1865-1934

Age	Wurttemberg			Mecklenburg
	1865-90	1890-1914	1915-34	1919-30
Under 60	23 0	15 0	11 5	7 8
60 to 70	58 0	55 6	55 6	53 0
70 to 80	17 9	28 0	31 8	29 4
Over 80	1 1	1 4	1 1	9 8

Sources P Brugger, *Der Anerbe und das Schicksal seiner Geschwister*, p. 30, H J Seraphim, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op cit*, p. 126

The inflation following the Great War has induced German farmers to postpone the transfer.<sup>11</sup> The development is intensified by the fact that the farmers are usually no longer able to save enough money to make them more independent during the retirement and allow them a certain comfort. "They do not want to be unconditionally surrendered to the successor, and, in particular, to his wife."<sup>12</sup> Expecting better and less troubled times, they postpone the transfer of the farm.

The late passing of the farm to the son intensifies the evil consequences of closed inheritance. If, for instance, the sons are tolerated on the farm only as unmarried farmhands, the number of illegitimate chil-

<sup>9</sup> Brentano, *op. cit.*, 430-32; Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>10</sup> Brentano, *op. cit.*, 446.

<sup>11</sup> C. J. Fuchs, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

<sup>12</sup> Bissing, *op. cit.*, 56; H. Bechtel, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

dren increases. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the following conditions were reported from a Bavarian district: "The desire to marry is very moderate. The main reason is the unwillingness of the parents to transfer the farm. Meanwhile the children grow old, look around for 'acquaintances,' and mostly have already adult heirs before they receive the farm. Then all desire to marry has expired."<sup>13</sup>

The following table shows the age distribution of the sons at the time of the transfer of the farm. The cases correspond to those shown in the last column of Table 3: 39 per cent of the fathers were over 70 when they retired; 25 per cent of their sons were over 37 when they received the farm.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE GROUPS OF SUCCESSORS AT THE TIME OF THE TRANSFER OF THE FARM IN MECKLENBURG, 1919-30

Under 21	1 7
21 24	3 5
25 28	14 3
29 32	34 1
33-36	21 5
37 40	10 6
Over 40	14 3

Source H J Seraphim, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op cit*, p 126

Only 5 per cent of all sons received the farm before their twenty-fifth year; the average age was 32 years. There are, however, cases where the transfer takes place at an early age which is often too early. In Sweden the time of the transfer was influenced by the working capacity of the father in earlier times. During the migration into the cities and during the period when the desire of the young folks for independence became greater, the transfer took place at an earlier age, in order to retain the son on the farm. It is, however, still usual to wait until all children are grown so that they may be endowed by the father when he is still the master of the estate. If there is only one child, the transfer may take place much earlier.<sup>14</sup> In Germany an early transfer is sometimes effected if the farmer is too deeply indebted to be able to continue operating and owning the farm.<sup>15</sup> Sometimes the early transfer is caused by the intention of the father to avoid family conflicts. "If the father

<sup>13</sup> See the quotations in Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-11.

<sup>14</sup> Stockmann, *op. cit.*, 420.

<sup>15</sup> Bissing, *op. cit.*, 56.

does not hand over the farm to a son who is engaged or who has already children, then the family peace is disturbed by permanent troubles."<sup>16</sup>

If the farm has been transferred too early, the debts for the indemnification and compensation of the leaving children and the allowances for the parents may encumber it beyond all means. The time during which the parents have to be maintained becomes unduly long, if the farmer retires too early. Then there may be two or even three generations of retired parents on the farm at the same time.<sup>17</sup> In order to prevent such occurrences, the laws of the feudal era provided that the farmer might not retire and transfer the farm to the son until he reached a certain age. If the time at which the transfer of the farm takes place varies so widely, the length of the farmer's retirement period which begins at this time has to have similar variations.

### THE ALTENTEIL CONTRACT

The price which the successor pays for the farm depends, first of all, on the inheritance customs.<sup>18</sup> Where one heir is preferred and the others receive only small compensations, the price is low. Where, however, the rights of the children are regarded as equal, the successor does not enjoy a preferential treatment, and he has to pay a price out of which the other children can be paid off proportionately. If their claims are so high that the parents are afraid of living with a successor who will be in permanent financial distress, the farm has to be sold.

The price at which the heir takes over the farm is, as a rule, not determined by rational calculation. The price depends only to a slight degree upon the market or income value of the farm. Thus the price is rather a customary thing, determined by the usages of a region or by the price which the farmer once paid to his father. Factors which tend to lower the price are more distinct: compensation for unpaid work performed by the heir on the farm, or for an endowment should he not inherit the farm. Likewise the debts of the farm, which are assumed by the successor, and the capital value of the *Altenteil* proper, the allowances of the parents, are deducted.

There are still other factors which influence the price, and limit it to an amount the farm can carry. The dowry of the successor's wife is

<sup>16</sup> Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

<sup>17</sup> This is reported of Lithuania. Cf. Robert Stein, *Die Umwandlung der Agrarverfassung Ostpreussens durch die Reform des 19. Jahrhunderts*, III (Königsberg, 1934), 225.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. P. Brugger, *Der Anerbe und das Schicksal seiner Geschwister*, *Berichte über Landwirtschaft*, new ser., spec. no. 121 (Berlin, 1936), p. 15; Stockmann, *op. cit.*, 423 ff.; Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-52; Bissing, *op. cit.*, 56-58; Brentano, *op. cit.*, 461, 477.



taken into consideration insofar as it helps to determine his ability to pay. The price is higher if the parents have to spend a part of it for the education or for the endowment of the other children. Thus the price depends upon the financial standing of the family, upon the number of children, upon the expected lifetime of the parents, etc. Ultimately the price will not be too high, because the self-interest of the parents induces them to favor that child upon whom they will depend later on. They will not encumber the farm too heavily, for the farm has to supply them with lodging and livelihood. They want to be on good terms with the successor, and this is to the disadvantage of the other children whose share might be larger if their compensation is agreed upon after the death of the parents. Moreover, farmers prefer low prices because the fees and expenses of the transaction depend upon the amount involved.

If the successor is favored by a low price, often additional payments are provided should he sell the farm or die without children. It has been reported that such payments would be more frequent if they did not disclose the true value of the farm, and thus increase the transfer fees.

In the last fifty years the price has gradually increased. This development has been imputed to the fact that the father's authority over the children has become less powerful, and the children who leave the farm are often able to bring pressure upon the father and the successor. If they insist on high compensations for their leaving, the price, naturally, has to go up. It is reported that there are regular auctions among the children in Sweden; the one who offers the best price gets the farm.

The inflation of the currency which took place in Germany after the war is another reason for the increase in the price. There are still feelings of uncertainty of the value of the money, and the farmers attempt to protect themselves by asking for more money. In addition, farmers often want to hide the economic decline from which they, like other groups of the population, suffer. Thus they insist on an imaginary price which is higher than the market price.

The price has to be paid in cash if the successor is able to do so. Perhaps he can use the dowry of his wife. Otherwise, and this usually happens, the farm is mortgaged. The interest rate is often lower than the usual one. The sum is divided among the children either before or after the death of the parents; payments are due if and when the money is needed.

## RIGHTS OF RETIRED PARENTS AGAINST THE SUCCESSOR

From the retiring farmer's point of view, the stipulations of his claims against the successor are the main contents of the transfer contract. These rights are the *Altenteil* proper: "the share of the old folks." During the feudal era the lords had great influence on the terms of the contract, which was void without their assent. Later statutes established rules to which the contracting parties had to adhere. Often limits were set up beyond which the rights of the retiring farmer could not be extended. The farm should not be encumbered too heavily. The lords were interested in keeping down the allowances of the retired peasants, and a strict control was effected by their officials. Often they drafted the contracts, and the peasants did nothing but sign them. Now the Entailed Farms Law of 1933 has brought about a revival of this regimentation in Germany. The provisions of this statute as well as some court decisions will be discussed later on. This law applies to about one quarter of all farms in Germany. Farmers of the remaining holdings are comparatively free in stipulating the conditions of the transfer contracts. They are, however, controlled by the Reich Food Estate, which may influence the contents of the contracts. The following remarks pertain to these "free" farms, and not to the entailed farms.

The contents of the contract<sup>19</sup> depend upon the size and the type of the farm, and upon the intensity of the capitalistic spirit among the farm population. The smaller the farm, the heavier the allowances are felt. Where the production for domestic use has preserved the old spirit, only a small part of the allowances consists of money. The old folks are given one or more rooms or a little house near to the farm building; they may keep some animals which are fed together with the new farmer's animals; in addition, they are given some land where they can grow their own vegetables and crops unless they receive all their food at the common table. Finally they receive fuel, clothing, care in cases of sickness and old age, expenses for medical treatment, and, very important in Germany, a decent burial. All these allowances are carefully specified in the contracts which occasionally enumerate even such items as the "*Gräbeier*," i.e., the beer for the funeral solemnities.

In modern times, money plays a more important role among the allowances. A larger amount may be given in cash instead of kind, or the old farmer may be entitled at any time to claim a certain amount of

<sup>19</sup> Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, 164.

money instead of being maintained on the farm. Before the War, well-to-do farmers occasionally moved into the cities when they retired. This is very rare now, because the sons cannot pay the necessary cash. Only if the peace of the family is seriously disrupted, the old folks will use their right to ask for monthly or annual money payments instead of maintenance in kind, and will move away. Thus the capitalistic development, in the main, expressed itself in the following ways: (1) Instead of maintenance at the common table, certain amounts of farm products are stipulated. (2) The allowances in kind are priced so that the transferor can get money instead of the products. (3) The parents stipulate only certain allowances in kind, and use the interest on the mortgage for their living.

Again the inflation of the German currency has brought many changes. The old custom of retaining certain parcels of the land was revived.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the amount of the allowance was increased considerably. This development had already begun in the past century, and it was intensified by the War and inflation period. The many conflicts and troubles during these times induced the farmers to stipulate allowances which were so high that they served as a means of security, by bringing pressure upon the son to live up to the conditions moderated at the discretion of the retired farmer who did not claim the full amount so long as there was peace. Occasionally the son insists on the stipulation that such allowances which consist of products not produced on the farm may not be removed from the farm.

Another cause of the increase in the allowances may be found in the somewhat increased mobility of the land; farmers want security in case their successors die, in which case they would probably be obliged to live with strangers. For the same reason allowances are increased to prevent the successor's selling the farm. In Sweden instances can be found in which provision is made to double the allowance if the farm is sold.<sup>21</sup>

It has been observed that many farmers still do not realize that higher allowances in kind are a burden on the farm, in spite of the growing production for the market.<sup>22</sup> It has been estimated that the money value of the allowances in kind is 1,000 to 1,200 marks per

<sup>20</sup> C. J. Fuchs, in *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*, CLXXVII, 187, and in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes in der Nachkriegszeit*, CLXVII<sup>1</sup>, 429-30; J. Jessen, in *Die Vererbung des ländlichen Grundbesitzes*, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

<sup>21</sup> Stockmann, *op. cit.*, 416-17.

<sup>22</sup> Bissing, *op. cit.*, 59.

year now, as compared with 500 to 700 marks before the War. The pocket money was 15 to 18 marks per month before the War, and now it is 20 to 30, even 45 marks. If no pocket money is stipulated, the son has to pay a lump sum before the farm is passed on to him, or he has to make interest payments for a mortgage held by the father.<sup>23</sup>

This is not the place to discuss the debt problem of the German farmer in its entirety. The capital value of all *Altenteils* amounts to about one billion marks,<sup>24</sup> or 12 per cent of the total farm debt. A somewhat higher percentage—about 15 per cent—is composed of the mortgages given to the leaving heirs.<sup>25</sup> Figures, based upon samples, showing the capital value of the *Altenteil* per hectare of farm land are reproduced in the following table, together with the other farm debt.

TABLE 5

CAPITAL VALUE OF THE ALTENTEIL COMPARED WITH OTHER FARM DEBT PER HECTARE OF FARM LAND, BY REGIONAL AND SIZE GROUPS, 1924-30

Region and size group	Average capital value of the <i>Altenteil</i> , 1924-30	Other debt 1930
	RM	RM
<i>East Germany</i>		
5-50 ha.....	139	447
50-200 ha.....	47	651
200 and over.....	23	656
<i>West Germany</i>		
5-20 ha.....	180	462
20-100 ha.....	107	555
100 and over.....	48	832

Source: Fensch *et al.*, *Deutsche Agrarpolitik*, ed. by the Friedrich-List-Gesellschaft (Berlin, 1932), I, 395, 397.

As the table shows, the *Altenteil* is a heavy burden on small farms where the capitalized value of the *Altenteil* per hectare is higher than on larger farms. Likewise the *Altenteil* on small farms is a much higher percentage of the total farm debt than in the case of larger farms. The larger the farm, the higher is the other debt per hectare, while the value of the *Altenteil* per hectare gradually becomes smaller.

The *Altenteil*, if entered into the land register, is regarded as a mortgage-like institution. If the son sells the farm, the purchaser has to

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Deutsche Rentenbank-Kreditanstalt, *Die Verschuldung der Deutschen Landwirtschaft*, (Berlin, 1937).

<sup>25</sup> Gerhard Kokotkiewicz, "Der Immobiliarkredit," *Vierteljahrshefte zur Konjunkturforschung*, spec. no. 30 (Berlin, 1932), p. 21.

fulfill the obligations with respect to the *Altenteil* according to the original transfer contract.

### ALTENTEIL AND ENTAILED FARMS

The Entailed Farms Law which was decreed in Germany in 1933 expressly mentions contracts of the type discussed here, and favors their use. There have already been many court decisions to show how the provisions of the law work in practice. The courts which deal with these cases are special "Courts for Entailed Farms"; peasants and jurists sit on the bench. The president of the Supreme Court for Entailed Farms is, at the same time, Minister of Agriculture, and, in addition, head of the powerful Reich Food Estate. A general tendency can be perceived in all these decisions to curtail the limited discretion which the law leaves to the parties, so that the retiring farmer may not receive anything beyond his mere subsistence.

According to the law a transfer contract is void unless the courts have given their assent to it. The courts are bound to grant their assent if the terms of the contract do not burden the farm too heavily.<sup>26</sup> Even if the terms of the contract do not encumber the farm beyond its means the assent is refused, however, in case the terms are symptoms of a capitalistic manner of thinking, and, therefore, conflicting with the basic principles of the Entailed Farms Law.<sup>27</sup> It will be made clear soon, what kind of terms are meant thereby.

Still one more limit on the claims of the retiring farmer has been established by the courts: his allowance may not exceed an amount necessary for his own use. Thus it was held illegal to reserve for him the whole crop of fruits.<sup>28</sup> However, even within these narrow limits the retiring farmer has no security. His allowances may be further curtailed in the future if and when the farm becomes encumbered beyond its means.<sup>29</sup> The old farmer is given his maintenance in kind only, and only on the farm. He may receive special rooms, and will usually eat at the common table. He receives the necessary clothing, and, if the farm can bear it, some pocket money. It is not allowed to pay him or

<sup>26</sup> Entailed Farms Law, § 37; see H. W. Spiegel, "Land Inheritance Under the Swastika, *Agricultural History*, 1939.

<sup>27</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, July 12, 1935, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1935, no. 489.

<sup>28</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, February 22, 1936, *Juristische Wochenschrift*, 1936, p. 1848.

<sup>29</sup> Decisions in *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1936, nos. 682, 1066.

the brothers who are "cut off with a shilling" a compensation in cash for the transfer of the farm, or to pay him any interest, even for a few years.<sup>80</sup> The allowances are no longer secured by a mortgage.<sup>81</sup> The old farmer may not, as he used to, retain special parcels or tracts which remained his property.<sup>82</sup> The transfer contract has to contain provisions which lower the allowances in case the old farmer or his wife dies. Then the allowances have to be curtailed by at least one third.<sup>83</sup>

The old farmer has virtually no chance to leave the farm if he is badly treated by the successor. The contract no longer provides him the right to claim monthly cash payments to enable him to spend his life elsewhere. These cash payments were often high in order to bring pressure upon the successor to behave well. Now the only recourse of the old farmer is to the authorities of the Reich Food Estate. If they do not help him, he may take refuge with the courts.<sup>84</sup> There are probably only few old farmers who have the energy and courage to go to the length of doing all that when they still have to live on the farm, and do not know whether their pleas with the authorities would be of any avail.

In these circumstances the old farmer is wary of a procedure of retirement which makes him entirely dependent upon his successor, who may already have failed in the respect due to his parents. There are cases in which the presumptive heir and successor has made a secret agreement with his father, and promised him payments not provided by the law; or else he may have induced him by cash payments to transfer the farm to him. If agreements of this type become known, the courts or the Reich Food Estate take steps which may amount to a deprivation of the management or even of the property.<sup>85</sup> There are other cases in which farmers have tried to evade the *Altenteil* provisions of the Entailed Farms Law by renting the farm to the son. However, lease contracts for more than one year are void unless the authorities have

<sup>80</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, February 13, 1935, *Juristische Wochenschrift*, 1935, p. 1636.

<sup>81</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, October 15, 1936, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1936, no. 602.

<sup>82</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, December 12, 1934, *Juristische Wochenschrift*, 1935, p. 617.

<sup>83</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, October 15, 1936, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1936, no. 602.

<sup>84</sup> Reich Court for Entailed Farms, December 16, 1936, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1937, no. 65.

<sup>85</sup> W. Herschel, *Geheime Nebenabreden und freiwillige Leistungen im Erbhofrecht*, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1936, pp. 283-5.

assented to them;<sup>86</sup> and the authorities do not permit leases of this type.<sup>87</sup>

Thus the old farmer who is afraid of retiring can do nothing but wait. However, if he becomes too old for efficient management the Reich Food Estate will ask for his retirement. If he does not comply with this order, the son, a neighbor, or an official of the Reich Food Estate may compulsorily be put in his place. In that case the situation of the old farmer is even worse: if he wants to be maintained on the farm he has to work for his living.

### IS THE ALTENTEIL A DESIRABLE INSTITUTION?

From the economic point of view it is probably desirable that a farmer be replaced by his son when he becomes too old. Moreover, if he does not retire but keeps the farm till his death, the son is often too old to marry and become a successful farm operator. It seems, however, that the disadvantages of the institution outweigh the advantages.<sup>88</sup> If the farm is too small to maintain both the families, the *Altenteil* results in permanent conflicts. A similar source of permanent tension is the uncertainty of the lifetime of the parents which makes the contract somewhat risky. The old folks become too dependent upon the son; they lose their sense of responsibility, and are, in general, not too well treated by the successor. They are helpless if the farm is foreclosed; and if the farm is sold to a purchaser who is not a relative, they are legally entitled to claim food and lodging, but it cannot be expected that they will stay on the farm for a long time.

The main disadvantage of the *Altenteil* lies in the fact that the peace of the family is profoundly threatened by this method of anticipated inheritance. It has been said that the *Altenteil* cannot be considered a "good old custom, but it is the most unhappy invention one can think of." The *Altenteil* has been called "immoral and really hurtful in the majority of all cases."<sup>89</sup> Thus Bohemian peasants petitioned for its abolition in 1893,<sup>40</sup> and it is recognized that the *Altenteil* leads to law suits, family conflicts, and even to crimes against the life and health of the parents. The Prussian prefect v. Nathusius has called the *Alten-*

<sup>86</sup> Erbhofrechtsverordnung, December 21, 1936, § 30.

<sup>87</sup> Sauer, Erbhof und Pacht, *Recht des Reichsnährstandes*, 1936, p. 287.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. C. Horacek, *Das Ausgedinge* (Vienna, 1904), pp. 70 ff.; Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, II, 214.

<sup>89</sup> See the quotations in Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, II, 214.

<sup>40</sup> Horacek, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

*teil* a "cancer of the peasantry"; others have spoken of it as a "slow parricide."<sup>41</sup> In answering an official Swedish inquiry in 1919, a district report said "the *Altenteil* has disappeared; fortunately enough for the contracting parties."<sup>42</sup> Other observers shift the responsibility for the conflicts from the son to the parents; a German farmers' paper wrote in 1896 "it is only natural that the son or son-in-law is longing for the liberation from his blood-suckers."<sup>43</sup> But, in general, there are many more complaints about the harshness and ruthlessness of the children than of the parents. The money which the parents can claim, if they cannot stand to live on the farm any longer, has the significant name *Austriebsgeld*, expulsion money.

Lujo Brentano, the great economic historian, once compiled some folklore about the *Altenteil*.<sup>44</sup> He tells us of the club hanging at the gates of German cities, together with the inscription, "Who gave bread to his children and is in want in his old-age, has to be killed with the club." In South Germany people speak of the golden chair which waits in heaven for one who went into the *Altenteil* and did not repent it. They say the chair was never taken. Brentano refers to the deprecatory treatment of the *Altenteil* in the novels which, apart from their merits as works of art, have value for the sociologist. "It is characteristic that probably none of the many allegories and moral stories of the peasants is more widely known and exists in more variations than the story of the ungrateful children. They let the father to whom they owe maintenance eat at a wooden trough, because his trembling hands sometimes had shed the food. Once they observed that their own little boy cut a little trough from wood, and when they asked him, what for, he answered: in order that his parents could eat out of it, when they would receive maintenance from him later on."<sup>45</sup>

For a long time proposals concerning a reform of the *Altenteil* have been discussed. Today these proposals have a mere academic character; the *Altenteil* is certainly the most unexpensive means to secure the management of the farm by a new farmer, if the old one has lost his efficiency. The most realistic reform proposal has been made by Brentano.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*; Miaskowski, *op. cit.*, II, 212.

<sup>42</sup> Stockmann, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

<sup>43</sup> Brentano, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>45</sup> W. H. Riehl, *Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1854), p. 59, quoted in Brentano, *op. cit.*

<sup>46</sup> Brentano, *op. cit.*, p. 467.



He thought of an insurance for the farmer which would enable him to pay compensation to the heirs who have left the farm, and which, in addition, would supply him with annuities when he retires. An insurance of this type would stop farm indebtedness created by inheritance division.

Insurance, especially life or annuity insurance, is not much used by German farmers, and it is questionable whether they could afford an insurance like the one proposed. This is especially true with respect to the small farms where the *Altenteil* brings about the most unhappy conditions.

Other proposals<sup>47</sup> were directed towards an irrevocable lease contract between the father and the son, and towards restrictions on the debts of the farm. This proposal would only amount to a legalistic change; the situation of the parents who have irrevocably rented the farm to the son would be virtually the same that it would be under the *Altenteil*. Another proposal propagated the enactment of legal rules regarding the *Altenteil*. Only an *Altenteil* in money should be permitted so that the retired farmer would have freedom to move. If this proposal had become reality the conditions would be very similar to the system of "related tenancy" which prevails in the United States. The "related tenants" hardly need any reform, and certainly none which would bring about the *Altenteil*.

<sup>47</sup> Miaskowski, *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (4th ed., Jena, 1923), I, 255 ff.

# Notes

## THE BEGINNINGS OF RURAL SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

In looking over some old correspondence I recently came across a letter from Dr. T. N. Carver on a letterhead "United States Department of Agriculture cooperating with The Rural Organization Service." I knew of the Rural Organization Service, but I had it in mind as a part of the Department of Agriculture. I therefore wrote to Dr. Carver, and have a very interesting reply from him, which seems worthy of publication, as probably many persons are unfamiliar with the part which he played in starting the first social studies of rural life under the auspices of the federal government. He writes as follows:

"As to the Rural Organization Service, it was financed by the General Education Board. For some years that Board had been financing some Farm Demonstration Work in the Southern States, under the general direction, first of the late Seaman A. Knapp, and later under his son, Bradford Knapp. When Mr. D. F. Houston became Secretary of Agriculture [1913], the officers of the Board came to him and offered to finance some other work. Some one suggested,—whether it was Mr. Houston or some member of the Board, I do not know—that the subject of marketing was of great importance, and that marketing required organization. So it was arranged that the Board would finance a preliminary study of the general problem of Rural Organization. I was asked to come to Washington for consultation.

"The upshot of it was that I was asked to become head of the Rural Organization Service. Congress had already appropriated some money [\$50,000] for a study of marketing, but none for the study of rural organization. It was thought that the two studies should be carried on in close cooperation.

"Mr. Chas. A. Brand was made head of the Office of Markets, and we worked together. At the end of the year, the General Education Board did not renew the appropriation, but Congress was convinced of the importance of the study of Rural Organization, and in the next year's [1914] appropriation included funds for that purpose. The work was to be carried on *under* the Office of Markets. The headship of the Rural Organization work did not, and, under the Civil Service rules, could not carry a salary anywhere near what I was then getting at Harvard, so I returned to Harvard. At Mr. Brand's request, however, I remained at a nominal salary in a position called 'Adviser in Agricultural Economics' for a year." [The rest of the letter is of a personal nature.]

Secretary Houston was keenly interested in the broader problems of rural life, which was shown not only by the establishment of the Rural Organization Serv-

ice, but by his inquiry as to the needs of farm women, and in his first report,<sup>1</sup> under the general heading of New Fields of Work, we find a page on "Other Rural Organization Problems" (p. 37) and two paragraphs headed "Home Management," the initial idea which later flowered into the Bureau of Home Economics.

Professor Carver and Secretary Houston were friends, and the Secretary had great confidence in him. As Dr. Carver states, when the Rural Organization Service was discontinued as such it was combined with the Office of Markets, in 1914, under the title Office of Markets and Rural Organization, which became the Bureau of Markets in 1917. One of the products of Dr. Carver's work in this capacity was published in the Yearbook of the U. S. Department of Agriculture for 1914 under the title "The Organization of a Rural Community" (pp. 89-138), which was the first prospectus or plan for rural community organization.

The work begun by Dr. Carver was continued by Carl W. Thompson, Specialist in Rural Organization, Office of Markets and Rural Organization, who had already produced the first survey of a rural community conducted under the auspices of a state university.<sup>2</sup> In the Yearbook of the Department for 1915 is an article by him on "How the Department of Agriculture Promotes Organization in Rural Life." His work became more largely concerned with rural credit and finance, but he took an active part in promoting rural life studies, and was one of the Committee on Country Life which launched the American Country Life Association in 1918. Besides his work in charge of Rural Credit, Insurance and Communication, Mr. Thompson's work is specifically described in the following statement of the organization of the Office of Markets and Rural Organization of 1915:

RURAL, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES. C. W. Thompson, Specialist in Rural Organization Work.

The object of this work is the improvement of social and educational conditions in rural communities by the accumulation and dissemination of useful information growing out of a study of the social and educational needs of typical communities; the work of their existing forms of organization, and the possibilities for improvement through organized activity; the investigation of methods of encouraging social organization activities; and the study of means of improving social, economic, and educational conditions of women and children through the work of women's rural organizations.

*Scientific staff.*—J. Sterling Moran, Leon E. Truesdell, field assistants; Anne M. Evans, investigator in women's rural organizations; E. C. Branson, Chapel Hill, N. C.; W. E. Garnett, Charlottesville, Va.; D. J. Burleson, Auburn, Ala., collaborators.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1913. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1914. Report of the Secretary, dated Dec. 1, 1913, pp. 9-74.

<sup>2</sup> Carl W. Thompson and G. P. Warber, *Social and Economic Survey of a Rural Township in Southern Minnesota*, University of Minnesota Studies in Economics 1 (Minneapolis, April, 1913).

<sup>3</sup> *List of Workers in Subjects Pertaining to Agriculture and Home Economics in the United States Department of Agriculture and in the State Agricultural Colleges and Experi-*

J. Sterling Moran was his assistant for two years and wrote a bulletin on the Community Fair.<sup>4</sup> Miss Anne M. Evans, Investigator in Women's Rural Organizations, contributed an article to the 1917 Yearbook and a bulletin on Women's Rural Organizations and their activities, in 1918.<sup>5</sup> In 1917 Mr. Wayne C. Nason was added to Mr. Thompson's staff and with him produced the first of his bulletins on Rural Community Buildings.<sup>6</sup> A footnote on the first page of this bulletin says: "On July 1, 1919, the study of rural social organization, including rural community buildings, was transferred to the Office of Farm Management, and Mr. Thompson assumed charge of the Division of Cooperative Marketing." At this time the work was placed in charge of Dr. C. J. Galpin, as "Farm Life Studies."<sup>7</sup> In 1921, when the Bureau of Agricultural Economics was created, it

Thus studies in the social aspects of rural life have been continuous in the United States Department of Agriculture for the past 25 years, thanks to the initial impetus of the General Education Board.

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DWIGHT SANDERSON

THE WORK OF THE DIVISION OF FARM POPULATION AND RURAL LIFE  
OF  
THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

GIVEN AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGY SOCIETY  
DECEMBER, 1938, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is in its twentieth year of existence. It was established upon the recommendation of a special committee named by Secretary of Agriculture Houston which reported to him in a document published as Circular 139 of the Office of the Secretary, dated June, 1919.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. C. J. Galpin was brought to Washington in May of that year by Dr. H. C. Taylor, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (then the Office of Farm Management and Farm Economics), and organized the division in June, 1919.

*ment Stations*, corrected to August 1, 1915 (Prepared by the Division of Publications, Jos. A. Arnold, Chief; Washington, 1915), p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> J. Sterling Moran, *The Community Fair*, U. S. D. A. Farmer's Bulletin 870 (Washington, December, 1917), p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Anne M. Evans, "Rest Rooms for Women in Marketing Centers," *Yearbook of Agriculture* (Washington, 1917), pp. 217-24; Anne M. Evans, *Women's Rural Organizations and Their Activities*, U. S. D. A. Bulletin 719 (Washington, August, 1918).

<sup>6</sup> W. C. Nason (Assistant in Rural Organization), and C. W. Thompson (Specialist in Rural Organization), *Rural Community Buildings in the United States*, contribution from the Bureau of Markets, U. S. D. A. Bulletin 825 (Washington, January, 1920).

<sup>7</sup> Charles Josiah Galpin, *My Drift Into Rural Sociology* (University, La., 1938), p. 36. was made the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

<sup>1</sup> The members of the committee were: T. N. Carver (Chairman), O. F. Hall, H. N. Morse, Mabel Carney, Elizabeth Herring, C. B. Smith, Geo. H. Von Tungeln, A. M. Loomis, C. J. Galpin, A. C. True, E. C. Branson, J. L. Dumas, F. O. Clark, Bruce R.

The first budget for the division was \$20,390 for the fiscal year 1919-20. The staff of the division for the first year consisted of four professional persons and two clerks. Dr. Galpin remained as Principal Economist in Charge of the Division until he retired in June, 1934, a period of fifteen years, after which Dr. Theodore Manny, Senior Economist, who had been with the division since October, 1927, was promoted to Acting in Charge and continued in that capacity until October, 1935, when he resigned to accept a position as Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Maryland. Dr. Carl C. Taylor, then Assistant Administrator of the Resettlement Administration, was named as Collaborator in Charge, in October, 1935, but retained his connection with the Farm Security Administration (previously the Resettlement Administration) as Special Assistant to the Administrator, in charge of Social Research. He was named as Principal Economist in Charge of the Division in February, 1938.

The committee which reported to Secretary Houston in 1919 recommended that the Farm Life Studies, then carried on by the Bureau of Markets, be transferred to the Office of Farm Management and Farm Economics and outlined the major fields of research which should be pursued, as follows:

- I. Rural home.
- II. Opportunities for social contact in typical rural communities.
- III. The relation of educational and religious institutions to farm life problems.
- IV. Problems relating to geographical population groups.
- V. Rural organizations (without definite geographical boundaries).
- VI. Social aspects of tenancy and landlordism.
- VII. Social aspects of various types of farm labor.
- VIII. The relation of various forms of disability to farm-life problems.
- IX. The social consequences of local disasters due to natural causes.
- X. The social consequences of thrift and agencies for promoting thrift.

The budget for the division was increased to \$25,000 for 1920-21, remained the same for the next year; was increased to \$31,200 for 1922-23 and remained the same until 1927-28, when it was slightly reduced; was increased to \$32,825 for 1928-29 and to \$33,825 for 1929-30. This was the year of its highest budget until 1937-38. After 1929-30 the budget for the division decreased each year until it reached the level of \$13,045 for 1933-34. Thus the fifteenth year of the work of the division was supported by funds equal to only 65.2 per cent of what it started with in its first year and only slightly more than 38.5 per cent of its highest budget, in the eleventh year of work.

The professional personnel of the division reached a maximum of five and its clerical personnel (full and part time) a maximum of twenty-three during the year 1922-23. The professional personnel was reduced to four the next year and

Payne, Dwight Sanderson, E. K. Eyerly, Chas. A. Lory, Bradford Knapp, Mrs. Oliver Wilson, H. E. Van Norman, Florence E. Ward, Edna N. White, Ola Powell, C. W. Thompson, O. E. Baker, L. C. Gray, H. C. Taylor, G. I. Christie.

remained there until 1929-30, then to three where it remained through 1933-34, and fell to two for the fiscal year 1934-35. The clerical personnel diminished from twenty-three for 1922-23 to three for the fiscal years 1933-34 and 1934-35.

During the first fifteen years of the life of the division, a period in which rural social research was steadily developing at one state agricultural experiment station after another, considerable funds were allocated to co-operative projects, generally in amounts of four to six hundred dollars per year to co-operating stations. By this type of assistance, small though it was, research in rural sociology was stimulated and aided at institutions in thirty-seven states. There was a striking relationship throughout the period between the size of the budget of the division and the amount of funds allocated by state experiment stations and colleges for research in rural sociology. The best estimates available indicate that allocations by colleges of agriculture for co-operative research in rural sociology increased from \$3,000 in 1920-21 to \$29,880 in 1929-30, and then diminished steadily to 1933, when the funds supporting projects in co-operation with the division were only \$2,200.

This of course did not mean that rural social research throughout the nation was declining. It was, as a matter of fact, increasing, and slowly one state agricultural experiment station after another was beginning modest research in this field. It did mean that the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, because of restricted funds and personnel, could not co-operate with the states in research and could therefore not exercise either the function of stimulation and guidance which it had done from the day of its establishment, or the function of some degree of co-ordination which was desirable.

From the establishment of the division until the passage of the Purnell Act it was a constant fight to keep appropriation for the work of the division in the budget. Congress apparently saw no clear-cut justification for studying farm family standards of living, community organization, and similar social phenomena. The Purnell Act specifically named "sociological" research and while the budget item under which funds are still secured for the work of the division is entitled Farm Management and Practice the Purnell Law did give sociological research legal standing. It is nevertheless an historical fact that the high hopes of rural sociologists that the passage of the Purnell Act would guarantee a great expansion of the rural social research work of the bureau was not justified by what happened in terms of expansion of budgets and increase in personnel for the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

From the earliest days of the present administration, under Secretaries Wallace and Wilson, there has been a renewed interest in and an increased support of sociological research in the Department of Agriculture. Dr. A. G. Black, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics from May, 1935, to November, 1938, in January, 1936, transferred the research in farm labor and that portion of research in farm population which had previously been in the Division of Land Economics, to the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. This transfer increased the professional personnel of the division from three to five, the clerical personnel from four to seven, and the budget for the fiscal year from

\$13,225 to \$19,665. The budget for the fiscal year 1936-37 was increased to \$33,590 and for 1937-38 to \$43,590. It is the same for the fiscal year 1938-39, but is supplemented by other funds.

In addition to the regular Bureau of Agricultural Economics appropriations the division has since January, 1936, had at its disposal considerable, but varying funds from other agencies. During the second half of the fiscal year 1935-36 the Resettlement Administration (now the Farm Security Administration) allocated \$40,000 for social research. For the next year, 1936-37, it made available \$143,000. The Works Progress Administration allotted to the division \$10,000 for farm labor studies. Thus the total funds for the support of social research under the guidance of the division was \$59,665 in 1935-36 (\$19,665 from Bureau of Agricultural Economics and \$40,000 from Resettlement Administration) and \$246,590 in 1936-37 (\$33,590 from Bureau of Agricultural Economics, \$143,000 from Resettlement Administration, and \$10,000 from Works Progress Administration, and an additional allotment of \$60,000 which the Resettlement Administration distributed among its various regional offices for social research under the guidance of the personnel of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life).

During this year forty-one professional persons and 164 clerical and field workers were on the staff at different stages of research with an average staff, professional and clerical, of ninety-six.

At the end of the fiscal year 1936-37 the Resettlement Administration (now the Farm Security Administration) failed to continue its liberal allocation of funds for social research and that budget was reduced to \$28,733. No Works Progress Administration funds were allotted that year and although the budget for the division from Bureau of Agricultural Economics funds was increased \$10,000 the total research budget for the year was \$72,323 (\$43,590 from Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and \$28,733 from Farm Security Administration). During the last four months of this fiscal year \$10,000 was made available from Title III, Bankhead-Jones Act appropriation, but only \$3,384 of this was expended. Thus the expenditures for 1937-38 were only \$75,707, as compared with \$246,590 for 1936-37.

For the fiscal year 1938-39 the allotment of funds is as follows: Bureau of Agricultural Economics \$43,590; Title III, Bankhead-Jones Act, \$38,500; Farm Security Administration \$2,970; a total of about \$85,060.

The staff of the division, supported by the various funds, for the year consists of fifteen professional and eighteen clerical workers.

During the first fifteen years of slender, and often declining budgets and limited personnel, the division published research findings in twenty-one bulletins and ninety-five mimeographed reports. Co-operating institutions published 101 bulletins.

During the period from 1935 to the present the division has published on Bureau of Agricultural Economics funds three bulletins, on Works Progress Administration funds eleven bulletins, on Resettlement Administration and

Farm Security Administration funds eighteen bulletins and four regional studies, a total of thirty-six publications.

In addition to research work done on funds allocated to the division, members of the staff act as technical advisers and in some cases as supervisors for sociological research being carried on by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Farm Security Administration. The funds allocated by these administrations for this work for the present fiscal year are in round numbers about \$100,000. It is thus seen that the funds allocated to sociological research for the year by administrations other than the Bureau of Agricultural Economics are considerably in excess of the division's own appropriations.

One not attached to a government office has little knowledge of the great volume of service required in operating a federal government service. Each division is meshed in with an elaborate machine which not only serves an exceedingly large public but renders constant service to other divisions and departments of government. The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is the only sociology division in the whole Department of Agriculture. Until rural social research was begun by the Works Progress Administration, it was the only rural sociology, if not the only sociology, division in the whole federal government. The mere task of supplying information to other branches of government in Washington by telephone, letters, memoranda, and committee meetings takes thousands of hours annually. Services to states—governments, institutions, agencies, and individuals, and conferences with persons who flow through Washington take a great deal of time. In the case of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, the publication of Rural Life Activities, the assembling and publication of the names and locations of rural sociology workers in the nation, preparation of graphic materials, writing of articles for official publication and participation in research, extension, and welfare conferences throughout the country consume time. With a staff the size of this division well over one-half of all time is spent in what might be called these "cafeteria" services.

Since the establishment of such action agencies as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Farm Security Administration, the need and opportunities for this type of service have greatly increased. All these agencies have considerable appreciation of the fact that they are dealing with social as well as economic adjustments and that there is need for an ever enlarged body of sociological information. The result is that the staff of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is swamped almost to the point of confusion in attempting to render requested service far beyond its personnel and financial resources. Maybe its suffering consists of growing pains. If so, it is well. If not, it will result in inadequate, if not slipshod, accomplishment.

A corollary to this confusion is the fact that by no means all rural sociological research in agriculture is being done by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. Agencies dealing with Land Use Adjustment, whether Land Economics, Soil Conservation Service, or Forest Service have entered the field of



sociological research. The Bureau of Home Economics penetrates this field and the Works Progress Administration spends annually in rural social research from five to ten times as much money as does the whole Department of Agriculture in this field.

Apparently there is great need for co-ordination and synthesis of efforts toward the end of unified and permanent service. Much of the work done by other agencies is not under the guidance of sociologists. The work is therefore done by persons who have no elaborate background of sociological knowledge and who often do not employ tested and valid sociological methods. This development also is promising to the extent that it demonstrates a recognition of the need for social analyses of situations with which these agencies are dealing, but it will not be well for long-time development of valid research and planning if in due time all such work is not co-ordinated and subjected to the guidance of trained sociologists.

In conclusion, I hope I may be excused for attempting to envision the proper future scope and functions of a Division of Rural Sociology in the Department of Agriculture. This task should be made easier now that the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, of which the sociology work is a division, is made responsible for the economic and social research and planning for the whole Department of Agriculture. I am glad to present what seem to me to be problems of the division to this group of rural sociologists with the conviction that their discussion of what I present will serve to better prepare the staff of the division for the tasks in hand.

The first issue, and one raised most often by rural sociologists, concerns the fact that the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is but one division of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and is the only sociology division. In the past this has in some ways been good and in some ways bad. It is good because the vast majority of sociological studies and most social planning are closely related and often enmeshed with economic research and planning, and the sociological work would lose much if it lost contact with the day by day work of the agricultural economists. I suppose it may be assumed that these contacts are also beneficial to the economists. It is bad because much of sociology is as definitely related to psychology, history, cultural anthropology, and even biology, as it is to economics; and sociological research and planning work suffers when it is bound too narrowly by the limits of economic consideration and must continually run the gauntlet of the judgment and even the censorship of economists.

The second issue is the one having to do with the practical functioning of a federal government research agency. The nation is too vast and its social situations too diverse for a research agency located at Washington to do other than generic research. Such research should by and large be of two types; one the type which deals with the common denominators of social situations in all the states and regions of the nation, and the other type which deals with situations with which federal action agencies must cope. Only a federal agency, not bound by state lines and state budgets, can encompass the full scope of many research

projects. In some of them it must work with secondary sources, such as census data, crop reporting data, and the like, which work can best be done by means of a highly mechanized organization of machines and clerks with elaborate sources of data, such as can be had in Washington, at hand. In others it must work through regional offices or in co-operation with state experiment stations in order to get field studies conducted on a national basis.

The third issue has to do with the co-operation and conflict of research and administration. A federal sociology research agency must often render emergency service. Administrative agencies cannot delay action in moving programs while a research agency searches two years for an answer which the administrator must have tomorrow, and considerable time of the research agency must be spent in the quick mobilization of the best data available on the problems with which action agencies are dealing. But it must not allow itself to become a mere cafeteria, dispensing tables of statistics, curves, and graphs, or answering emergency calls of those who are hungry for sociological conclusions for which there are no adequate data. It must be a research agency, manned by the best scholars in its field and serviced by a corps of junior professionals and clerical assistants large enough to analyze the vast volume of data with which it must necessarily deal if it is to do the type of research just described and at the same time have ready information for administrators. Of course it cannot retain scholars on its staffs if they are not given the opportunity to do basic research in their chosen fields. To me there is no necessary conflict in these two types of work. Conflict and confusion will develop, however, if so-called scholars don't adjust their technological minds to the analysis of dynamic, moving situations and events and if administrators don't turn research people loose to get answers to questions which may arise two years hence.

The solution to this very problem is to tie research and planning together in the way contemplated by the Secretary of Agriculture in the new assignment he has made to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. If the researcher is also to be planner he will have to learn two things, both of which he should be compelled to learn if he is to serve in a tax supported agency. First, he must learn to give his research meaning in a practical world and to produce findings of significance to others than his academic colleagues. Second, he must learn how to team work with his colleagues in the other social sciences.

Applied to the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, this means to my mind the following specific things:

1. That we must "get on the spot," so to speak, and stay there no matter how hot it may be until we answer some of the questions which living, moving programs of action will meet in the not too distant future. Our task is to study and understand social organization and organizations of all kinds and types; to study the historical, psychological and cultural trends and contents of present and evolving human situations; and to discover and understand human beings and social groups as both causes and effects of such things as soil erosion, land abandonment, migrations,

settlement patterns, and social and economic adjustments and maladjustments of all kinds.

2. That we need the co-operation and understanding of other social and even physical scientists who are studying and handling other aspects of these same phenomena, and that we are therefore better located if we are organically related to these other social sciences in a research and planning bureau than if we had a bureau of our own.
3. That sociological research must be expanded into something like ten times its present scope if the sociologists in the bureau are going to occupy the field outlined by Secretary Houston's committee, take over the sociological research now being done by others who have penetrated the field, and carry our share of the load in the research and planning for the whole Department of Agriculture for which the bureau to which we are attached is now made responsible.

The problem is, how can this be accomplished? Can rural sociologists prove to the public that such enlargements are justified, in fact sorely needed? In other words, is my vision only a dream hatched behind my office desk, or is it a challenge to professional rural sociologists to justify their desired place in the sun by works which prove the faith that they hold in the capacity of rural social research to render recognizable service in the field of planning and promoting better rural life? During the twenty years of the division's history, the field of sociology has developed tremendously. The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life has not kept pace with commensurate development. My vision of its tasks, responsibilities, and opportunities therefore challenges those of us who know that it has never fully occupied the field outlined by the committee report which led to its establishment two decades ago. This challenge becomes even more dynamic when we are convinced that the division has greater contributions to make to American rural life than even those listed by that committee which did not and could not foresee the tremendous changes which have taken place in American rural life in the last two decades. These changes have brought with them a recognition on the part of at least some leaders in agriculture that an understanding of social processes and problems is of equal importance with an understanding of physical and economic processes and problems. To the extent that this is and can become increasingly true, naturally rests the future development of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics  
U. S. Department of Agriculture

CARL C. TAYLOR

# Current Bulletins

*Charles P. Loomis, Editor*

## COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

*Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community is A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas,*<sup>1</sup> a county selected because it is located in an "area of intense drought distress" and severe wind erosion. Since the settlement of the county in 1885, marked deficiencies of rainfall have occurred in 1887, 1889, 1893-97, 1899-1901, 1907-08, 1910-11, 1913, 1916-17, 1924, 1926, and 1932-36. The last drought was the worst in the history of the county, but unlike the previous droughts there was less emigration, less dislocation of schooling and other community agencies, and less interruption of social and economic life generally. This is to be accounted for by the federal assistance in the form of farm loans, relief grants, assistance by the Farm Security Administration, through Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration projects, and Agricultural Adjustment Administration benefit payments which ran as high as \$450,000 per year from 1933 to 1936 and were received by ninety per cent of the farmers. During the droughts of the 1880's and 1890's, Haskell County was almost depopulated by migration of distressed settlers.

The first state aid given to drought sufferers in the county was in 1889 in the form of payments of \$1 per acre to farmers for each acre of their own land to be plowed and for establishing section lines. County aid for paupers was granted during the crop failure in 1887 shortly after the county was organized. Direct federal aid appeared first in 1918-19 when seed and feed loans were made on a small scale.

The study demonstrates the value of the use of State Census schedules in the study of the permanency and origin of populations. Of 139 farmers in the county in 1895, only seven remained until 1935.

The source of the population of Haskell County was chiefly Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and Iowa, listed in the order of magnitude of population provided. These and other states and countries represented furnished a population accustomed to intensive farming. Such cultural backgrounds plus the 160-acre homestead pattern made adjustments difficult. The school of experience has forced the enlargement of the units and brought about some adjustments, but the increase in nonresident or "suit-case" farmers and tenancy are real problems in an area where close attention must be given to farming

<sup>1</sup> A. D. Edwards, *Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community, A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas*, USDA SRR 7 (Washington, January, 1939). Multi-graphed, 116 pp.

techniques in order to prevent soil erosion. An area six miles square in which field interviews were made furnished the basis for intensive analysis and study. Tables from a Farm Security Administration study of living levels, a description of attitudes, and recommendations are included.

*Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rurban Community, South Holland, Illinois*<sup>2</sup> have withstood the impact of urbanization. Church and family ties are responsible for the ability of this village to retain its rural atmosphere in spite of its nearness (three miles) to Chicago.

Some of the phases of city life which the village refuses to accept are real-estate subdivisions, commercial amusements, golf courses, Sunday amusements, and saloons. The study shows that South Holland, one of the forty-two towns in South Cook County, is the only one relatively unaffected by urban influences.

With its population made up largely of descendants of Dutch settlers who came to the section in 1847-49, the village has clung to its Dutch heritage. The forms of its most abiding institutions—the family, the church, the school, and all economic endeavor—are deeply rooted in the culture of the Netherlands. The emigration of these Dutch Calvinists followed religious persecution which forced a search for religious freedom.

Four families in the village today comprise more than half the population. The family reunions, usually held in the summer, are attended by hundreds. Community solidarity and integration are the rule, and family disorganization is the exception.

Despite the community's strong stand against the ways of the city, the study shows that the young people are adopting urban customs and are speaking English instead of Dutch. "Probably three more generations will have expired before South Holland loses so much of its culture identity that it is submerged beneath the blanket of urbanism and industry that now covers that territory." There is a high percentage of farm ownership in the community which is known as the "home of the onion set," the principal cash crop.

Another community study received this quarter deals with Eureka, Illinois, a town of some 1,800 inhabitants, and is based upon data gathered by students in sociology classes.<sup>3</sup>

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A study of *Local Government in Two Rural Ohio Counties*<sup>4</sup> involved an analysis of finances for the period from 1931 to 1936 and administrative organization of the school districts, villages, townships, and county units. Also,

<sup>2</sup> L. S. Dodson, *Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rurban Community, South Holland, Illinois*, USDA SRR 16 (Washington, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 55 pp.

<sup>3</sup> *Eureka, A Community Survey*, Eureka College Department of Sociology (Eureka, Illinois, 1938). Lithographed, 34 pp.

<sup>4</sup> H. R. Moore, *Local Government in Two Rural Ohio Counties*, Ohio AESB 597 (Wooster, November, 1938). 48 pp.

an attempt was made to obtain from the local people suggestions for improvement. The study indicated that as a rule the smaller schools have higher current operating costs per pupil than the larger schools. However, the continuance of the one-room school was dependent upon the isolation of some communities as well as the popular sentiment in some areas opposing centralization mainly on the grounds of increased cost. Farmers' opinions of local government are conservative with a tendency to favor the decentralized system which they believe will be less costly and more responsive to local needs than larger units. However, financial records indicate that some small townships have unduly high overhead costs because of the small volume of business. The rural people favor units smaller than the county, which points to a reorganization of townships to include area enough "to coincide approximately with the bounds of local social and economic interests" and furnish sufficient resources and population to support a fair volume of business. Although combining counties would lower the unit cost of services it would "increase the social cost of the people served" owing to increased distances. "A more workable plan is to combine functions in small counties under fewer officials and departments."

It is estimated<sup>5</sup> that if eight counties in the Cumberland Valley Region of Southeastern Kentucky were consolidated into two administrative units, government expenditures could be reduced from one fourth to one third. Recommended consolidations are based upon "similarities in land use and population, with due consideration given to financial data, public works and trade centers." The report making these recommendations differs from the Ohio study in that it discredits functional consolidation or co-operation between counties in the performance of functions. All arguments against county consolidation are thrown aside. Without an attitude study the claim that consolidation would strike at local pride is dismissed by saying that this is "entirely sentimental, and is being rapidly dissipated by the conditions of modern living, which give the average citizen a broader vision and interests that are wider than the confines of a small county." The report summarizes the literature on county consolidation and presents factual data relative to Kentucky counties.

In the urban government of this country are employed 1,250,000 persons. They constitute one third of all public employees, and one twentieth of all gainfully employed persons in the United States. Urban governments spent one twelfth of the total income, or four billion dollars, in 1932. A National Resources Committee report<sup>6</sup> analyzes the development of urban government. Four other bulletins which treat various phases of government have been received this quarter.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *County Consolidation*, Research Division, Kentucky Legislative Council in co-operation with the WPA Staff of the State Planning Board.

<sup>6</sup> *Urban Government*, Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee (Washington, 1939). I, 303 pp.

<sup>7</sup> *The Adjustment of the Cost of Government to the Ability of Taxpayers to Pay*, The Dayton Research Association (Dayton, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 36 pp.

## FAMILY LIVING STUDIES

An analysis of *The Composition of Rural Households* in Genesee County, New York,<sup>8</sup> presents statistical data concerning size, type, and age. The study includes 2,039 farm and 886 nonfarm households. The reviewer finds the bulletin particularly significant in view of the increasing tendency of recent years to analyze family expenditures and incomes by family types in order to avoid some of the pitfalls involved in the various consumption scales, such as the adult male equivalent scale. The study demonstrates that no true picture of the stages of the life cycle of families is to be had from a mere classification of families by husband and wife and number of children, unless the age factor is considered. The household size with the largest percentage of persons is the five-person unit, which includes 17.3 per cent of all individuals.

Tschajanow, the great Russian agricultural economist, demonstrated that for his country the size and productivity of agricultural holding expanded during the life cycle of the family as the working force of the family increased. Japanese investigations<sup>9</sup> indicate some of the closest relationships to be found between the size of household and size of agricultural holdings. In Japan the available land is so limited, holdings so small, and custom so opposed to land transfers, that the amount of land available determines the size of the household. Correlation coefficients between size of holding and the size of the household as high as +.90 are reported. Population pressure in Japan is so great that the only hope for increased levels of living is to be found in increased nonfarm employment.

A master's thesis<sup>10</sup> based primarily on an analysis of field schedules taken from fifty large French Catholic Acadian families who derived their livelihood from moss-picking, fishing, or trapping in St. Joseph Parish, Louisiana, depicts family and community life as characterized by great homogeneity and solidarity. The families, which were patriarchal in type, were poor in worldly goods but possessed many simple virtues, such as cleanliness, orderliness, religiosity, and devotion to home and community. Recreation, religious, and work activities were centered in the family. Most families said that if they were to become wealthy they would buy large farms, build substantial homes, and live in the same locality. All parents were opposed to having relatives live with them or living with relatives. Details concerning housing, occupations, incomes, mobility, origin of

*Cost of Government in Indiana*, Indiana Taxpayers Association (Indianapolis, December, 1938). Mimeographed, IV, 84 pp.

*Toward Competent Government*, American Municipal Association (Chicago, December, 1936). Mimeographed, 39 pp.

*Receipts and Expenditures of Oregon Counties, 1928-1937*, University of Oregon (Eugene, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 50 pp.

<sup>8</sup> W. A. Anderson, *The Composition of Rural Households*, Cornell University AESB 713 (Ithaca, February, 1939). 24 pp.

<sup>9</sup> Hidetoshi Isobe, *Labour Condition in Japanese Agriculture*, Utsunomiya Agricultural College, Section B (Utsunomiya, Nippon, 1937). II, 1, 88 pp.

<sup>10</sup> Rev. Herman Joseph Jacobi, *The Catholic Family in Rural Louisiana*, The Catholic University of America Monograph 8 (Washington, 1937). 126 pp.

grand- and great-grandparents, health, hygiene, births, deaths, marriage and other facts are included.

*The Farm-Housing Survey*<sup>11</sup> furnishes detailed information concerning 595,855 farm houses, their equipment and needs for improvement, in 308 counties in forty-six states as of 1934. The data were collected by women field workers under the supervision of the various state extension services and include information for 8.6 per cent of occupied farm houses in the United States.

Region, state, and county data concerning ownership, age, material of construction; number of stories, rooms, persons per room, unused rooms, bedrooms, closets, bathrooms, basements; types of water supply and sewage disposal, lighting, heating, refrigeration, cooking stoves, power washers; and condition of foundations, exterior walls, roofs, chimneys, doors and windows, screens, exterior paint, interior walls and ceilings, floors, and stairs are included. Also the reactions to the question "Would you be interested in borrowing money to finance construction, repairs or improvements provided interest rate is satisfactory and payments can be distributed over a period of ten years?" and average amounts desired are tabulated by regions, states, and counties. Of those answering the question, 22 per cent desired loans and 19.4 per cent indicated desires to borrow an average of \$464. Comparable data from 1930 and 1935 censuses indicate that the farm housing of the country as a whole is not so good as that reported in the survey which included houses located near urban centers.

*Housing Requirements of Farm Families in the United States*<sup>12</sup> have been described for fourteen regions. The study of functions of the farmhouse and prevailing opinions of farm-homemakers regarding various needs are reported by home demonstration agents and homemakers. The evaluation of sanitary facilities in descending order of preference for twenty items was made. The first five items were as follows: (1) a kitchen sink with a drain; (2) cold water piped to the kitchen sink, or a pump at the sink; (3) a bathtub with a drain; (4) cold water piped to the bathtub; and (5) a flush toilet.

The *Standard of Living on Carroll County Maryland Farms*<sup>13</sup> is appraised in a field investigation of seventy-two families, the average net cash income (\$1,399) of which was higher than that for the county. That the level of living is high is attested by the fact that the average expenditure for recreation and advancement was \$137, over two thirds of which went for organizations and education. Weekly food records indicated relatively good diets with only slight deficiencies in certain items. The value of nonpurchased goods and services consumed by the families was not treated.

<sup>11</sup> *The Farm-Housing Survey*, USDA BHE, Misc. Publication 323 (Washington, March, 1939). 42 pp.

<sup>12</sup> Maud Wilson, *Housing Requirements of Farm Families in the United States*, USDA 322 (Washington, February, 1939). 40 pp.

<sup>13</sup> Viola C. Teeter and Carl B. Smith, *Standard of Living on Carroll County Maryland Farms*, University of Maryland AESB 422 (College Park, October, 1938). 119 pp.



An analysis of *Living Standards of Filipino Families on an Hawaiian Sugar Plantation*<sup>14</sup> proves the importance of cultural and sociological considerations in level of living studies. Filipino men on the island far outnumbered the women. The 101 families included were not typical of sugar labor on the archipelago, having relatively lower total values of living (\$1,014) and being more recent arrivals than was generally the case. Among the findings which have sociological significance are the following: "The intense competition among the men for the favors of the greatly outnumbered women is reflected, even after marriage, in their expenditures of street clothes." ". . . the increase in food expenditures which follows an increase in income does not signify a relative improvement in diet." As income increased, diets were further unbalanced by increased expenditures for meats and starches. "In many families where there are no beds and inadequate bedclothing, one finds victrolas, radios, and several large, framed photographs which cost about \$18.00 apiece." Customary funeral rites were expensive. Superstitions often prevented administration of needed medical care, and families raised chickens even at a loss because they had done so in the Philippines and found prestige in their ownership.

The most important source of current farm family data for any rural group is the Farm Family Record Book kept by the Farm Security Administration borrowers with the assistance of the county home and farm supervisors. Preliminary analyses of these records are available for 1937 for Northern Minnesota,<sup>15</sup> Southern Minnesota,<sup>16</sup> Tennessee,<sup>17</sup> Nebraska,<sup>18</sup> Oklahoma,<sup>19</sup> New Mexico,<sup>20</sup> and Ohio.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Edna Clark Wentworth and Frederick Simpich, Jr., *Living Standards of Filipino Families on an Hawaiian Sugar Plantation*, American Council Institute of Pacific Relations (Honolulu, 1936). 40 pp.

<sup>15</sup> *Report of the Farm Management Service for Farmer-Borrowers of Rural Rehabilitation, FSA for the Year 1937*, University of Minnesota Report 103 (University Farm, St. Paul, July, 1938). Mimeographed, 18 pp.

<sup>16</sup> *Report of the Farm Management Service for Farmer-Borrowers of Rural Rehabilitation, FSA for the Year 1937*, University of Minnesota Report 102 (University Farm, St. Paul, July, 1938). Mimeographed, 18 pp.

<sup>17</sup> *Summary of Information from Farm Security, Farm and Home Records* (Tennessee, September, 1938). Mimeographed, 4 pp.

<sup>18</sup> *The Summary of Home Expenditure Records for 1102 Nebraska Rehabilitation Families*, University of Nebraska Ext. Circ. 1193 (Lincoln, 1937). Mimeographed, 4 pp.

*Analysis of the Summarization of 249 Farm Family Record Books of Nebraska Farm Security Borrowers from 1937*, University of Nebraska Ext. Circ. 1194 (Lincoln, 1938). Mimeographed, 10 pp.

<sup>19</sup> Bonnie Goodman, *Summary of Farm Family Record Books by Area-Type Farming*, Oklahoma A & M College (Stillwater, 1937). Mimeographed, 12 pp.

*Home Management Report for Forty-six Eastern Oklahoma Farms on Farm Security Project RR-OK 17, 1937*, USDA FSA, Region VIII (Dallas, Texas, 1937). Mimeographed, 11 pp.

<sup>20</sup> *Home Account Summary for New Mexico, 1937*, New Mexico AES (State College, 1937). Mimeographed, 11 pp.

<sup>21</sup> Day Monroe and Maryland Y. Pennell, *Family Living of Farm Security Administration Borrowers in Ohio, 1935-37*, USDA (Washington, July, 1938). Mimeographed, 19 pp.

Better to understand *Native Standards of Living and African Cultural Change*,<sup>22</sup> an anthropological investigation of three institutions—cultivation, cattle keeping, and the chief's market—in the Ngoni Highlands of Nyasaland was made. The study indicated that "a purely quantitative assessment of consumption would not be adequate to answer the problem of how the standard of living could be raised. For this it was necessary to analyze the motives for consumption and incentives to production." Furthermore, there was no automatic reaction to environment since from the same natural resources local tribes created very different types of economy. Also, there was no uniform reaction to cultural change introduced by Europeans. Generally among the Ngoni, where the possession of cattle gives social status, security, religious, social and legal values, the "commercial attitude" toward cattle is resisted. Cultural change has been due principally to exodus for wage work, introduction of money, and teaching in schools and has resulted in the loss of the old economic solidarity and mutual dependence. These have raised the level of living somewhat, but there has been accompanying maladjustment and neglect of agricultural pursuits. Authorities who desire to raise the level of living should consider the sociopolitical as well as the economic element in the lives of the people.

*Roots of Poverty* is the title of a Virginia Experiment Station Report<sup>23</sup> which claims that

Over half of Virginia's rural families are marginal from the standpoint of income, education and living standards. Moreover, the marginal half is producing much more than half of the children. This situation demands as minimum corrective goals: (1) Closing the gap in birthrates between socioeconomic groups, (2) Decent housing with home conveniences, (3) Adequate medical care, (4) Freedom from excessive work on the part of women and children, (5) Possibility for savings and provision for security in times of stress, (6) Reasonable part in community life, (7) A fair start in life for children, including adequate food and good home atmosphere, and—The income and education needed to reach these goals.

In addition to rural level of living studies the most complete analysis of *Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities* has been received.<sup>24</sup> The report is based upon the analysis of 4,000 one-week dietary records obtained during the period from December, 1934, to February, 1937, in forty-three industrial centers in eight major geographical regions in the United States. Most families spent from 25 to 40 per cent of their incomes for food. Rising expenditures for food, although increasing all purchases, brought the most pronounced increments of milk, butter, cream, eggs, meat, fruits, succulent vegetables, and the least for grain products, sugars, and fats other than butter and cream. Consumption of all fats was lowest among families in the North Atlantic cities and highest in the South.

<sup>22</sup> Margaret Read, *Native Standards of Living and African Cultural Change*, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures Memo. XVI (London, 1938). 56 pp.

<sup>23</sup> W. E. Garnett, Allen D. Edwards, and Charles Burr, *Roots of Poverty*, Virginia AESR 7 (Blacksburg, March, 1939). Mimeographed, 20 pp.

<sup>24</sup> Hazel K. Stiebeling and Esther F. Phipard, *Diets of Families of Employed Wage Earners and Clerical Workers in Cities*, USDA 507 (Washington, January, 1939). 141 pp.

The total value of family living for a group of Japanese families,<sup>25</sup> thirty-six of whom lived in Honolulu and eight in rural areas of Hawaii, was \$1,693, 30 per cent of which was allocated for food, 7 per cent for formal education, 6 per cent for automobiles, and 5 per cent for medical and dental care. Vitamins A and B and calcium were deficient in most of the diets, but diets were more satisfactory in the higher income brackets. Too much white rice and not enough foods containing vitamins and calcium are eaten.

A study of *Food, Health and Income*<sup>26</sup> for the United Kingdom concludes that the diets of the poorest group comprising four and one half million people, or 10 per cent of the population, were deficient in every constituent examined. The second and third groups comprising together eighteen million people had diets adequate in protein but deficient in vitamins and minerals. Complete adequacy was found only for the wealthier half of the population. Consumption of bread and potatoes is practically uniform for the different income levels, but the consumption of milk, eggs, fruit, vegetables, meat, and fish rises with incomes. "A review of the state of health of the people of the different groups suggests that as income increases, disease and death rates decrease, children grow more quickly, adult stature is greater, and general health and physique improve."

Also, the analysis of four-year budgets for four families and three-year budgets for two tenant-cultivator families in India was received.<sup>27</sup>

#### POPULATION MIGRATION

Estimates of North Dakota's population based upon school census data for 1930, 1935, and 1937 and federal census data for 1930, indicating decreases of 3.2 per cent from 1930 to 1935 and 7.5 per cent from 1935 to 1937, have been published in a State Planning Board report.<sup>28</sup> The report states that "much of the loss in population was from the agricultural class." "Readjustment is inevitable and an effort should be made to readjust matters within our state to retain the present population."

Farm abandonment and governmental purchase of farm land in the western part of the state will reduce the volume of trade except in irrigation centers. There some county seats may disappear and counties may need reorganization. In the eastern part of the state holdings are becoming smaller and trade volume greater.

For the state from 1920 to 1935 the centers which experienced the greatest

<sup>25</sup> Carey D. Miller, *A Study of the Dietary and Value of Living of 44 Japanese Families in Hawaii*, University of Hawaii Research Publ. 18 (Honolulu, December, 1938). 27 pp.

<sup>26</sup> John Boyd Orr, *Food, Health and Income*, 2nd ed. (London, 1937). 82 pp.

<sup>27</sup> Labh Singh and Ajaib Singh, *Family Budgets, 1935-36, of Six Tenant-Cultivators in the Lyallpur District*, The Board of Economic Inquiry Publication 59 (Punjab, India, 1938). 38 pp.

<sup>28</sup> *Trade Centers in North Dakota*, State Planning Board (Bismark, January, 1939). Mimeographed, 244 pp.

population loss were those small villages of less than fifty inhabitants and places between two hundred and a thousand. The cities of over five thousand or more population continuously increased in size.

The Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment covering the period 1930 to 1935 provides information concerning migration during the decline and the first stages of improvement in economic activity. *Michigan Migrants*,<sup>20</sup> a study based upon 120,247 schedules constituting approximately 23 per cent of the census schedules presents information relative to the personal characteristics of workers who moved during the survey period. The study reports that male agricultural workers, especially farm laborers, were more mobile than nonagricultural workers. However, agricultural female workers were less mobile than the nonagricultural female workers. Professional persons were more mobile than proprietors and clerical workers; this was due in large measure to the low mobility of female clerical workers.

Among manual workers the highest mobility was associated with the lowest level of skill. Since mobility decreases with age, this may be due in part to the greater age of the more skilled workers, but it is also probably due to the greater insecurity of the less skilled. Also the "data indicate that for both males and females family support was a stabilizing influence." Mobility rates were highest among persons who had started but not completed high school. Data concerning age and marital status of migrants making rural-urban, urban-rural, urban-urban, or rural-rural moves are given. Studies from the same materials are cited as having demonstrated that relief and mobility had a common cause in unemployment; that moves of persons who received public assistance seldom had any immediate connection with relief; that unemployed workers did not "shop around" to get the most liberal relief grants; that the most mobile workers were those who usually worked in the extractive industries, such as forestry and mining; and that during the depression there was a pronounced movement of industrial workers into agriculture followed by the reversal of this trend during the period of business improvement.

The many migrants to Cincinnati from the mountain areas of Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia are faced with next to impossible adjustments—adjustments which in times past confronted the migrants from foreign countries. These more recent migrants are handicapped by educational attainments far inferior to those of the natives of the city, and their lack of influential contacts and understanding of city ways has secured for them jobs relatively low in the occupational scale. These migrants have frequently served as "scabs," and their clannishness has prevented their assimilation. However, the depression has slowed up this stream of migrants and the less recent arrivals are being integrated into the social and economic structure of the city. These and many other facts concerning assimilation of migrants, population growth, and composition and

<sup>20</sup> Albert Westefeld, *Michigan Migrants*, Division of Research, WPA (Washington, March, 1939). Mimeographed, 35 pp.

religious affiliation of Cincinnati citizens are revealed in a special analysis<sup>80</sup> of a 1935 census financed by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Works Progress Administration.

More than 285,000 individuals entering California by motor vehicle "in need of manual employment," many of whom had been blown out in the dust bowl or otherwise displaced, were counted at the border plant control stations from July 1, 1935, to the end of 1938. The indigent among these people, who because they were not established California residents of at least one year's standing were not eligible for assistance from the State Relief Administration, have welcomed the emergency grants of the Farm Security Administration made available February, 1938, for needy farm laborers and other farm classes of less than one year's residence. During the eight-month period, February through September, 1938, 15,410 households received such grants. Of this number 12,032 cases were closed on October 1, 1938, when the demand for harvest workers was great. From the records of the closed cases *A Study of 6655 Migrant Households in California, 1938*<sup>81</sup> has been made. Among the findings of the study are the following:

1. Three fourths of the group came from four states, Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. Two fifths, or 2,771, came from Oklahoma alone.

2. Maps indicating original homes of migrants demonstrate definite clusters or small areas of density composed of single or groups of counties.

3. Although the reason for migration reported by the greater percentage of migrants from Oklahoma and Missouri was drought, for Texas and all Mountain Pacific States it was "lack of work." Curiously enough counties in the Great Plains from which the largest number of households had come were not the counties of greatest drought intensity during 1934 and 1936. Possible explanations are that, on the one hand, migrations may have begun earlier in counties where drought intensity was not greatest and, on the other hand, heavier relief payments may have deterred migration from counties where the drought was worst. Also, machinery, as well as general soil destruction, and the breakdown of tenancy, all important causes, may have played more important rôles than the migrants themselves realized when they gave the information.

4. States in the path of the westward migration, particularly Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Colorado, and New Mexico, furnished temporary residence for many of the migrants.

5. Almost one half of the migrants had lived for twenty years or longer and only 17 per cent had resided less than five years in the states from which they came.

6. Nearly 88 per cent of the households gave farming as their chief occupa-

<sup>80</sup> Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *The Population of Hamilton County, Ohio, in 1935*, The Cincinnati Employment Center (Cincinnati, 1937). Mimeographed, I, 118 pp.; II, 253 pp.

<sup>81</sup> *A Study of 6655 Migrant Households in California, 1938*, FSA (San Francisco, January, 1939). 144 pp.

tion, and of these 67.8 per cent were laborers, 17.7 per cent tenants, 10.8 per cent sharecroppers, 3.7 per cent owners.

7. During 1937 migrant heads had worked an average (median) of six months.

In addition to the above mentioned bulletins on population, the *Proceedings of the First Mid-Western Conference on Rural Population Research* has been received this quarter.<sup>22</sup>

#### RELIEF

*Five Years of Rural Relief*,<sup>23</sup> a Works Progress Administration report based upon a survey made in 385 representative counties and townships in thirty-six states, emphasizes the importance of the Social Security Program in meeting the relief needs of rural and town areas in the United States. The study covers monthly expenditures and caseloads from 1932 through 1936 for five major types of aid—public general assistance; public veterans' assistance; public aid to the aged, to the blind, and to dependent children; Resettlement emergency grants; and private assistance. For the five years expenditures for these types of assistance totaled more than one and a fifth billion dollars, rising steadily from about \$80,000,000 in 1932 to almost \$400,000,000 in 1935. There was a drop of almost 50 per cent in total expenditures from 1935 to 1936.

During the first four years of the period surveyed, public general assistance was the most important type of relief, mounting to more than nine tenths of the total expenditures in 1934. In 1936, however, as a result both of the cessation of FERA funds and of the release of funds under the Social Security Act, public aid to the aged, to the blind, and to dependent children became the most important type of assistance, accounting for 45 per cent of the total rural and town expenditures. In the later months of the year this type of assistance accounted for almost 60 per cent of the total.

The trend of public general assistance closely followed that for total relief during the first four years of the survey, but declined more rapidly during 1936. Special assistance to veterans was of most importance in 1932. In each of the five years, more than three fourths of the total annual expenditures for this purpose were made in twelve Southern States.

Resettlement emergency grants were not initiated until November, 1935, and reached their peak expenditure in the following January. They then declined rapidly through July, after which the drought caused an increased demand. The major part of the expenditures for the emergency grant program was in nine Great Plains States, which had not yet recovered from former drought years when they were again desolated in 1936. The number of cases assisted under the Resettlement emergency grant program increased or declined with the fluctuations in farm distress. Trends in the other forms of assistance are described in detail.

<sup>22</sup> *Proceedings of the First Mid-Western Conference on Rural Population Research*, University of Missouri AES (Columbia, April, 1937). Mimeographed, 27 pp.

<sup>23</sup> Waller Wynne, Jr., *Five Years of Rural Relief*, WPA (Washington, 1938). 160 pp.

Average monthly benefits per case for public general assistance rose from a low of \$9.50 in 1933 to a high of \$16.20 in 1935, declining in 1936 with the cessation of Federal funds for general relief. The effect of funds provided under the Social Security Program was seen in the fact that the highest average benefits to the aged, to the blind, and to dependent children were reported in the closing months of 1936. With the exception of 1932, average monthly benefits per case were higher throughout the five-year period for aid to the blind than for aid either to the aged or to dependent children. Benefits paid under the Resettlement emergency grant program reflected seasonal variations in relief needs, being highest during the winter months and declining during the spring and summer.

Workers who had been separated from W. P. A. during survey periods in 1937 were less successful in finding adequate incomes from other sources than those separated during the 1936 periods.<sup>84</sup> This is to be explained in part by the fact that relatively more workers were separated for administrative reasons necessitated by restricted appropriations in 1937 than in 1936. Another explanation of the relatively poor economic situation of separated workers in 1937 was the decline in business activity during the latter half of the year.

The W.P.A. workers were on the average two years older in 1936 than in June, 1937. However, the average age of N.Y.A. and C.C.C. workers remained about the same.<sup>85</sup>

A summary report of the organization, scope, and results of the *Plan for Cooperative Rural Research*<sup>86</sup> of the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration has been prepared.

Publications based on data collected under the co-operative plan include research monographs, special reports, and bulletins by the Washington staff and more than two hundred state publications. At one time or another forty-one states have been included within the co-operative plan.

Supplementary materials included in the report are a list of the more important federal publications, brief descriptions of the various federal rural relief surveys, a table showing the states in which the various federal surveys were conducted, a subject bibliography of state bulletins, and a table of state projects conducted under the Plan for Co-operative Rural Research.

The *Rural Relief Trends in Wisconsin*<sup>87</sup> including data from eight sample counties and the state as a whole, emphasizing four periods from October, 1934, to November, 1936, and including general relief, Works Progress Administration employment, Social Security assistance to aged, blind, and to dependent

<sup>84</sup> Verl E. Roberts, *Survey of Workers Separated from W.P.A. Employment in Nine Areas, 1937*, WPA (Washington, 1938). 22 pp.

<sup>85</sup> R. Nassimbene, *Age of W.P.A. Workers, November 1937*, WPA (Washington, 1938). 20 pp.

<sup>86</sup> S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Irene Link, and Ellen Winston, *Plan for Cooperative Rural Research*, WPA SR, II, 17 (Washington, 1938). Mimeographed, 56 pp.

<sup>87</sup> George W. Hill and Ronald A. Smith, *Rural Relief Trends in Wisconsin*, University of Wisconsin (Madison, 1939). 57 pp.

children, and Farm Security Administration emergency grants to needy farmers, have been described.

Throughout the period, from 69 to 82 per cent of the heads of families on relief in the state were other than farmers. Even in the open country not more than 50 per cent of the family heads were farmers. Unskilled labor constituted from 40 to 50 per cent of the total number of family heads during the period. Of these unskilled workers 20 to 33 per cent were farm laborers. After June, 1935, the proportion of skilled workers decreased, having been absorbed into private industry and the Works Program. Town cases received more aid than did open-country cases, partly because of higher living costs in cities and partly because open-country residents could be expected to provide part of their food and fuel.

Due partly to rising farm-purchasing power, average emergency subsistence grants by the Farm Security Administration declined in Wisconsin, whereas for the nation the trend was upward. A real problem is presented by persons who are not real farmers but who after losing their jobs have used their farms as homes, being supported by relief grants.

#### LAND TENURE AND SETTLEMENT

A survey<sup>88</sup> of 235 southern Iowa farm tenants living in areas having many small as well as many corporation-owned farms suffering from severe soil erosion indicates that the customary crop-share leases were most extensively used, followed in order by cash and stock-share leases. Eighty per cent of those tenants who were thirty years of age or less stated that they expected to own a farm of their own at some future time. Only 47 per cent of the tenants thirty-one years of age or more anticipated ownership. Thirty-eight per cent of all the tenants had owned farms in the past. The best land use from the point of view of conservation was found on the farms of the tenants who were related to their landlords, poorest on those of private non-related landlords, and intermediate use on corporate-owned farms. The most conservative land use was found on stock-share farms; the most exploitive on cash-rent farms, which are commonly small ones located on poor and rolling lands leased by frequently shifting tenants. One-year leases were customary, although two thirds of the tenants expressed a preference for long-term leases of five or more years. Most tenants had not considered arrangements other than those in effect at present. Rather than attempt to get these changed they would probably move.

*What Landowners and Tenants are Thinking of the Farm Landlord-Tenant Relationship Situation in Oklahoma, 1938*,<sup>89</sup> is reported in a summary of 1,700 questionnaires mailed to 4,300 farm landlords, tenants, and other interested

<sup>88</sup> A. J. Englehorn, *Farm Tenure in Iowa, VI. Landlord-Tenant Relationships in Southern Iowa*, Iowa AESB 372 (Ames, August, 1938). 93 pp.

<sup>89</sup> *What Landowners and Tenants are Thinking of the Farm Landlord-Tenant Relationship Situation in Oklahoma, 1938*, Oklahoma A & M College (Stillwater, 1938). Mimeographed, 53 pp.



persons who had been contacted by means of personal interviews, hearings, meetings, or correspondence.

Analysis of 1,323 field records taken from part-time and garden-tract operators<sup>40</sup> located in the ten Willamette Valley industrial counties in Oregon, in which according to census reports 41 per cent of all farm operators of the whole area had supplemental employment amounting to an average of 127 days, indicated a \$245 net value of farm products and use of dwelling after deducting the cash operating expense of \$152. This amounted to 29 per cent of the net family income. The average size of the 1,110 tracts owned by the operators was 6.2 acres which, with buildings, machinery, and livestock, was valued at \$3,116. One third of the owners had purchased tracts of bare land on which they had later added buildings.

"The nature of the off-farm work followed by the part-time farmers studied, reflects that they and their families were individually integrated members of the community, differing in no significant respects from their neighbors either in town or country."

Since the operators of these part-time units made small agricultural incomes, and since the major items of expense were for feed purchased from full-time farm neighbors, their operations were adjudged to be more complementary than competitive. Had these operators lived in town their proportionally limited purchasing power would have limited their purchase of farm products. Their operations increased their net incomes and gave them better diets.

In conclusion, it was stated that "inasmuch as this mode of living enables workers to become more nearly self-sustaining and therefore self-respecting members of the community, it is an important helpful influence in the national economy and deserves the attention of state and federal agencies."

If the large estates of one of the minor civil divisions of East Prussia were to be divided up into the optimum-sized units to be operated by families of seven persons with small holdings for agricultural laborers and artisans, the population would be increased by 7.77 per cent. It is claimed that such increases for the East of Germany are desirable from an economic, social, and political point of view.<sup>41</sup>

#### FARM LABOR

*Social Problems in Agriculture*<sup>42</sup> is a publication containing the agenda and reports prepared by the International Labour Office and a digest of the proceedings and other reports of the first meeting of the Permanent Agricultural

<sup>40</sup> Gustav Wesley Kuhlman, *Some Economic Aspects of Small-Scale Farming in Oregon with Special Reference to Part-Time Farming in the Willamette Valley Region*, University of Illinois (Urbana, 1938). 15 pp.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Przeperski, *Auswertung der bodenkundlichen Kartierung für agrar- und bevölkerungspolitische Untersuchungen, gezeigt an dem ostpreussischen Landkreis Stuhm* (Würzburg, Germany, 1937). 38 pp.

<sup>42</sup> *Social Problems in Agriculture*, Studies & Reports K, 14, International Labour Office (Washington, 1938). 162 pp.

Committee held in Geneva in 1938. Among the subjects accorded special consideration were conditions and regulations of hours of work, holidays with pay, child labor, and wages for the countries of the world.

It is reported that in the world there are some 865,000,000 persons "gainfully employed." Of these, 550,000,000 persons are "gainfully employed" in agriculture. "Thus agriculture represents more than 60 per cent of the economic activities of mankind." However, "since not more than about 15 per cent of those engaged in agriculture are wage-paid employees the welfare of the smaller farm operator is of outstanding importance." Also it was stated that whereas there had previously been the tendency to view such agriculturists as share tenants, and sharecroppers as tenants, there is now a growing tendency to classify these groups with paid laborers, and as such they become subject to social legislation for the improvement of employment and working conditions.

In some countries there is reported a rural exodus resulting in an agricultural labor shortage. Also, "in view of the fact that agriculture employs to an abnormal extent young labor it feels the effects of the declining birth rate more rapidly than any other occupation." Some countries reported that it was a "lack of rural exodus which was the problem" created by increased mechanization and population pressure, or both.

Messrs. Lowry Nelson and J. F. Booth, from the United States and Canada respectively, indicated the importance of the displacement of agriculturists by mechanization and rationalization of agriculture. It was proposed by the conference that this development be made a special subject of investigation and report.

In the report on child labor it was stated that in the United States 70 per cent of all the children gainfully employed in all occupations were employed in agriculture.

*Farm Labor Conditions in Gloucester, Hunterdon, and Monmouth Counties, New Jersey, April-May, 1936*,<sup>43</sup> are revealed in a study of one fourth of the farms in the counties, most of which were dairy, truck, and general farms. The chief increase during the harvest season was made up of hired laborers which increased from the 924 employed during the slack season to 3,100 employed during the rush period, a 235 per cent increase. Over 1,500 laborers were interviewed, of which one third were relatives of their employers, three fifths were unmarried, seventeen out of twenty were white, and fifteen out of sixteen were males.

*A Survey of Farm Placement in Texas, 1936 and 1937*,<sup>44</sup> dramatically describes the activities of the Texas State Employment Service affiliated with the United States Employment Service under the Department of Labor. Through investigations into the labor requirements and supply, the placement facilities

<sup>43</sup> Josiah C. Folsom, *Farm Labor Conditions in Gloucester, Hunterdon, and Monmouth Counties, New Jersey, April-May, 1936*, USDA BAE (Washington, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 51 pp.

<sup>44</sup> *Survey of Farm Placement in Texas, 1936 and 1937*, Texas State Employment Service (Austin, May, 1938). Mimeographed, 91 pp.

assures farmers an ample supply of labor, and workers are protected from false advertising which has in the past frequently resulted in excessive migration into specialized crop areas. The service also promotes the building of "concentration camps" and through other means attempts to prevent occurrences such as that of the 1935 Lubbock cotton-picking "episode" resulting from exaggerated reports of large cotton yields which brought hundreds of Mexican laborers' families to an area where there were few housing and other facilities to protect them from a cold rain and exposure, thus bringing death to many children.

The activities of the labor contractor, who "with the growth of absentee ownership, and mass production in Texas" became "an indispensable cog in the wheel of production," are also described. These contractors who own trucks and transport laborers often contract to harvest a crop and deliver it, receiving their payments for hauling the product. Many Mexican contractors hire their countrymen, who seldom speak English, for "around \$0.75 and \$1.00 a day," keeping them in "a mild state of peonage."

The great diversity of farm products concentrated in specialized crop areas allows for a "cycle of agricultural activity" characterized by peaks in employment and migratory workers, but the Service maintains that it can provide year "around work for an estimated 50 per cent." The report states that migratory workers are 85 per cent Mexican and 5 per cent Negro. The labor requirements and placements of the various crop areas of the state are described.

*Migratory-Casual Workers in New Mexico*<sup>45</sup> are for the most part employed in cotton, broomcorn, and green pea fields. Of 235 households which were contacted by personal interview the median annual earnings of those for which data on the annual basis were available was \$344 for unattached households, and \$461 for family groups of between four and five members. The principal mode of transportation of unattached workers was "hitchhiking"; of family households, by personally owned automobiles. Of the 108 households which had been migrants during all of 1937, 15 per cent received relief; of the 127 households which had been migratory only part of the year, 30 per cent had received relief. One third of all households heads had been born in Texas, about one fourth in Oklahoma, and slightly over one seventh in Arkansas.

#### THE RURAL RADIO AND NEWSPAPERS

The contents of thirty-five Michigan weekly newspapers have been classified and measured to obtain an index of the range and intensity of interest in community affairs. "This study<sup>46</sup> shows that, although residents in rural communities have a great variety of interests pertaining to their community, those relating to personal affairs and personal relationships are the dominant ones. Considerably

<sup>45</sup> Sigurd Johansen, *Migratory-Casual Workers in New Mexico*, New Mexico AESB 870 (State College, March, 1939). Mimeographed, 49 pp.

<sup>46</sup> C. R. Hoffer, *Interests of Rural People as Portrayed in Weekly Newspapers*, Michigan AESB 298 (East Lansing, February, 1939). 30 pp.

more space was devoted to neighborhood and personal news than to any other topic pertaining to the community."

The *Iowa Rural Radio Listener Survey, 1938*<sup>47</sup> was based upon personal interviews made in forty-four counties with 5,771 families, 65 per cent of whom lived on farms, and 36 per cent in small towns under 2,500 population. Among the findings reported are the following: (1) Eighty-eight per cent of the farm families and 92 per cent of the town families had radios—figures higher than the most recent census data indicate. (2) Fifty per cent of the farm and one-third of the town families interviewed had purchased new sets in the past two years. (3) Most farm sets (57 per cent) were located in the kitchen and dining room, whereas most town sets (71 per cent) were located elsewhere, usually in the living room. (4) The most frequently preferred of ten types of radio programs for all four groups of adults was news broadcasts. Market reports were a close second for farm men, but were of little interest to adults in town. (5) Women and children preferred serial dramas much more frequently than men. (6) For children thirteen to eighteen of both sexes, comedians and popular music were the most preferred programs. (7) "The rating given religious music by girls was only half as great as that given by their mothers." (8) For farm families classical music was among the types of programs least frequently preferred. Town families gave classical music a somewhat higher preference rating. (9) Of the families stating whether they depended more on radio or newspaper for news of national importance, 72 per cent answered that they depended more on the radio. This is significant in view of the fact that of all owners of receiving sets 86 per cent took at least one daily paper. (10) The most common complaints concerning the favorite station involved either the quantity or quality of advertising.

#### RURAL YOUTH

A study of farm youth was made from the data which had been collected by the American Youth Commission and interpreted, with limited attention to place of residence, in *Rural Youth Speak*.<sup>48</sup> "The findings presented portray a picture which may be helpful to rural young people themselves as well as adults who are interested in knowing the situations faced by them."

#### EDUCATION AND TRAINING

A survey of *Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes*<sup>49</sup> included analyses of educational courses, facilities and students of 207 high schools, 43 institutions of higher learning, as well as social agencies, proprietary schools, and other agencies and institutions.

<sup>47</sup> H. B. Summers, *Iowa Rural Radio Listener Survey 1938*, Kansas State College (Manhattan, 1938). Mimeographed, 36 pp.

<sup>48</sup> Joseph J. Lister and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Rural Youth Speak*, AYC (Washington, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 96 pp.

<sup>49</sup> Ambrose Caliver, *Vocational Education and Guidance of Negroes*, U. S. Dept. of Interior Bulletin 38 (Washington, 1937). 137 pp.

In 1910, 1920, and 1930 respectively, 56, 66, and 72 per cent of all Negroes lived in rural areas. From 1920 to 1930 the Negro farm population of the nation decreased 6 per cent; the number of Negro-operated farms, 5 per cent; the number of acres in farms operated by Negroes, 9 per cent; and the number of Negro farm owners, 17 per cent. White farms during the same decade increased in number and size. In 1930 21 per cent of the rural nonfarm and 23 per cent of the rural Negro farm population were illiterate, as compared with 9 per cent of the urban Negro population. About 90 per cent of the Negro school population in Georgia settled down on farms after completing only the sixth grade. Thus in agriculture there is need for training and vocational guidance of overage Negroes in rural areas.

It was concluded that

improvement in the education of Negroes for effective occupational adjustment is largely dependent on improvement of general education. For example, there should be reduction of illiteracy, increase in school facilities, increase in the ability of schools to hold pupils, reduction of the number of pupils overage for their grades, and an enrichment of the curriculum and extracurriculum offerings.

Findings and recommendations touch all phases of negro education.

*A Survey of Rural Education in North Dakota*<sup>50</sup> furnishes data concerning the population, school administration, finance, instruction, and enrollment in nine representative counties. In most of the counties the federal and school census indicate population decreases, but the school enrollment has decreased even more since 1920. This is explained by the increased proportion of graduates from elementary schools who lack opportunities to continue their education. Forty-six per cent of the eighth grade graduates from 1924 to 1934 were from one-room schools. School attendance of the students enrolled has increased during the ten years preceding 1935. In the state there are 592 school houses, mostly one-teacher schools, not in use at the present time because of insufficient enrollments. "The mania for tax reduction has been carried to the extreme in some counties, especially those counties" with large foreign elements in their population. The consolidation movement, so aggressive two decades ago, is making no gain. In western portions of the state sparsity of settlement renders complete transportation systems impossible. It is recommended that the state, which has recently enacted a school fund equalization, change from the district to the county unit system of school administration.

From a report<sup>51</sup> resulting from the analysis of 1,000 mailed questionnaires returned (1,500 were sent out) by Washington technical and administrative staff members of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the college catalogs of fifty-one agricultural colleges, the following conclusions are drawn: (1) College students should be given the opportunity and probably be required to take

<sup>50</sup> J. A. McCrae, *Survey of Rural Education in North Dakota*, North Dakota FERA (Fargo, 1936). Mimeographed, 45 pp.

<sup>51</sup> *Career Training for Agriculture*, A report to the Committee on Career Training for Agriculture, USDA (Washington, 1938). 25 pp.

more work in the basic sciences, such as mathematics, statistics, physics, chemistry, and the branches of biology; foreign languages; public administration; social science; and organization and work in report writing and public speaking in training for technical and administrative work in agriculture. (2) "Practical" courses should not dominate the curriculum to the extent that broader social and economic considerations are omitted. (3) Only about one seventh of all courses offered by the agricultural colleges, small and large, are "economics, other social studies, English and literature." (4) When the social and literary subjects are weighted by the number of students enrolled in them, social and literary subjects amounted to 21.5 per cent of the required courses.

Fifty-nine per cent of the white and 88 per cent of the Negro extension workers in the United States have had courses in sociology, including rural sociology, during their undergraduate work. Of the total undergraduate training time for extension workers, three per cent was given to sociology. Eight per cent of the workers stated that sociology had been more helpful than any other subject taken in college, and eighteen per cent ranked sociology as first among the disciplines which should have received more emphasis in undergraduate work. Home demonstration and 4-H Club county agents had more training in and placed a higher value upon sociology as a discipline than did agricultural county agents.

A survey<sup>52</sup> of 7,873 extension employees, undertaken to furnish educational agencies, especially land-grant colleges, with information concerning the training and disciplines which the personnel engaged in extension work have found a need for, suggests that many institutions should make changes in their present curricula.

A study of *The Extent of Equalization Secured through State School Funds*<sup>53</sup> reports that state aid in most states is not so distributed as to equalize educational opportunities adequately. Rural and poor counties do not receive their just share. Financial aid to education, at least in the South, is largely a rural problem. In Southern States counties having large percentages of farm population have fewer tax resources available per child than counties having relatively less farm population. However, assessed valuation imputes to poorer counties ability which on the basis of income they do not possess.

The income per child 5 to 17 years of age of the nonfarm population is, for the country as a whole, more than four times larger than that per child of the farm population. In some States the ratio is 5, and in one State, 6 to 1. In no State except California does the income per child of the farm population approximate the income per child of the nonfarm population.

Any program of aid designed to place funds where they are most needed will give a large measure of relief to the farm population.

<sup>52</sup> M. C. Wilson and Lucinda Crile, *Preparation and Training of Extension Workers*, 1938, USDA Ext. Circ. 295 (Washington, November, 1938). Mimeographed, 43 pp.

<sup>53</sup> Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, *The Extent of Equalization Secured through State School Funds*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 6 (Washington, 1938). 55 pp.

*Principles and Methods of Distributing Federal Aid for Education*<sup>54</sup> have been devised by the Advisory Committee on Education and take these facts and many others into consideration.

As of March 31, 1938, the federal government had expended \$708,933,756 for *Educational Activities of the Works Progress Administration*.<sup>55</sup> The largest sums were expended for the construction and improvement of educational and recreational facilities. Other large funds have been expended on such projects as the Division of Women's and Professional Projects. A complete analysis and appraisal of the wide range of educational programs of W.P.A. has been prepared by the Advisory Committee on Education.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Only 1.25 per cent of the population of Argentina is indigenous as compared with 75 per cent for Peru and Ecuador. Education of the Argentinian Indian children should be adjusted to their psychological and social environment. Their subjugation has had its effects but they still retain racial pride.<sup>56</sup>

*The Agricultural Depression in Finland During the Years 1928-35*<sup>57</sup> resulted in the lowering of the agricultural income on normally organized farms to about one fifth of what it was during the "good period." However, the general profitability of agriculture in the country during recent years has been better than in the Scandinavian and Baltic countries. "The middle-sized peasant farms have weathered the depression most successfully with their many-sided agriculture, high degree of self-support and sufficiency of work on their own farms." Whereas in 1910, 43 per cent of the holdings were leased by their operators, the acquisition program has resulted in the reduction of the number of tenants to only 5.5 per cent of the entire agricultural population. Agricultural wages have increased, which is important to the farm laborers who constitute almost one third of the agricultural population. For these and youth, 4,880 new holdings have been founded chiefly from reclaimed land. Some 2,000 settled farms can be established annually in the future. "There is scarcely any other country where so many peasant homes have been preserved for centuries in the same family as is the case in Finland." Several hundred diplomas have been granted to farmers whose families have owned the same farm for at least two hundred years.

<sup>54</sup> Paul R. Mort, Eugene S. Lawler, *et al.*, *Principles and Methods of Distributing Federal Aid for Education*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 5 (Washington, 1939). 99 pp.

Lloyd E. Blanch and William L. Iversen, *Education of Children on Federal Reservations*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 17 (Washington, 1939). 145 pp.

<sup>55</sup> Doak S. Campbell, Frederick H. Bair, and Oswald L. Harvey, *Educational Activities of the Works Progress Administration*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 14 (Washington, 1939). 185 pp.

<sup>56</sup> Rosa B. Cruz Arenas, *Contribucion al Estudio del Desarrollo y Evolucion Espiritual del Indio Argentino*, Ministerio del Interior, Publication 3 (Buenos Aires, 1935). 127 pp.

<sup>57</sup> K. T. Jutila, *The Agricultural Depression in Finland During the Years 1928-35*, Ministry of Agriculture in Finland, Publ. 18 (Helsinki, Suomi, 1937). 73 pp.

A study of the effects which homestead exemptions of various amounts would have upon assessed valuations in five Kansas counties leads to the conclusion that reductions would be greater in small cities than in rural communities because of the greater value of the average unit in the country. Data concerning the provisions of homestead tax exemption provisions of fifteen states is included in a Kansas State Planning Board report.<sup>58</sup>

The German peasantry, the Reich's agricultural and market department and organization are discussed in a German publication.<sup>59</sup> With characteristic Nazi idealism the old order is described as Jewish liberalism which attempted to fit the farm enterprise with its land and family into classical economic thinking. This old philosophy was eating the heart out of all the cultural values most dear to the German people. Nazism brought the people to their senses so that land is no longer a mere goods on the market and the peasant a laborer or entrepreneur. Now the peasantry is the backbone of the nation conserving the permanent values of those phases of culture and racial stock worth keeping. The four-year plan, the place of agriculture in the national economy, and the Reichsnahrstand are described in detail.

In addition the following bulletins have been received:

- George S. Monney, *Cooperatives Today and Tomorrow*, Prepared for the Canadian Survey Committee (Montreal, 1938). 189 pp.
- David Cushman Coyle, *Rural Youth*, NYA Social Problem No. 2 (Washington, 1939). 35 pp.
- Building Rural Leadership*, USDA Extension Service (Washington, January, 1939). 76 pp.
- John Dale Russell, et al., *Vocational Education*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 8 (Washington, 1938). 325 pp.
- Helping Farm Families Help Themselves*, Oklahoma 24th Annual Report of the Extension Division, Oklahoma A & M College (Stillwater, 1938). 130 pp.
- M. M. Daugherty, *Studies in Taxation in Delaware, the Cost of State Government, 1924 to 1937*, Delaware AESB 211 (Newark, June, 1938). 101 pp.
- The Federal Government and Education*, The Advisory Committee on Education (Washington, 1938). 31 pp.
- Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1938*, USDA (Washington, 1938). 160 pp.
- R. H. Fletcher, *The Family Living Derived from the Farm*, West Virginia AESB 31 (Morgantown, June, 1938). Mimeographed, 68 pp.
- Basil E. Gilbert, *A Study of Land Utilization in Newport and Bristol Counties, Rhode Island*, Rhode Island AESB 268 (Kingston, July, 1938). 40 pp.

<sup>58</sup> *The Effects of Homestead Exemption on Assessed Valuations*, Kansas State Planning Board (Topeka, February, 1939). Mimeographed, 14 pp.

<sup>59</sup> Ludwig Haberlein, *Das Verhaeltnis von Staat und Wirtschaft*, (Band 1: "Staat und Wirtschaft"; Band 2: "Bauernum, Reichsnahrstand und landwirtschaftliche Marktordnung") (Berlin, 1938). 263, 143 pp.



# Book Reviews

*Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor*

*American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration.*

By Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1938. x, 693 pp. \$3.00.

The authors' major premise is that regionalism is a key to intraregional adjustment and national integration, and they have done a genuine service in summarizing the mass of regional material. Incidentally this array of ideas presented by geographers, historians, economists, anthropologists, sociologists is an excellent commentary on the artificiality of the boundaries between the fields of social science. The reader is strongly impressed with the fact that the essential reality of the concepts under discussion are the same but they are viewed from different angles, treated with somewhat different methods and usually described in different language. This multiple use of words to describe the same phenomenon often bids fair to make a Tower of Babel out of the elaborate researches in social science. For instance, in the phenomenon under discussion—the extent of unity of cultures within definite areas—the terms *section*, *region*, *area* are used to designate pretty much the same central concept, but connote a somewhat different emphasis on the various aspects of the problems.

Odum and Moore especially attempt to contrast regionalism and sectionalism, whereas the reviewer feels that when the historian says *section*, the sociologist *region*, and the anthropologist *culture area*, they are talking about the same thing. The attempt to make the sectionalist out as entirely selfish and the regionalist as an ideal citizen of an integrated nation seems an artificial method of taking a "holier than thou" position.

Perhaps sectional historians in the past have emphasized disunion rather than union, but this is merely because the historian of the past was more preoccupied with clash and conflict than with co-operation and integration. However, whether the academician speaks of a culture area, a region, or a section, he implies that human beings of a certain type in a certain environment are likely to react alike. Sometimes they are controlled by the influences from and interests of the larger whole of which their region or section is a part, and sometimes they are almost entirely preoccupied with their local needs and the rationalization of their insular interests. In other words, the same subdivision of a nation may at times display the traits which Odum labels sectional and at other times the traits which he labels regional, and in this sense he is contrasting the attitudes of a constituent group to its larger universe rather than the composition and characteristics of the group itself. Aside from this tendency to perpetuate the confusion between region and section, the book gives a clear picture of the contribution of the various fields of social science to this concept of the differing but interrelated parts of a

nation. The discussion of the types of region—natural, river valley, administrative, etc., is also clear and helpful.

A major thesis of the book, although qualified, is that at least in the United States the region of paramount utility for all purposes, whether research, planning, or administration, is the group of states. A second thesis put forward more by way of illustration is that the sixfold state groupings used by the authors is the optimum. It is here that the reviewer feels that the reservations have not been sufficiently made.

In regionalization for administrative purposes the authors are on firm ground in contending for a system of regions which follow state lines and are composed of such responsible administrative units as states. It is here that the authors in their setup of regions revert to the concept of sections which they previously attempted to discredit for it is in the very phenomena with which the sectionalist is concerned that groups of states are most uniform and the grouping adopted by the authors merely takes the old sections, South, North, and West and subdivides each in two, Northeast, and Middlewest, Southeast and Southwest, West and Far West.

For purposes of research and planning, however, there is need for considerably more homogeneity than can be encompassed in state lines. State averages are entirely deceptive in a heterogeneous state. Let us consider the Negro population of Georgia averaging for the state 37 per cent in 1930. In the Appalachian section it is below 10 per cent. In the Upper Piedmont, around 30 per cent, in the Old Black Belt, about 50 per cent, in the Southwest, around 20 per cent, and along the Atlantic Coast, nearly 60 per cent. A plan for Georgia assuming a flat 37 percentage of Negroes would ignore most significant local differences.

The attainment of this cultural homogeneity is to be sought by the method of using indexes which can be compiled by counties or townships. Such a method yields regions which are not so implemented for the execution of plans as are states but still more nearly approximate the homogeneous culture area which is so fully emphasized elsewhere in the book.

Such groupings are called subregions by the authors. This we disagree with for two reasons—on the grounds of logic it yields a number of subregions which do not add up to the same total as the regions, e.g., the Ozark subregion would overlap Odum's southeast, southwest, and middle states. The Appalachian overlaps his southeast, northeast, and midwest. The other objection as we see it is that such a scheme puts the truly homogeneous grouping of individuals as subordinate to the artificially determined boundaries of political administration. It would seem more preferable that the concept of the group-of-states administrative region be developed co-ordinately and concurrently with that of the research planning region which for the sake of greater uniformity ignores state lines. Such development would involve (1) the establishment of homogeneous groupings within which problems are relatively uniform and for which coherent plans can be made, and (2) the grouping of these research planning units in such a manner that they add up to states with a minimum of splitting of natural con-

glomerates at state lines. The resulting groupings of states would then be considered the region for administrative purposes.

In consideration of the utility of the specific sixfold grouping of states as the optimum, we are faced immediately with one of the fundamental assumptions made by any one subdividing a whole into regional components, viz., how many components or parts should be used and hence roughly how large shall the components be? This assumption may be approached arbitrarily on the basis of administrative convenience by positing (as the authors did) that six would be a convenient number with which to deal. On the other hand, it may be approached by a complicated statistical process by assuming that ten or twelve major indexes will be used for regional delineation and that a certain arbitrary amount of homogeneity with respect to these indexes will be attained. One way the number, and hence, the approximate size of regions is assumed and as high a degree of homogeneity is obtained within this frame work as is possible. The other way the degree of homogeneity is roughly determined in advance and the number of regions kept as small as possible to approach this homogeneity.

It is axiomatic that the smaller (and hence more numerous) the areas under consideration the greater will be the homogeneity of conditions within the areas. Let us suppose for instance that the authors had assumed a group-of-states system of twelve regions instead of six. Without working this out for the whole country it is apparent that the Southeast and Southwest as described in the book would split into four parts (1) the Upper Southeast with little cotton, light Negro population, etc.; (2) the Lower Southeast dominated by the cotton-tenant-Negro culture (of which Florida would be a part by geographic accident rather than homogeneity); (3) the cotton-petroleum Southwest consisting of Oklahoma and Texas; and (4) the farm-mining-ranching Southwest including New Mexico, Arizona, and probably Nevada and Colorado. It is obvious that while the twelvefold regionalization would be more cumbersome in administration than the sixfold, the degree of homogeneity would be far greater. Thus the assumption of the authors that their six regions are the optimum is true only of a sixfold scheme and would not hold good for an eight- or twelvefold arrangement.

While there is a disagreement on these minor points there is agreement that the regional approach will enrich research and implement planning. A technical defect of the book from the viewpoint of the scholar is the failure to give adequate explanation of the methodology used in arriving at the sixfold regionalization.

Rural Surveys Section  
Works Progress Administration

T. J. WOOFER, JR.

*Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel.* By Comer Vann Woodward. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. xiii, 518 pp. \$3.75.

Tom Watson, *Agrarian Rebel*, can be interpreted as one of the most unique characters in American history, or as an index to the period in which he lived. Woodward interprets him in both ways, in an exceptionally well written document which evidences painstaking study of the whole period in which Watson

lived, and by the first scholarly analysis to be made of the Watson papers and the detailed part that Watson played in Georgia and southern politics. As United States Congressman, Vice-Presidential candidate, and finally United States Senator, he played a dominant part in third party politics. As author of twenty books and hundreds of articles ranging in scope from short stories and poems to a two-volume work on the *Story of France*, and editor of nine different papers or magazines, Watson is seen as an intellect anxious to know and interpret the meaning of events which dominated his age and gripped his attention. From his advocacy in early life of equal rights for the Negro, to his championship of "white supremacy" in the South in his later life, from his early general championship of the underdog and insistence upon universal justice to his later crusade against the Negro, the Jew, and the Catholic, one sees a paradox in personality which can be explained only by the buffeting and bitter defeats which this rebel suffered from early boyhood to death. Through his whole life, however, runs the common thread of agrarianism and rebellion, two theses which were the heart of the farmers' movement which gave setting and meaning to the career of Tom Watson.

Watson was twenty years of age when the Granger upheaval was threatening the dominance of the old parties, and he was already fairly deep in local Georgia politics when the Farmers' Alliance swept the South like a prairie fire. His farm background, personal experience, and hatred of southern Bourbonism constituted him a subtle barometer of the agrarian upheaval which swept the nation between 1870 and 1896. He became the outstanding exponent of agrarianism as contrasted with Henry Grady's vision of industrialism for the South, and in doing so became the leader of what might be called the left wing of the southern Populist movement. His call to battle fell upon the ears of men already mobilized by the hundreds of thousands in the Farmers' Alliance, and he contributed more than probably any other southern leader to the very rapid transformation of the Alliance into a political machine which elected legislators, governors, congressmen, and senators, reaching a climax in 1896 in the greatest third party movement that has ever appeared in American history. When the climax was reached, however, and the movement carried into a national campaign on a fusion ticket, Watson found himself in the anomalous position of campaigning for the Democratic party which he had for years been opposing in his own state.

It was because Watson refused to compromise his concept of Populist agrarianism with the Western silver issue and his refusal to sanction fusion with the Democrats nationally and with the Republican party in a number of states in the South that kept him from dominant leadership in the Alliance-Populist movement during the decade which ended with the campaign of 1896. It was this refusal to compromise that made him continue the fight for more than two decades after the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist Party had sunk into national insignificance. He lived and died believing that the fusionist compromises thwarted early in its existence what might have been a movement that would have joined Southern and Western agrarian interests in a permanent political and

economic coalition. His continuous frustration in fight after fight is probably the chief explanation of his later bitterness and seeming demagoguery in opposing anyone who compromised with vital issues. He interpreted Bryan as a shallow politician; made common cause with William Randolph Hearst in 1904 because he believed Hearst was a true exponent of Jeffersonianism; admired Theodore Roosevelt because of his fighting spirit; hated Woodrow Wilson because, he said, he was "an impractical prig," and literally finished his career as a member of the United States Senate still fighting the cause of the common man.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics

United States Department of Agriculture

CARL C. TAYLOR

*After Freedom.* By Hortense Powdermaker. New York: The Viking Press, 1939. xx, 408 pp. \$3.00.

Dr. Powdermaker has given us a picture drawn from life about which Americans *in spirit* must act positively for the good of civilization. A better title might have been *After Theoretical Freedom*. The book attempts to be accurate, comprehensive, and to interpret within the framework of the data at hand. The last factor is violated more frequently than the other two, however; it portrays "Cottonville" similar to the Lynd's work on "Middletown." "Cottonville" with its 8,000 people is in the flat, now deforested rich delta land of the Mississippi, previously occupied by the Choctaws, whose features are occasionally found in local Negroes. The county is composed of farms and plantations with a few small towns, the largest of which is the county seat. Half of the population of the county seat, but 70 per cent of the county-at-large, is Negro. Holdings range from a "few acres to several thousands." The tenant homes are similar to the poorest quarters of slaves. For both the Negro and white population, "Cottonville" is the center of educational, social, and commercial life. The social, educational, and to some extent, commercial attributes of the two racial groups are carried on separately, even to the extent of a geographic determinant with "the tracks" as the dividing line. "Across the tracks" in white "Cottonville" are the public buildings, the main commercial establishments, the town's best-looking homes and churches—all with their white occupants who completely dominate the Negro life of the community as well as their own. Black "Cottonville" presents a contrasting picture. The nonmaterial cultural patterns of the black and white areas differ, and it is this picture with which the book is most concerned.

The majority of the whites of "Cottonville" are of the "poor white," or middle class type, although they do not like to be so classified. Thus, there may be some logical reason for the conviction that the Negro is inferior and must be regarded in theory and practice about as a fine dog. Negroes who go to college broaden their ideas about Negro accomplishment and the treatment due him, but even then they do not "go all the way." The whites have little difficulty reconciling democracy and Christianity with their convictions about Negroes because logic simply doesn't work at this point. Institutionalized social mechanisms painfully advertise to the Negro that he is considered of inferior status. The Negro

meets these white attitudes with acceptance, indifference, or bitterness depending upon whether or not he is lower, middle, or upper class. (Education, occupation, and code of sexual behavior are the primary factors in determining class.) However, the correlations are not always perfect. The bitter attitude of the upper class Negro is most consistent.

The saddest phase of "Cottonville's" life is its treatment of the plantation Negro. The apparent hopelessness of the situation is seen in the conviction that the most fair whites "accept the dishonest landlord as part of the system." The evils of such a system are legion. Widespread sexual looseness, including known and accepted white man-Negro woman relationships, exists among the lower and middle class Negroes. The Negro woman has the favored place in her Negro society and the white man in his own. Despite these prevailing attitudes there is, nevertheless, the ticklish matter of the white woman-Negro man relationships. Whether the author failed to abstract these or consciously avoided them is not known. If these exist, they should be reported. Negro families are large, having many children one or more of whom may be illegitimate. These families, a large number of which are based upon common-law marriage, are matriarchal; children are regarded as an economic advantage. Religion which is other-worldly is of the wild emotional type and is most concerned with giving peace of mind. Of course, always there is the upper-class Negro who is almost invariably an exception to the rule. Denied the other means of obtaining happiness and security, the "Cottonville" Negro has turned almost blindly to education. But, even in "Cottonville" the delayed-slave culture is crumbling. The most operative force is communication. And it is good that it is crumbling, for without disintegration of the old pattern, the conditions will continue to "breed conflict, deeply felt by every person black or white, in the 'Cottonville' community: conflict of race against race, of class against class, of individual against individual, and of each individual within itself."

Southern University

FELTON G. CLARK

*Economics of Peasant Farming.* By Doreen Warriner. London: Oxford University Press, 1939. 208 pp. \$4.25.

This beautifully illustrated work from the School of Slavonic Studies, London, is, in the opinion of the reviewer, the best single work on continental European agriculture which has appeared in the English language for a generation. It discusses Europe's farm problem from the general social science point of view and is more what we Americans call sociology than economics. Different chapters are devoted to the questions of population, standard of living, agricultural efficiency, the merits and demerits of peasant farming, and the "German" and "Russian" proposals for the solutions of these problems. The regions of middle Europe include some millions of people caught again between the propagandistic pinchers of Communist collectivization and of the German *drang nach Osten* (eastward movement). The Nazi movement is also a highly collective economy in a somewhat different sense.

Obviously as one approaches eastern Europe, conditions become more and more like those found in the interior of the Asiatic land mass. Warriner speaks of people who, at least in many instances, control their numbers by "brutal abortions," who "can't eat their pig," who "have cows not much larger than a wild pig," or who "walk twenty or thirty miles to sell a few pounds of butter or a goat." While these are minority cases, nevertheless, moving from western Europe to the east is like a transition from the best farming community in the United States corn belt to our worst sharecropper community. By instinct and prejudice I feel that the solution offering most to the people must come from the good farming regions. Probably on the same "logical" grounds this work implies a slight edge for the eastern collectivist solution. However, the problem is too complicated to debate in a book review. It is interesting that even in Germany this same solution has been recommended in a recent book on agriculture (*So Steht es in Landwirtschaft*). The important point to remember is that this book should be in every good American library and should be read by every serious student of either agriculture or of Europe's affairs. C. C. Z.

*The Geography of Reading.* By Louis R. Wilson. Chicago: American Library Ass'n and the University of Chicago Press, 1938. xxiv, 481 pp. \$4.00.

The first part of this book asks the question: "How evenly are libraries and library resources distributed throughout the United States?" By means of a series of maps, charts, and tables, the author defines graphically the pattern of library development which is most significant perhaps because of the consistent variation from section to section of the country. A set of five indexes is used as follows: (1) the percentage of population to whom local public library service is available; (2) the total number of volumes in different types of libraries; (3) library expenditures; (4) the number of volumes circulated; (5) the number of registered library users. Four accessory factors are measured also. They are: (1) distribution of gifts for the erection of libraries by Andrew Carnegie and the Carnegie Corporation; (2) the number of librarians actively carrying on library work in the various states; (3) the distribution of accredited library schools engaged in professional training of librarians; (4) the expenditures made by state governments for state libraries, library extension service, and grants-in-aid to libraries.

Notwithstanding that every state possesses, according to the author, some public facilities, there are pronounced differences in the accessibility to these services within states, and there are numerous counties and other political subdivisions where the service is, for all practical purposes, lacking completely. Of six regions of the United States, the three which enjoy advantages above the average (beginning with the highest) are as follows: the North-East, the Mid-West, and the Far-West. Those below average (beginning with the least) are the North-West, South-West, and the South-East. The extent to which the rural population in the several regions suffers the handicap of having no library service is illustrated and the pattern conforms to the general order given above save that the

Far-West has the highest proportion of the rural people so served and the South-West replaces the South-East at the bottom of the list. The author points out further that,

for approximately 40,000,000 residents of rural America, library services through the local, free, tax-supported library does not exist at all. Of the approximately 45 million people in the United States who are without public library service, 88 percent live in the open country or in towns and villages of less than 2,500 population.

The second part deals with the development of other social and educational instruments such as magazines, newspapers, bookstores and clubs, communication through radio, motion pictures and automobiles, the public schools and our expanding system of adult education, particularly along vocational and related lines. The pattern of these conform to those of library facilities and reinforce the impression of the lack of equality. Emphasis is given to the point that this comprehensive system of educational enterprises is handicapped for the want of adequate library aid and that its effectiveness is thereby seriously limited. "The tragedy of the economic order of inequality between production and distribution is repeated in the realm of books. In the midst of potential plenty there is actual want."

The author poses the question: "What difference does it make," this lack of library resources in many areas in the United States? He concedes no better generalized answer than Sir Francis Bacon's: "reading maketh a full man."

To the final question "What can be done to provide adequate library services?" the following recommendations are made: Systematic study toward a better understanding of the problem and a system of measurement of library service reinforced by enabling legislation, especially a system to serve rural areas; assumption by states of responsibility for libraries, supplemented by financial aid from the federal government, appropriately safeguarded.

Rhode Island State College

WILLIAM R. GORDON

*Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation.* By T. J. Woofter, Jr., et al. Washington: Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, 1936. 288 pp. Free.

The most neglected phase of American agriculture, from a research viewpoint, is the plantation system in the South. While occasional information has been collected on particular phases, for a single study of the whole plantation as an operating farm unit and for individual operations of plantation tenants, especially on a comprehensive southwide scale, Woofter and his co-workers have gone further than anyone else. Their study embraces 646 cotton plantation units from North Carolina on the east to Arkansas and Louisiana on the west. The study presents, as of 1934, the size of holdings, organization and management, land use, capital, and income for the entire plantation, and similar facts for the operating sub-units of tenants and croppers. In addition, new and pertinent information is made available on tenants' standard of living, with particular reference to housing, food and clothing, health, and education.



The controlling characteristics of the plantation system are large land holding, specialization in the production of a staple crop, and high degree of centralization in management and control of labor and product. These characteristics of the antebellum plantation were carried forward after the Civil War merely by a shift from slave labor to the use of wage hands, croppers, and tenants. Representative studies in the three preceding decades<sup>1</sup> have shown the cotton plantation operating mainly with croppers and tenants, with cropper and tenant land devoted mainly to cotton production and the wage-operated portion devoted mainly to feed crops. All elements are closely supervised and co-ordinated for the purposes of the plantation business, from the daily routine of field work to the sale of the product after harvest. The present study, with more elaborate evidence than has been presented heretofore, reveals the persistence to the present day of the major characteristics of the historical plantation in all areas of the old South having good cotton land and an ample supply of "cheap" farm labor. While decadence of the system has occurred in areas hard hit by the boll weevil or soil depletion, in new land areas, such as the Mississippi valley, plantation farming continues with apparent vigor.

A similar study in the next decade, however, is likely to reveal, if present tendencies continue, marked changes in the direction of mechanized production and the common use of wage hands rather than croppers and tenants. If so, the beginning of the long predicted breakdown of the plantation system will be seen, although the large supply of unemployed labor and resulting low wages will retard this movement.

University of Arkansas

C. O. BRANNEN

*Cityward Migration: Swedish Data.* By Jane Moore. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938. xix, 131 pp. \$2.00.

Moore's monograph reflects the growing interest in the field of internal migration. It deals with in-migrants to Stockholm from one Swedish province, classified by type of community of birth, i.e., whether town, rural, industrial, or agricultural. The sample includes some 14,816 classified cases. The first part of the work is a verification of the hypothesis that the amount and process of migration to a city is related to the degree of industrial development of community of birth (10). With distance and size of population held constant the author found a direct correlation between volume of migration to Stockholm and degree of industrial development. Furthermore, a larger proportion of the migrants born in towns and industrial communities came to Stockholm directly from place of birth, suggesting that greater environmental differences were a barrier to direct migration from agricultural communities.

The second part attempts to establish a relationship between type of community of birth and the position of migrants in Stockholm as regards education,

<sup>1</sup> *The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia*, by E. M. Banks, in 1905; *The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912*, by R. Preston Brooks, in 1914; and *Relation of Land Tenure to Plantation Organization*, by C. O. Brannen, in 1924.

occupation, income, and civil status. "A comparison of these distributions of behavior (!) should help to verify the assumption that different types of community produce different sets of behavior pattern which persist no matter what the subsequent type of environment." (10)

It was found that as a class in-migrants born in agricultural communities had less education, a "lower" occupational standing, and a higher proportion married than those born in towns and industrial communities, whose position more closely corresponded with that of native-born Stockholm residents. There were no significant differences in income. From this data Moore concludes that migrants from towns and industrial communities have made a more satisfactory "adjustment" to Stockholm life, because of their earlier environment. Just why being a clerk rather than an industrial worker earning the same wage represents a better "adjustment" is not explained. No consideration is given to the possibility of selectivity in migration.

Although the author has collected some valuable data and displayed some skill in the mechanics of statistical manipulation, her discussion of the broader implications of her findings is not outstanding. One feels that the investigation was worthwhile but that its potentialities were not fully realized in this work.

Harvard University

DUDLEY KIRK

"Farm Tenancy," *Law and Contemporary Problems*. Ed. by David F. Cavers. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University School of Law, October, 1937. IV, 423-575 pp. \$.75 (pamphlet).

As a whole this symposium is a valuable addition to the literature of farm tenancy. Its most important contribution comes from its analysis and appraisal of the legal and administrative aspects of operating and proposed governmental programs. The light which these articles throw upon the first hesitant steps toward tenure reform should prove useful to administrator, research worker, student, and lay reader alike.

Howard A. Turner provides the background for the series by describing the development, extent, and distribution of farm tenancy in the United States. James G. Maddox then gives a critical yet sympathetic analysis of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. Clarence A. Wiley presents "Settlement and Unsettlement in the Resettlement Administration Program" in which, after a critical appraisal of the various activities of that heterogeneous agency, he concludes: "Of recent date, however, developments point upward . . . The emergency period of the program apparently has passed . . . the critical nature of the problem warrants the best job that human ingenuity can give it. It will be better that it be poorly done than not tackled at all." (p. 472.) A careful analysis of the development of the Rural Rehabilitation program is presented by Monroe Oppenheimer, who stresses the legal and administrative aspects of the loan and guidance program to aid destitute and low income families to become self-supporting at a decent standard of living, while another sector of the general attack on the farm tenancy problem—that of governmental farm credit—is the

subject of the article by William G. Murray. After reviewing the results of past governmental credit policies, Murray concludes that past extension of credit by governmental agencies "has not been successful in keeping tenancy down," while the effect of the recent more liberal credit policies depends to a large extent upon the future stability of the agricultural price level. Albert H. Cotton's article on the "Regulation of Farm Landlord-Tenant Relationships" discusses both the existing statute and common law which shape the contemporary institution of farm tenancy as well as the limitations and possibilities of reform. This article should form a landmark in the literature of a complex and difficult problem. A discussion of the legal status of share-tenants and share-croppers in the South is the subject of the article by A. B. Book. The lack of definiteness of the treatment of this subject is the result not of a lack of a penetrating analysis but because the subject matter as presented by statutes and court decisions on this subject is hazy. Russel J. Hinckley and John J. Haggerty severely question the use of adjustments in the property tax as a means to encourage farm home ownership. While many students of the tenancy problem will be inclined to disagree with this point of view, the article does, however, provide a strong presentation of the arguments for the stand taken. In the final article of the series, William T. Ham provides a comprehensive analysis of available factual material on "The Status of Agricultural Labor." The author stresses the lack of any detailed information upon which the formulation of policies and programs can proceed.

University of Wisconsin

J. A. BAKER AND GEORGE S. WEHRWEIN

*The Mind of Primitive Man.* By Franz Boas. Revised edition. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. x, 285 pp. \$2.75.

*The Mind of Primitive Man*, first published in 1911, has been almost an anthropologist's bible on the question of the mental equality of races and the brotherhood of man. The majority of anthropologists and sociologists have probably accepted Boas' views, but the dictators and the man in the street have not. Race prejudice continues as a potent social force in the world today, even where race is a fiction and prejudice merely a device of dictators to maintain group morale. Regretting "the subjection of science to ignorant prejudice in countries controlled by dictators," and warning that "the suppression of intellectual freedom rings the death knell of science," Boas sends forth a revision of *The Mind of Primitive Man*.

Many revisions are mere pretenses, this one is not. Boas has rewritten much of the book, has worked in fresh data, and has improved the arrangement of the materials. The ten chapters of the earlier edition become thirteen in the revised edition. Their titles will indicate to anyone familiar with the older work the general nature of the revision: 1. Introduction. 2. Historical Review. 3. The Composition of Human Races. 4. The Hereditary Characteristics of Human Races. 5. The Instability of Human Types. 6. The Morphological Position of Races. 7. Physiological and Psychological Functions of Races. 8. Race, Lan-

guage and Culture. 9. Early Culture Traits. 10. The Interpretations of Culture. 11. The Mind of Primitive Man and The Progress of Culture. 12. The Emotional Associations of Primitives. 13. The Race Problem in Modern Society.

The accumulation of knowledge since 1911 concerning heredity, race differences, and culture has led Boas to "an ever-increasing certainty of his conclusions." Those conclusions are familiar: "There is no fundamental difference in the ways of thinking of primitive and civilized man. A close connection between race and personality has never been established. The concept of racial type as commonly used even in scientific literature is misleading and requires a logical as well as a biological redefinition."

It has always seemed to the reviewer that questions of heredity versus environment or of primitive versus civilized mentality are questions which in their very nature can never be answered definitively by science. Our answers to them are matters of faith. But insofar as science has any answer or takes a stand on the matter, *The Mind of Primitive Man* will probably rank for many years as the best statement for the essential mental unity and equality of mankind.

University of North Carolina

GUY B. JOHNSON

*Tell My Horse.* By Zora Neale Hurston. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1938. 7-301 pp.

Miss Hurston has seen and heard things well worth the telling and her writing is always vivid, and often dramatic. *Tell My Horse* grew out of an extensive visit to Jamaica and Haiti as a Guggenheim fellow. She reports on mythology, folklore, Haitian history, and present social, economic, and political conditions. But her most important contribution relates to Voodoo in Haiti. She presents an intimate picture of Voodoo from the inside, but if it was the assumption on the part of those who sponsored this study that a Negro investigator might discover more than a white investigator, it was hardly justified by the results. Dr. Herskovits, as evidenced in his *Life in a Haitian Valley*, was able to discover as much or more, to report what he discovered more systematically, and to interpret it more significantly.

Perhaps there is no better laboratory than Haiti, and no better subject than Voodoo, for the study of the interrelationships and contrasts of magic and religion. The Voodoo cult of the West Indies was at one time a religious order. Christianity condemned it as a revelation of the devil and it was run underground. It is now considered by educated and literate classes as diabolical. Miss Hurston says, "As someone in America said of whiskey, Voodoo has more enemies in public and more friends in private than anything else in Haiti."

But one gets the impression from *Tell My Horse* that Voodoo in Haiti, if it has been run underground, is just barely beneath the surface and might easily again become the public and social experience that religion always is. The history, composition, and status of Haiti's population, which is overwhelmingly rural, provides a good setting for the transformation of the individually valuable ways of Voodoo magic into the socially valuable ways of Voodoo religion. It

appears that Christianity in Haiti is just a little more religious than magical, and Voodoo is just a little more magical than religion.

At any rate, Voodoo is intimately connected with the life of the people. Herskovits calls attention to the characteristic instability and restlessness of the Haitian peasant. He has need for a more functional expression of his own experiences than the organized religion of the island now gives him.

Duke University

EDGAR T. THOMPSON

*Modern Society and Mental Disease.* By Carney Landis and James D. Page. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938. xi, 190 pp. \$1.50.

Very seldom is so much quality scientific matter packed in so few pages as in this much needed work. The authors investigated "the relation existing between mental diseases and such factors as age, urbanization, race, social level," material status, possible inheritance, and possible means of social elimination, such as sterilization. One in every two hundred of the population are hospitalized, with almost as many more unhospitalized, the probability of anyone becoming "insane" during life being about 1 in 20. The six diagnostic groups—dementia praecox, manic-depressive, cerebral arteriosclerosis, senile dementia, general paresis, and alcoholic psychoses, furnish about two thirds of first admissions, 70 per cent of re-admissions, 68 per cent of total admissions, and 73 per cent of the hospital population. Persons under twenty furnish about one fourth of the quota of those of that age in the population of first admissions, while those thirty to seventy yield 60 to 70 per cent more than their age quota. The apex of the curve of occurrence of dementia praecox is about the age twenty-seven; that of manic-depressive, general paresis and alcoholic psychosis, forty-eight; and of involutional melancholia, about fifty-three.

About twice as great a proportion of the urban population are hospitalized as mental patients as of rural, the males in each case rating much higher than the females. But since urban people are more addicted to hospitalization than ruralites, some of the difference is doubtless fictitious. The greater addiction of single, divorced, and widowed persons to "insanity" is assigned to better home care and selection. Heredity enters as a major cause of not more than 40 per cent of insane patients; those addicted to dementia praecox, manic-depressive, mentally deficient with psychosis, and epileptics. The other 60 per cent are constitutionally so, with heredity as a very minor causal factor. The menace of being swamped by insane through fast breeding is small, since their fertility is perhaps not much more than half that of mentally sound persons. Psychic pressure from social crises, such as war and depressions, have little causative influence toward mental illness, since rates before and after such episodes register no higher than during their existence. Negroes manifest much higher rates of mental illness than whites, especially for certain diseases such as paresis. Foreign born rates are little higher than those of natives. Sterilization as a means of social control of mental disease is given a small function. Thus, "if all dementia praecox and manic-depressive patients were sterilized at the time of first admission, the inci-

dence rates for the former would be reduced from 2.2 to 3.3 per cent in the succeeding generation, and for the latter disease, from 1.1 to 2.4 per cent. The remaining 97 or 98 per cent of the cases would not be eliminated." (156.) Our greatest hope of improving the situation is through scientific research, trusting that such finds as the malaria cure for paresis may be made relative to other mental ailments.

University of North Dakota

J. M. GILLETTE

*Our Promised Land.* By Richard Neuberger. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. xiv, 398 pp. \$3.00.

This suggestive popularly written book on current social, economic, and political developments in the Pacific Northwest is an addition to our growing list of books dealing with special regions. The author, a social-minded journalist of the Northwest, has traveled widely over the entire region and has closely observed the recent developments that have brought this region to the attention of the nation. The book covers a wide variety of topics, ranging from hydro-electric resources and developments and the fate of the salmon after the big dams are built on the Columbia river to the initiative and referendum, William E. Borah, labor leaders, and intense capitalist-labor conflict. History of the region is treated sufficiently to orient the reader to present trends and events. The main thesis of the book is that here in "our promised land"—the Pacific Northwest—is found the last great opportunity for a westward movement of population.

Of special interest to the rural sociologist is the vivid description—not statistics—of the movement of rural population from the drought-stricken Dust Bowl to this new region. The author shows that it is no easy problem any longer for immigrants to get themselves established on the soil, and he brings out the human side of the life of the poverty-stricken migrant as he struggles to make a living for his family at various types of seasonal labor. The work suggests that the time is ripe for a systematic treatise on Northwest sociology similar to Odum's work elsewhere. Here is an opportunity for a sociological study of the last frontier.

State College of Washington

FRED R. YODER

*Survey of Contemporary Sociology.* By Henry Pratt Fairchild. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1934. viii, 768 pp. \$2.50.

Those sociologists who have attempted to use daily newspapers as a teaching aid will probably read with understanding the author's introductory statement of the difficulties involved in the selection, classification, and organization of some 1,200 to 1,300 news stories which make up the contents of this book. These items were selected from issues of the *New York Times*, *The Annalist*, and *Current History* for 1933 and the first half of 1934. This mass of material is organized topically into ten chapters and some forty-five subdivisions. One

chapter includes selections from the news dealing with vital statistics and population under the heading, The People. Two chapters include items dealing with various aspects of The Family. Two chapters deal with social improvement, one covering problem material related to Social Reform; the other, concerned principally with the New Deal, and captioned Social Engineering. Succeeding chapters include news stories classified as Social Aspects of Production, The Struggle of Social Philosophies, Social Control, The Objectives of Social Life, and Social Change and Social Theory. Brief introductory paragraphs for the chapters and briefer explanatory statements here and there within the chapters help somewhat with the problem of integration.

In view of the inherent and seemingly inescapable difficulties involved in stringing some 1,300 separate and brief items into a semblance of organization or integration, criticism should perhaps be better directed at the underlying limitations on the use of such materials, rather than at this particular attempt to use them. In view of the difficulties, it may be conceded that the author has done a pretty good job. Fault may be found, however, with his assumption, by which he justifies the limited source of material, that "... in many ways New York City is typical not only of the features of modern urban development, but of the trends of contemporary social development in general."

East Texas State Teachers College

KENNETH EVANS

*Culture Conflict and Crime.* By Thorsten Sellin. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938. 116 pp. \$1.00.

In this study Professor Sellin undertakes a twofold task: (1) to analyze some of the fundamental concepts of criminological research, and (2) to present a theoretical framework for the scientific study of crime causation. The analysis of basic concepts reveals that much of contemporary research in this field is rendered invalid by its baseless assumptions, its loose terminology, its neglect of meaning in human behavior, and other methodological deficiencies. Essentially, the study recommends that criminologists forsake their adherence to legal concepts and focus their attention upon conduct norms. As an initial step in this direction, the author offers schematic classifications of conduct norms, the conflict of conduct norms, and "resistance potentials," the latter being defined as the "inherent energy or power of the norm."

That this broader basis of inquiry will provide more insight into the phenomena of crime cannot be doubted. The utility of this approach, however, is contingent upon data which are not readily available. Whether criminologists will accept this fact as a challenge or as an insurmountable obstacle remains to be seen. At any rate, this report should be most successful in fulfilling one of the main objectives of the Social Science Research Council, namely, the stimulation of research in human behavior. To implement scholars in this subject, the author has included more than a score of research suggestions, any one of which could be developed into a doctoral dissertation.

Smith College

NEAL B. DE NOOD

*Town Meeting Comes to Town.* By Harry A. & Bonero W. Overstreet. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938. 268 pp. \$2.50.

This is a fascinating story of how radio can contribute to the perpetuation of democracy in the midst of our complex social life of today. Commercial interests have been quick to detect the value of radio to the commercial world, but educators have been slow to make use of its possibilities in the field of education. "Town Meeting" is one outstanding exception. Those of us who listen to "Town Hall" on Thursday nights cannot but be thrilled by the experience. Thursday stands out as an important day in the week. The Overstreets, in this book, take us behind the scenes and let us see why and how "Town Meeting" came to be.

Sociologists will be especially interested in two phases of this book. First, this is a case study of a changing educational and social situation in our American life and of the social forces that were deliberately brought to bear to cope with the changing situation. It is the story of the struggle with new techniques in order to meet these new situations. Secondly, sociologists will be especially interested in the last two chapters dealing with "The American Scene." Here we are reminded of the blundering faith of Washington and Jefferson amidst a rather simple society, and also the frank realization even at that time that America still had its "character to establish" as a democratic nation. This simple society was then replaced by an unprecedented system of specialization that has so "narrowed our areas of expertness that most of us understand the aims and problems of only one small field of endeavor—or one small field." We are therefore put to the task of devising techniques and developing plans for cutting across these specialized lines at the various levels—community, county, state, national, and even international. The public forum as a method combined with the radio as a technique is here set forth as one successful answer.

University of Wisconsin

A. F. WILEDEN

*Everyman's Drama.* By Jean Carter & Jess Ogden. New York: American Ass'n for Adult Education, 1938. xiii, 136 pp. \$1.00.

We cannot but compare *Everyman's Drama* with Patten's *The Art Workshop in Rural America* (which I reviewed in the December, 1937, issue of this Journal). The latter is written from the point of view of the sociologist, the former from that of the dramatist; the latter gives major attention to the rural field, the former does little more than mention the rural field; the latter considers many phases of the arts, and the former gives attention only to drama. In other words, *Everyman's Drama* is primarily concerned with "the theatre." The treatment, however, is an interesting one even to people outside the theatre. The fact that "upward of a million adults" are participating in the production of plays each year as an "avocational interest," and that there are probably 300,000 dramatic groups in the United States today is significant. It is estimated that millions of people share in these plays each year as audience, because drama must



have audience. "Sociability," "culture," and "education" are pointed out as the fruits of such a program.

This book calls attention to the work of Rockwell in Wisconsin, Arvold in North Dakota, Drummond in New York, and Koch in North Carolina. Illustrations are drawn from several little theatres over the country—particularly Le Petit Théâtre du Vieux Carré at New Orleans, the Pasadena Playhouse, the Dallas Little Theatre, the Michigan Repertory Players, the Civic Theatre of Seattle, Santa Barbara Little Theatre, the Players Club of Detroit, the Douglas Smith Players of Chicago, the Players Club of Columbus, Ohio, and the Washington Civic Theatre; and from several movements in the field such as the Federal Theatre Project, the Black Friars Guild of the Catholic Church, and the Wesley Players of the Board of Education of the Methodist Church. It is admitted that this study is not complete or exhaustive of the field. One cannot but feel that much of the information reported was gathered from selected workers themselves in the field of drama. Some apparently did a much more thorough job of telling what they were doing than did others. The last chapter of this book concerned with "trends" will be of greatest interest to applied sociologists.

University of Wisconsin

A. F. WILEDEN

*Your Community.* By Joanna C. Colcord. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939. 249 pp. \$.85.

This is an excellent monograph to guide the professional worker in social welfare, education, religion, public health or similar fields in the effort to acquire a good, working knowledge of his community. It can also be used effectively in beginning courses in methods of community surveys. It opens with an excellent chapter on elementary methods of study, on recording and reporting and the uses of study material. There follow chapters on Community Setting, Local Government, Dealing with Crime, Public Safety, Workers, Wage and Conditions of Employment, Housing, Planning and Zoning, Health Care, The Handicapped, Educational Resources, Opportunities for Recreation, Religious Agencies, Public Assistance, Family Welfare, Child Care, Foreign Born and Racial Groups, Clubs and Associations, and Agencies for Community Planning and Co-ordination. A list of agencies and a bibliography conclude the volume.

Each chapter opens with a simple and practical introduction to the topic. Sections follow introducing each sub topic. Each section ends with a series of questions, answers to which would give the inquirer a working knowledge of the existing situation. Detailed data are skillfully avoided. The emphasis is on essential background and on program. The book is urban in its emphasis but its scope and method will be suggestive and valuable to workers in any area whose responsibilities involve some degree of social engineering. It is bound in a special cloth which will wash without staining if wiped off with a damp cloth.

Teachers College  
Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

*Powder River: Let 'er Buck.* By Struthers Burt. New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938. xi, 389 pp. \$2.50.

This is one of the series, only partly complete, of "Rivers of America" under the general editorship of Constance Lindsay Skinner. The series attempts to write a "literary" history and description of American regions, as seen from the banks of their rivers. Self-confessedly, the volume is not written as history or sociology, but as literature; hence, historical inaccuracies, of which the reviewer is unqualified to speak, but which the writer freely admits, are excused. This may also excuse the pseudo-psychology of race, white or red, which is a bit disconcerting to a pedestrian sociologist. It may even excuse verbless sentences and parenthetical statements within parenthetical statements. One might, however, wish that the author had learned the difference between semicolons and colons. All this may be art, which covers a multitude of sins forbidden to puritanic scientists.

These criticisms are, however, minor and perhaps carping. The descriptive and "atmospheric" history of the Powder River country and Wyoming in general gives a "feel" of the West and the frontier, not too far past historically, not at all past in their deep-seated influence on American institutions. And lest anyone should forget, the West is a part of the living American scene. It is not simply a direction, since Wyoming, Arizona, Montana, and the Dakotas are far more "Western" than the increasingly urban and urbane Pacific Coast. It is a pattern of life, a philosophy and a social structure, as much as it is a region. It is a virtue of Mr. Burt's work to have recognized this, and to have taken the limitation to the basin of the Powder pretty lightly. Rural sociologists who want an introduction to the Indian-fighting, cattle-rustling, and dude-ranching West will find this book an interesting preface to more prosaic works.

Harvard University

WILBERT E. MOORE

*Social Problems in Agriculture:* Record of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the I. L. O. International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland, 1938. iv, 162 pp. \$1.00.

This publication contains a digest of the deliberations of the Permanent Agricultural Committee of the I. L. O. at its first meeting held in Geneva, February 7-15, 1938. It also reports the final action taken by the committee on the various items on the agenda including (1) hours of work, (2) holidays with pay, (3) protection of child labor in agriculture, and (4) wage fixing machinery. The documentation submitted by the members of the committee on conditions within their respective countries is briefly analyzed. This reviewer made a brief report on this first meeting (See *Rural Sociology*, June, 1938), but the present volume provides a very good digest of the entire session. Another meeting of this committee has been called for April, 1939, at which the question of extending social security benefits to agricultural workers, both wage and unpaid, will receive consideration. This committee is composed of about forty-five members from twenty-three countries of the world.

L. N.

*Congrès international de la population.* Eight volumes. Paris: Hermann and Co., 1938. I, 270 pp.; II, 105 pp.; III, 155 pp.; VI, 128 pp. Price not yet fixed.

The International Population Congress held in Paris in the summer of 1937 attracted outstanding scholars from all parts of the world. The papers delivered were published in a series of eight volumes, each dealing with a particular phase of population problems. The subjects treated by the four volumes up for review, in chronological order, are General Theory of Population, Historical Demography, Statistical Demography, and Demography of the French Outlying Possessions. Among American scholars having papers included in these volumes are Lotka, Thompson, and Notestein. The rural sociologist who is interested in population problems will find these volumes a helpful accessory in his work.

Louisiana State University

HOMER L. HITT

*Research in Agricultural Index Numbers.* By John D. Black and Bruce D. Mudgett. Prepared under the Direction of the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture. Social Science Research Council Bulletin 10, 1938. viii, 152 pp. \$.75.

This is the last of a series of twenty-one bulletins, published by the Social Science Research Council, on "Scope and Method" of research in agricultural economics and rural sociology. Most of the material in it relates to the theory of index numbers and to index series now in existence. Only a small amount of space is devoted to a discussion of specific research projects in agricultural index numbers. This is in marked contrast to the procedure used in the other bulletins of this series. Most of the discussion is devoted to index numbers of prices, although some consideration is given to indexes of other factors such as taxes, credit, and foreign trade. The discussion is so arranged that the opinions, often conflicting, of a number of people are presented. The bulletin should be of value both to those who, in their research work, make use of index numbers calculated by others and to those who are engaged in constructing index number series.

Louisiana State University

ROY A. BALLINGER

*Centerville.* By Paul Hanna, G. Anderson, and W. S. Gray. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1938. 288 pp. \$.92.

Rural sociologists should find it very useful to know of this social studies reader for the lower grades. It is also applied rural sociology in story form about business, roads, communication, food, clothes, agriculture, community organization, and the school as a community institution in a small village and its trade area. The lot of the rural sociologist in the 1950's will be easy indeed if every rural elementary school used this fascinating and simple reader.

Teachers College  
Columbia University

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

*White Settlers in the Tropics.* By A. Grenfell Price. New York: American Geographical Society, 1939. xiii, 311 pp. \$4.00.

Those rural sociologists who are working in the South will find much of interest in Price's work. The work is heavily weighted with considerations of health, acclimatization, diet, clothing, etc., but here and there are paragraphs dealing with the diffusion and operation of the plantation system, the vital indexes, land tenure, etc. A short chapter is devoted to racial problems, and elsewhere in the work reference is made to the various ethnic and cultural "islands" in the tropics.

T. L. S.

*Maine Ballads.* By Robert P. Tristram Coffin. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938. xiv, 106 pp. \$1.75.

Simple happenings to "common Monday and Tuesday" men and women form the bedrock of these ballads. Yet the men and women portrayed are not quite the ordinary mill-run farmer and fisher folk of the Maine coast. They are the Maine folk, but many of them have a moral or mental twist that sets them apart. They are the drying seaweed on the beach.

True, they have been torn from the rugged undersea ledges and thrown upon the sand by economic forces that have long been at work inshore from Sequin. Lessened opportunities for earning a living, a declining population, an increasing isolation before the coming of the telephone, automobile, radio, and summer visitors, all have had their part in making the twisted characters that Coffin portrays.

One wonders, however, whether the shaky moral standards implied are not a bit overdone.

University of Maine

GEORGE E. LORD

*The South—Its Economic-Geographic Development.* By Almon E. Parkins. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1938. 528 pp. \$4.00.

This analysis of the economic and cultural conditions and development of the South attempts to answer the question Does the South "possess the requisite natural conditions for an advanced cultural pattern"? The treatment is interesting, and in some aspects very thorough; however, some important items are neglected. No mention is made of the fisheries. The modern rice culture likewise is almost ignored, and recent developments in dairying, cattle raising, and the growing of tung oil trees are overlooked.

When one notices that the author includes in the South Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, the Panhandle of Texas, and Oklahoma, he is forced to question the basis for the delimitation. Why not New Mexico, Arizona, and California as well? Nevertheless, the book is a valuable contribution to regional literature. After reading it, one feels that though the South may be the nation's number one economic problem, it is also the nation's number one land of opportunity.

Louisiana State University

MARION B. SMITH

*The Joint Committee Study of Rural Radio Ownership and Use in the United States.* By a committee sponsored by the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company. New York: Sponsors, 1939. Part I, 37 pp. Part II, 85 pp. Free to research workers.

*Columbia R. F. D. Audience.* New York: CBS. 40 pp. Free.

This is a statistical summary of rural radios and their use. It is based on a sample of 20,362,000 families in 955 townships in 96 counties representative of all rural areas in the United States. Of 13,721,000 rural families, 69 per cent have radios, 89 per cent use them every day, and the average time of use is 4.47 hours per day. Radio use is summarized by regions, states, the hour of day, according to farm, rural nonfarm, village, age groups, sex groups, economic status, color, etc. Volume II gives all statistical data. Columbia followed this with a study of what rural people listen to on the radio and what they buy of radio advertised goods by income class and by hours of listening. The longer they listen the more they buy. Correlation, but not causation! While only 26.7 per cent rural families listen to the New York Philharmonic, in general their tastes are not as trashy as one should expect from an urban audience. All this is advertising, but it's good stuff if you are interested in rural psychology or the radio or even if you are just intellectually curious. If you think advertising on the radio is bad, you ought to listen to the pap in the countries where the public puts on the program. If you want to improve the radio, don't buy products where the program is trashy even though your children "like it." Three cheers for more good music.

C. C. Z.

*Federal, State, and Local Administrative Relationships in Agriculture.* By Carleton R. Ball. Two volumes. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1938. x, 1139 pp. \$10.00.

This publication from the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California is of some interest to rural sociologists. This is particularly true of chapter one, which outlines the principles and practices of co-operation and traces the development of co-operative federal-state relations in research.

A detailed treatment of co-operative research in the various specialties makes up the bulk of the two volumes. One chapter of nearly two hundred pages is devoted to agricultural economics, and of this, twenty pages are devoted to rural sociology. No mention is made of the co-operative plan of rural research between the Works Progress Administration and the state agricultural colleges. Most of the attention is devoted to the co-operative studies that Dr. Galpin was able to promote in the early days of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. Even this account suffers from glaring omissions—such important studies as the three by Lowry Nelson on Utah villages are not included. In general the work gives a distorted view of the development and status of federal, state, and local co-operative relations in rural sociology

T. L. S

# News Notes and Announcements

*Louisiana State University:*—A conference on Southern Life and Culture was held on April 17-18, the general theme of which was Sources of the South's Social and Economic Problems.

Fred C. Frey, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and Professor of Sociology, will serve as Visiting Professor of Sociology at Brigham Young University during the summer session.

B. O. Williams, Professor of Rural Sociology and Statistics at Clemson College, will offer courses in sociology during the summer session.

T. Lynn Smith, Head of the Department of Sociology, will spend the summer in Central and South America studying the social and economic phases of agriculture.

*North Dakota Agricultural College:*—James P. Greenlaw has been appointed Assistant Rural Sociologist in the Agricultural Experiment Station. His work will be chiefly research in membership relations in agricultural marketing and in levels of farm family living.

*Romanian Sociological Institute:*—Dimitrie Gusti, Director of the Institute, has prepared a report of a three-year nationwide survey of rural life in Romania which envisages "vast social, cultural, and economic changes." This survey has been said to be "one of the most comprehensive and searching 'national inventories' ever undertaken by a European country," and its report draws a composite picture that will be "of basic importance to educators, sociologists, legislators and others directly concerned with improving the physical, mental and economic health of the nation."

*The Southern Sociological Society:*—At the annual meeting held in Atlanta March 31-April 1, the following officers were elected for the coming year: President, Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University; First Vice President, Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Second Vice President, Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College; Secretary-Treasurer, B. O. Williams, Clemson College; members of the Executive Committee, Hornell Hart, Duke University; Comer M. Woodward, Emory University; and Walter K. Reckless, Vanderbilt University.

*The State College of Washington:*—On April 1 the Washington Agricultural Experiment Station established a new Division of Rural Sociology. Rural sociological research was formerly conducted under the Division of Farm Management and Agricultural Economics.

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ROBERT A. POLSON, *Assistant Extension Professor of Rural Social Organization*; both at *New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University*

*Emphasizes the integrative and coordinate aspects—the balance and the cooperation necessary for community development*

In spite of the growing interest in rural community organization since the World War, up to the present time there has been no book which has brought together the experience and knowledge of the last two decades. In consequence, courses have had to be based on material scattered throughout the literature, and students have found it difficult to correlate the existing knowledge.

This book is designed to fill the gap. It is the outgrowth of mimeographed notes which the authors prepared for their course in rural community organization. The basic content has been in use for several years in their classes.

No attempt has been made to trace the historical development of the community movement, since such material is available elsewhere. The book presupposes that the student will have had a course in general sociology or rural sociology, although these are not necessarily prerequisites. Case studies are presented at the end of several of the chapters, and one entire chapter is devoted to them. Exercises and discussion topics are given; some of the latter are purposefully framed to bring out both sides of a problem and to stimulate individual thought on the part of the student.

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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY



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## CONTENTS

<i>The Future Working Population.</i> By T. J. Woofter, Jr. . . . .	275
<i>Rural Ritual Games in Libya.</i> By Corrado Gini. . . . .	283
<i>The Impact of Mechanization of Agriculture on the Farm Population of the South.</i> By B. O. Williams. . . . .	300
<i>Discussion,</i> by H. P. Crowe . . . . .	311
<i>Discussion,</i> by Margaret Jarman Hagood. . . . .	313
<i>The Social Contacts of a Bulgarian Village.</i> By Irwin T. Sanders. . . .	315
<i>Content of the Country Weekly.</i> By Carl F. Reuss . . . . .	328
<i>The Concept of Plane of Living and the Construction of a Plane of Living Index.</i> By Walter C. McKain, Jr. . . . .	337
<i>Notes</i>	
<i>The Evolution of the Euro-American Community.</i> By Carle C. Zimmerman .	344
<i>Notes on Montana Population Trends.</i> By Roland R. Renne . . . . .	346
<i>Current Bulletins.</i> Edited by Charles P. Loomis . . . . .	348
<i>Book Reviews.</i> Edited by Carle C. Zimmerman	
Ellwood, <i>A History of Social Philosophy</i> , by C. C. Zimmerman . . . . .	365
Kramer, <i>Marginal Land</i> , by J. M. Reinhardt . . . . .	367
Queen and Thomas, <i>The City</i> , by W. A. Anderson . . . . .	367
Jensen, <i>Danish Agriculture</i> , by T. Lynn Smith . . . . .	368
Van Deusen, <i>The Black Man in White America</i> ; Reid, <i>The Negro Immigrant</i> , by Vernon J. Parenton. . . . .	369
Kandel, <i>Rural Education and Rural Society</i> , by William McKinley Robinson	370
Landis, <i>Social Control</i> , by W. H. Stacy . . . . .	371
Alihan, <i>Social Ecology</i> , by H. L. Hitt . . . . .	372
Craven, <i>The Repressible Conflict, 1830-61</i> , by W. E. Moore . . . . .	372
Morris, <i>Bald Knobbers</i> ; Clark, <i>The Rampaging Frontier</i> , by C. C. Zimmerman	373
Weld, <i>Brooklyn Village, 1816-34</i> , by Walter C. McKain, Jr. . . . .	374
Bean, <i>The Peopling of Virginia</i> , by B. L. Hummel . . . . .	374
<i>Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Literatur der Landwirtschaft</i> , by Rudolph Heberle . . . . .	375
Brunner, <i>Rural Australia and New Zealand</i> , by C. R. Hoffer . . . . .	375
Harris, <i>Progressive Norway</i> , by T. Lynn Smith . . . . .	376
<i>International Bibliography of Agricultural Economics</i> , by C. C. Zimmerman	376
Lederer, <i>Technical Progress and Unemployment</i> , by Lowry Nelson . . . . .	376
Mayer-Daxlanden, <i>Immigrants</i> ; Günther, <i>Das Bauerntum als Lebens- und Ge-         meinschaftsform</i> , by C. C. Zimmerman . . . . .	377
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i> . . . . .	379

# The Future Working Population

*By T. J. Woofster, Jr.\**

## ABSTRACT

The changes in the working age population (18 to 65 years of age) lag approximately eighteen years behind changes in the birth rate. Since the actual number of births was larger in 1921 and 1924 than in any preceding year, the net increase in the working ages will reach a peak between 1939 and 1942. During the period of minimum job opportunity there has been a maximum increase in the working population. The average annual increase will be over a million up to 1945 and will decline to about 300,000 by 1955.

In the total population there will be in 1955 a larger proportion of people over 65, a smaller proportion under 18, and a smaller ratio of workers under 40 to workers over 40. The proportion of foreign-born will decline rapidly, the proportion of Negroes will remain about constant. There will be a total 20 year increase (1935-55) of 14.5 million people of working age. These added to the present unemployed represent the necessary expansion in employment opportunities.

The increase for the next twenty years will be largely from families living in rural areas in 1935, half from farm families. This points to the need either of a rapid expansion in industry or of a radical change in agricultural policy. The increase is most rapid in the poorer farm areas of the Appalachians, Cotton South, Cutover, and Great Plains, and is already negative, or low, in the Northeastern States.

Many of our unemployment difficulties have been, and for some years to come will continue to be rooted in population changes which have developed slowly but proceeded as steadily and powerfully as a glacier. On account of the gradual nature of their effect they are all too often ignored. We have heard much recently of the falling birth rate—dramatized by the fact that since 1924 the actual number of births each year has been smaller than the number the preceding year. That dramatic fact has obscured other facts and has led many people to assume that population pressures have become less with the drop in births. Such, however, is not the case. Changes in the productive, employable population lag behind the changes in the birth rate by eighteen to twenty years, since that much time on the average is required for infants to grow to working age. The fall of the birth rate, therefore, causes long-range social and economic changes, but the short-range changes are dependent on changes in the birth rate twenty years ago.

For this reason the United States was confronted during the years 1930-35 with a strange situation in which the number of births was

\* Economic Adviser, Farm Security Administration.

falling—the rate of increase of the total population declining—but the rate of increase of the working population 18 to 65 years of age was accelerating. Put another way—in the years of minimum work opportunity the United States acquired about the maximum increase in its working population.

As this situation has not been widely realized the analysis of the present and future population 18 to 65 years presents some interesting and significant facts in explanation of some of our troubles since 1929 as well as fundamental considerations for future policy. We should call attention at the outset to the fact that these predictions do not rest on predicted changes in the birth rate, since the infants who will become 18 years of age up to 1955 are those who were born prior to the year 1939; i.e., all survivors of 1936 births will be 18 or 18½ years of age by January, 1955. The predicted future trends, therefore, merely begin with the 1935 population already born, and project this population to 1955 on the assumption that present death rates will operate with slight reductions<sup>1</sup> over the next twenty years.

The actual increase in the working ages reaches a plateau from 1939 to 1942 (Table 1), when the number reaching the age of 18 will be

TABLE 1  
POPULATION 18 TO 65 YEARS OF AGE, 1935 THROUGH 1955  
(In thousands)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population 18 to 65</i>	<i>Average* annual increase</i>	<i>Rate of increase</i>
1930.....	73,083	.....	....
1935.....	78,126	1,009	1.38
1940.....	83,276	1,030	1.32
1945.....	87,673	879	1.06
1950.....	90,690	603	0.69
1955.....	92,638	390	0.43

\*Average annual increase for five preceding years.

approximately two and one half million annually. The net increase in the ages 18 to 65 after the deaths within that group and the number passing 65 are deducted, also reaches a peak about that time and then begins to decrease sharply. The peak net annual increase is over

<sup>1</sup> Such estimates have been prepared for the *National Resources Committee Population Statistics*, I, by Thompson and Whelpton. The estimates used are those based on medium fertility, medium mortality, and no net foreign immigration. Within the published Thompson and Whelpton estimates the number of 18- and 19-year-olds is estimated from the number 15 through 19.

1,000,000 in 1939-42, and by 1955 this net increase will decline to about 300,000 per year. This sharp decrease is due to the drop in the number of births from 1924 to 1936 and to the fact that as the number in the 18 to 65 year group increases the number of deaths within this group and the number passing the upper age limit also increases. Hence the intake of the working population at the lower age begins to decline after 1942, and the loss of workers through death and old age becomes more rapid.

TABLE 2

POPULATION 18 TO 65 YEARS OF AGE, BY RESIDENCE IN 1935, PROJECTED  
WITHOUT MIGRATION TO 1955  
(In thousands)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural-farm</i>	<i>Rural-nonfarm</i>
1935.....	78,126	46,219	17,461	14,446
1940.....	83,276	47,975	19,687	15,614
1945.....	87,673	49,351	21,489	16,833
1950.....	90,690	49,707	22,945	18,038
1955.....	92,638	49,274	24,818	18,546
Increase 1935 to 1955.....	14,512	3,055	7,357	4,100

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION				
1935.....	100.0	59.2	22.3	18.5
1955.....	100.0	53.2	26.8	20.0

This means that our maximum pressure of youth on the labor market is now and in the next few years, but that some pressure will continue. On the other hand, the tenacity of the large middle age groups in clinging to jobs will make it progressively more difficult for youth to find employment. In other words, no matter what the future course of the birth rate may be, the number of people of working age will grow, but grow at a declining rate well past 1955. This implies that employment must not merely seek static levels but must expand continuously, otherwise the maturing population will only increase unemployment. The total increase from 1935 to 1955 will be around 14,500,000 in the working ages. In 1930, 65 per cent of the people in this age were employed. At this rate, we must plan to employ an additional eight and three quarter million people in the next twenty years. This is on top of the eleven and one half million who were estimated as unemployed in 1935.

Converted to rates these increases by five year periods are shown in Table 1. The rapid drop in the rate after the 1935-40 period is evident.

The more rapid rate of increase on farms shown in Table 2A is noteworthy for the future stresses within the employable group which it forecasts. These rates are based on 1935 residence and are projected on

TABLE 2A

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE AND RATE OF INCREASE IN POPULATION 18 TO 65 YEARS OF AGE, BY RESIDENCE IN 1935 PROJECTED TO 1955  
WITHOUT MIGRATION  
(In thousands)

Year	Urban		Rural-nonfarm		Rural-farm	
	Average annual increase	Per cent annual increase	Average annual increase	Per cent annual increase	Average annual increase	Per cent annual increase
1935.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1940.....	351	0.76	234	1.62	445	2.55
1945.....	275	0.57	244	1.56	360	1.83
1950.....	71	0.14	241	1.43	291	1.35
1955.....	-87	-0.18	102	0.57	375	1.63

the assumption that those living on farms and in villages and in cities will continue their 1935 residence.<sup>2</sup> This, of course, will not happen. Such a projection is, however, quite useful since it shows what would happen if the usual movement from agriculture to industry is not resumed.

Stated in these terms, children living on farms in 1935 will mature about 7,500,000 more than are necessary to replace deaths in and aging beyond the 18 to 65 years ages. This forecasts a tremendous future transference from farm to city occupations or a tremendous expansion in the number employed in agriculture or some degree of combination of both trends.

These facts point out the impossibility of expecting a route to a higher standard of living through the back-to-the-farm movement. In brief they imply that the present working age farm population has within it enough children to increase by over 40 per cent, unless there is a farm-to-city movement overbalancing a back-to-the-farm movement.

The children in rural nonfarm families in 1935 will mature 4,000,000

<sup>2</sup> W. S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Estimates (no migration) of Future Population*, National Resources Board (Washington, December, 1934).

more than are necessary to replace the deaths in and aging beyond the 18 to 65 year group. This presages a normal growth in villages.

The children in cities will mature less than 3,000,000 over and above those necessary to replace death and aging, which presages only a sluggish expansion of city working population unless supplemented by migration from rural territory, and most of this city increase will occur before 1945. By 1950 the working age in cities will actually shrink unless supplemented by migration.

Interesting changes will also occur in the race-nativity composition of the working population. Table 3 shows the estimated future popula-

TABLE 3  
POPULATION 18 TO 65 YEARS OF AGE, BY COLOR AND NATIVITY, 1935-55  
(In thousands)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Native white</i>	<i>Foreign born white</i>	<i>Negro and other colored</i>
1935.....	78,126	59,677	9,965	8,484
1940.....	83,276	65,437	8,725	9,114
1945.....	87,673	70,592	7,313	9,768
1950.....	90,690	74,513	5,781	10,396
1955.....	92,638	77,338	4,269	11,031
20 Year Increase.....	14,512	17,661	-5,696	2,547

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION				
1935.....	100.0	76.4	12.7	10.9
1955.....	100.0	83.5	4.6	11.9

tion 18 to 65 years of age by race and nativity. It is apparent from these estimates that during the twenty years 1935-55 the working population will be increasingly native white. The Negro group is increasing very slowly, and the foreign-born without new net accessions are dying out. The composition of the 18-65 group in 1935 was 76 per cent native white, 13 per cent foreign-born white, and 11 per cent Negro and other colored. By 1955 this will shift to approximately 83 per cent native, 5 per cent foreign-born, and 12 per cent Negro and other colored, provided that no new accession to the foreign-born occurs. Even resumption of net migration up to the full quotas would not increase the actual number of foreign-born, since deaths are now so numerous in the upper groups. Such a resumption would merely hold the number about stationary and very slightly decrease the proportion of foreign-born in 1955.

There will also be significant shifts in the relationship of the working population to the total population as indicated by Table 4, and of the proportion of older and younger workers.

**TABLE 4**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS, 1935-55**  
(In thousands)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Under 18</i>	<i>18 to 40</i>	<i>40 to 65</i>	<i>65 and over</i>
1935.....	127,985	42,377	45,399	32,727	7,482
1940.....	132,630	40,936	47,954	35,322	8,418
1945.....	137,096	39,695	50,041	37,632	9,728
1950.....	141,213	39,319	50,424	40,266	11,204
1955.....	144,732	39,266	49,676	42,962	12,828
20 Year Increase. ...	16,747	- 3,111	4,277	10,235	5 346

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION					
1935.....	100.0	33.1	35.5	25.6	5.8
1940.....	100.0	30.9	36.2	26.6	6.3
1945.....	100.0	28.9	36.5	27.5	7.1
1950.....	100.0	27.9	35.7	28.5	7.9
1955.....	100.0	27.1	34.3	29.7	8.9

As the number of births declines, the proportion of population in the older ages rises, since at each year the segment representing a given age is smaller than the segment represented at that age in the previous year. This means that as the proportionate importance of the immature groups declines the proportion of the working age and old age groups increases. Later, as the decline sets in in the working age group (about 1970), the old age group continues to increase in proportionate importance. In 1935 the distribution of the total population was 33 per cent under 18, 35 per cent 18-40, 26 per cent 40-65 and 6 per cent over 65. By 1955 the percentage under 18 drops to 27, that over 65 increases to 9, and the total 18-65 group increases slightly from 61 to 64 per cent. However, within the 18-65 year group the young workers, 18 to 40, decline from 35 per cent to 34 per cent of the total population, and the middle aged and older workers, 40 to 65, increase from 26 to 30 per cent.

This shift forecasts some fundamental social and economic adjustments in the field of investment, consumption of the products of industry, educational policy and old age allowances. We shall, however, comment only on the outstanding implications in relation to the labor market.

1. When the dependent groups (young and old) are added together, they will not be proportionately larger in 1955 than in 1935. In fact, they will constitute a slightly smaller percentage. There will, however, be a shift in the dependent population in the direction of fewer children and more old people.

2. The increasing proportion of workers in the 40-65 year age span will undoubtedly mean modifications in the policy as to retirement age as the supply of young workers diminishes.

The rural urban differential mentioned above is distributed unevenly in the various regions of the nation. Not only is the increase in the working population coming largely from the farms in the next twenty years, but it is also coming mostly from the poorer agricultural states—those least able to rear and educate the population and those least able to absorb them in agriculture or industry. A glance at Table 5 reveals that the pressures in the Cotton South and Drought Areas are particu-

TABLE 5  
PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN RURAL-FARM MALES 18 TO 65 IN 1930

State	Percentage increase	State	Percentage increase
<i>New England</i>		<i>West</i>	
Maine.....	.51	Colorado.....	1.64
New Hampshire.....	— .28	Wyoming.....	1.43
Vermont.....	.80	Montana.....	1.02
Rhode Island.....	— .13	Idaho.....	2.07
Massachusetts.....	.27	Utah.....	3.08
Connecticut.....	.43		
<i>Middle Atlantic</i>		<i>Pacific</i>	
New York.....	.00	Washington.....	.99
New Jersey.....	.63	Oregon.....	.95
Pennsylvania.....	1.41	California.....	.57
Maryland.....	1.29	Nevada.....	.58
Delaware.....	.89		
West Virginia.....	2.80	<i>Southeast</i>	
<i>Midwest</i>		Virginia.....	2.67
Ohio.....	1.12	North Carolina.....	3.64
Indiana.....	1.22	Kentucky.....	2.42
Illinois.....	1.24	Tennessee.....	2.74
Michigan.....	1.37	South Carolina.....	4.05
Wisconsin.....	1.98	Georgia.....	3.44
Minnesota.....	1.88	Florida.....	2.12
Missouri.....	1.28	Alabama.....	3.07
Iowa.....	2.00	Mississippi.....	2.67
		Arkansas.....	2.83
<i>West</i>		Louisiana.....	2.98
North Dakota.....	2.88	<i>Southwest</i>	
South Dakota.....	2.43	Texas.....	3.13
Kansas.....	1.98	Oklahoma.....	3.26
Nebraska.....	2.32	New Mexico.....	1.92
		Arizona.....	1.47



larly great, but the pressures in the more prosperous New England, Midwest, and Pacific Coast States are low or negative.

This forecasts either a radical redistribution of industry, a resumption of heavy inter-regional migration, or radical regional changes in agricultural employment, and probably a combination of the three.

Of course, one eventuality not allowed for is the remote possibility of emigration of the American population to other lands. However, as difficult as the economic situation in this country may be, there is no immediate prospect of an economic situation elsewhere sufficiently bright to generate an outflow of population from the United States.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the population trends which are discussed are definitely predictable within minor limits of error due to fluctuations in the death rate. The situation is, therefore, real and not hypothetical. The adjustments of the nation to these changes is inescapable. The further in advance these adjustments are foreseen and taken into account in national policies the less will be the dislocation, friction, and individual suffering involved in making the adjustment to the inevitable.

# Rural Ritual Games in Libya (Berber Baseball and Shinny)

By Corrado Gini\*

## ABSTRACT

The article gives detailed information about two games (*Om el mabag* and *Kura*) played by the Berber tribes of the Gebel Nefusa which were studied and filmed during a scientific expedition of the Italian Committee for the study of population problems. *Om el mabag* seems to be played only by the said Berber tribes and may be described as an elementary Baseball. *Kura* is played all over Libya, Algeria, and Morocco; and, when it is played with a stick, is very similar to the American Shinny; when played with the foot, it is like Football. The article establishes three series of analogous games: (1) *Om el mabag*, *Rounders*, *Baseball*, and *O' Cat*; (2) *Kura* (played with a stick), *Soule à la crosse*, *Hockey*, and *Shinny*; (3) *Kura* (played with the foot), *Soule au pied*, *Football*, and *Calcio*, and examines the possible explanations of their similarities showing the difficulty of an explanation in terms of *diffusion* or *autonomous evolution* and suggesting a more plausible explanation in terms of *vestigials*. According to the latter explanation, the analogous games played now in North Africa and America would be survivals or local developments from ancient games prevailing over much larger areas of the old world, whence they have been later imported, in a more or less modified form, in the new one. Several circumstances and considerations suggest that *Kura* and *Om el mabag* were connected in the past with spring rain rites.

As President of the Italian Committee for the study of population problems, I directed in September-October of 1937 a first scientific expedition formed for studying the remains of blondness still found among the Berbers of Libya. The tribes of Jadum and neighborhood in the Gebel Nefusa were the objects of the inquiry.

This expedition, like those previously organized by the same Italian Committee,<sup>1</sup> made use, in studying the individuals examined, of a demographic questionnaire for each family and of two individual cards, one for anthropometric and the other for medico-biological data, so drawn up as to allow for collecting in full detail all necessary information. Photographs in three positions were also taken of each subject examined, as well as the outline and imprints of hands and feet, a dental

\* Professor of Statistics and Sociology, University of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> For the organization and results of these expeditions, see the reports published in *Genus*, organ of the Italian Committee, I, ½ (June, 1934); II, ½ (June, 1936); II, ¾ (June, 1937); and in *Eugenical News*, XVIII, 15 (September-October, 1933); XIX, 4 (July-August, 1934); XX, 4 (July-August, 1935).

chart and a specimen of hair. For a certain number of individuals an examination was made of basic metabolism, blood pressure, vital capacity. Urine analyses and some plaster casts of faces were also taken.

Detailed information of an ethnographical and economic description was also collected. Some of the games played by the Berbers of the Gebel Nefusa are interesting and we took films of two of them.

Both of these games are played with a ball. One is called *Ta kurt na rrod* (the ball of the goal) and is very similar to the American "Shinny." The other is called *Ta kurt om el mahag* (the ball of the pilgrim's mother) or, more commonly, *Om el mahag* (the pilgrim's mother) and may be described as an elementary Baseball. Berber Shinny is played all over Libya, Algeria, and Morocco by the Arabophone and Berberophone populations. Berber Baseball, on the other hand, according to the statement of the Berbers of Jadum, is played only by the Berber tribes of the Gebel Nefusa. First, let me discuss baseball.

The playing field consists of a level space without special boundaries other than those designated by home and one other base. In a shady spot in the middle of one side, a home base consisting of a rectangle about twelve feet in length is marked by stone or other signposts at its external limits. In front of the home base, some seventy to ninety feet away, a running base, called *El Mahag*, is marked. The game uses only one base like American "One O' Cat."

The game is played by two teams of equal numbers, each under a captain (*sciek*). The players choose two captains. Then the other men distribute themselves by couples and a man is assigned from every couple to each captain by chance. The number of players may vary from three to twenty on each side, but the usual number is six.

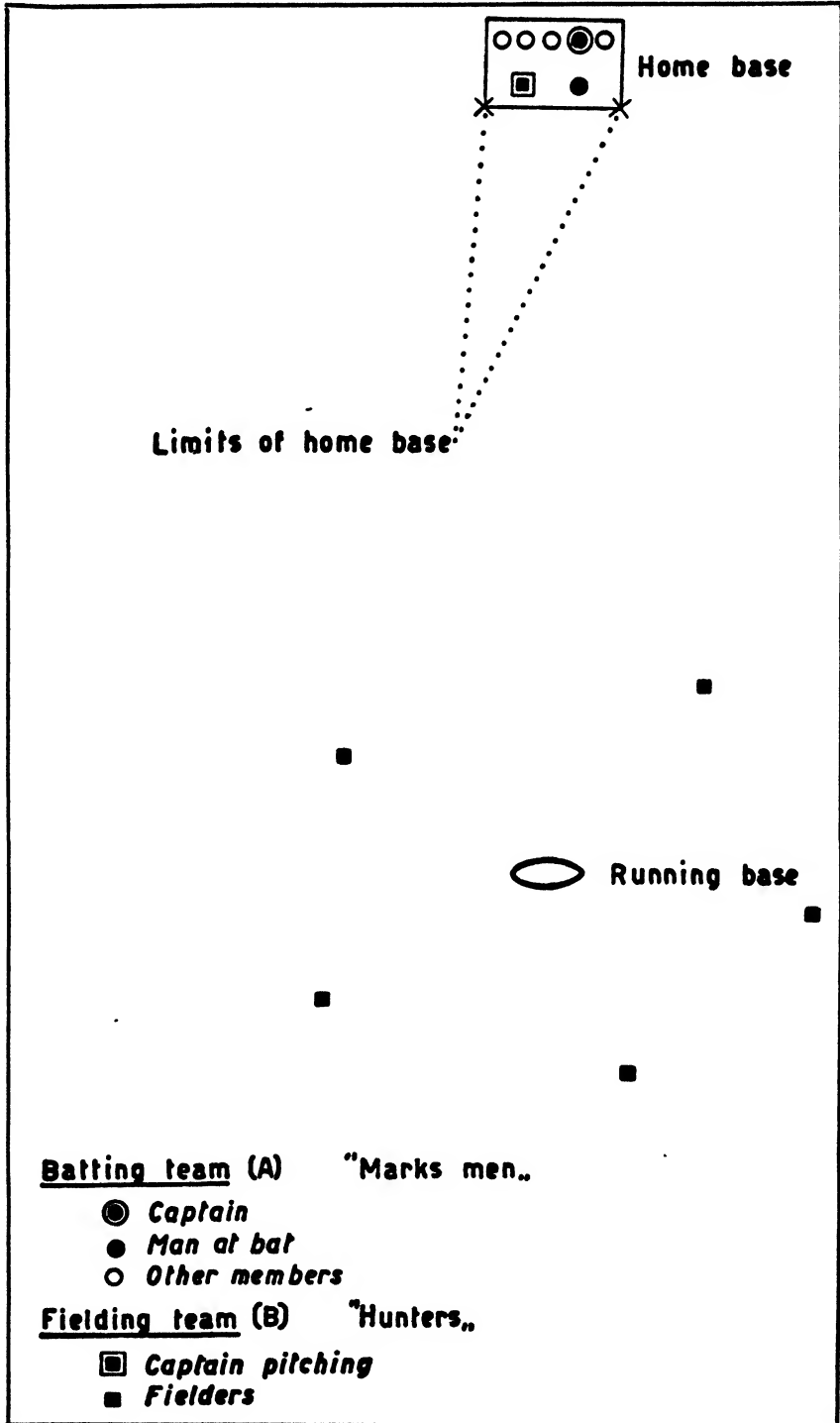
The batting team (A) strikes the ball in batting order with a bat, sending it as far off as possible, so that the other members of the team may have time to run from home to the *mahag* and, if possible, back again. The men of the fielding team (B) try to prevent this by catching the ball as it flies, or by picking it up from the ground and throwing it to hit a member of the batting team as he runs from the gate to the *mahag* or back. When a team bats, it is called "marksmen" (*darraba*), and when it fields it is called "hunters" (*fajadah*).

Lots are drawn at the beginning of the game to see which of the two teams bats first.

Figure 1 shows the arrangement of the teams when the game starts.

FIGURE 1

POSITION OF THE TEAMS OF OM EL MAHAG AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GAME



The batting team stands in full strength along the homebase; the batter in front, bat in hand, is faced at a distance of six to eight feet by the captain of the catching team who pitches the ball for his opponent to strike on the fly. The distance between pitcher and batter is such that the batter with outstretched arm can touch with the end of his bat the ball which the pitcher also holds at arm's length. The mode of pitching makes it easy for the batter to hit the ball as it does not seem to be part of the game to strike out the batter. Before any batting is begun, the pitcher and the batter take the right distance and throw the ball back and forth several times, to make it easy for the batter to hit the ball. No catcher is used.

The leather covered ball is the size of the American baseball, but is not so hard. The bat is an olive branch which has been slightly curved by exposure to the heat of a fire, followed by slow drying. It is about three feet in length, somewhat flattened to about three fingers broad on the striking end.

In the batting order, the best batters are generally kept for the last and the captain ends the list of his team. The ball is always pitched by the captain of the fielding team. At first each member of the batting team is entitled to two strikes, the captain to three. When a batter misses all the strikes to which he is entitled, he withdraws to a corner, near one of the stones marking the limits of the home base, and hands the bat to the next man. He is then said to be "rotten" or to be set aside to "grow mouldy." Should all the batters miss all the strikes to which they are entitled, the inning would be lost by the batting team (A), and the fielding team (B) goes to bat. It is, however, very unusual for all to miss. Like One O'Cat, no account of score is kept. The fun lies in keeping the bat as long as possible. As a matter of fact, a distinct advantage accrues to the batting team, as the members have much time to stand quiet in the shade, while the men in the field have to stand or run in the sun.

As soon as the ball is hit, all members of the batting team who have already batted (including also the "rotten" ones) run to the mahag. Sliding to the mahag is usual, as sliding into base in American Baseball. However, since the Berber merely has to avoid being hit by the ball and does not have to be touched by a baseman as in Baseball, he often slides and rolls into the mahag sideways. On reaching the mahag the men of the batting team generally stop, shouting out "mahag, mahag"; if, however, they have time, they run back to the home base, shouting all the

time and mocking their opponents. The player who succeeds in running to the mahag and back is entitled, if he has not yet batted, to one more strike. Then a member of the batting team is entitled to three strikes and the captain to four. The batter does not always follow his comrades in making the run to the mahag. He must do so after the last strike to which he is entitled, but after other strikes he only runs when the blow he has given has been a very heavy one so that he thinks he has hit a "home run."

Meantime the fielding team (B) has placed its men back or aside of the mahag or running base. They come nearer or spread out according to the strength of the batter. They try to catch the ball as it flies past or else pick it up from the ground as swiftly as possible. If the ball is caught in the air the inning finishes with the victory to the fielding team (B), which now goes to bat. If the ball is picked up, the picker tries to hit one of his opponents who is running to or from the mahag. If he succeeds, the fielding team run immediately to the home base, because a member of the batting team (A) may pick up the ball and hit one of the fielders with it. If he does so and saves himself on the mahag or on the home base, the earlier advantage to the fielding team (B) is forfeited. It is easier to reach the mahag than to make a home run in one hit. It generally requires two strikes for reaching the mahag and returning home. This explains why the batter only runs to the mahag either after the last hit to which he is entitled, or, in exceptional cases, after he has struck what he thinks is a home run. Sometimes the batter is mistaken in his estimate, so that, after having reached the mahag, he has insufficient time to return to home base. Then, if the batter is not the captain of the team, the next member of the batting team (A), takes the bat. If the batter is the captain, who always bats last, there is no following man to bat. In that circumstance, the captain of the batting team (A) takes a three-step lead from the mahag, and tries to steal home while a man of the fielding team (B), tries to hit him. If the captain of the batting team (A) is not touched by the ball, the inning is continued for the batting team (A), and the batting order begins again. If, on the contrary, the captain of the batting team (A) is touched by the ball, and no successful retaliation is made, as described above, the side is out and the fielding team (B) goes to bat.

The men do not use mitts, but catch the ball in their bare hands.

When a fielded ball is thrown and hits one of the members of the batting team (A), and the advantage is not forfeited, as above, the

whole of the field team (B) gathers round the mahag, except the captain who goes to bat. The opposing team (A) then goes to the field and its captain pitches. Should the B captain who now has to hit the ball, miss it thrice, then the advantage accruing to the B team now gathered round the mahag is forfeited. In that case, the B team retires to the field while the A bats again. But should the B captain hit a fair ball, which is uncaught, his men, gathered round the mahag, try to run home. If they succeed without being hit by the ball which their opponents have picked up, the former fielding team (B) becomes the batting team. Should they not succeed in this, their advantage is forfeited and the teams resume their respective position.

If the pitcher, having the ball in his hand, or catching or picking it up in the neighborhood of the home base, sees one of the men of the batting team outside the home base and the mahag, he can throw the ball and, if he succeeds in touching the man off base and no successful retaliation is made, the inning is for the field team which now goes to bat.

When playing at ball, whether *Om el mahag* or *Ta kurt na rrod*, the Berbers take off their *barracans*.<sup>2</sup> Does this have a ritual significance or is it merely a concession to the freedom of movements necessary to the play? The last explanation seems obvious; but it is advisable to remark that the Berbers otherwise never remove their barracans. It may be interesting also to note that, in the formation of the teams, words are used that have no meaning for the Berbers of today. Probably they represent ancient vestigial words of which only the sound is remembered. To the possible ritual significance of the game I shall return later.

As I have already said, *Om el mahag*, according to the Berbers of Jadum, is a traditional game characteristic of Gebel Nefusa, as it is not now played in any other part of North Africa. I have indeed found no reference to it in any of the publications I have been able to consult which speak of Arab and Berber games and more especially of *Ta kurt na rrod*. Not even the Arabophone tribes of the Malechite religion who surround the Berberophone and Hybadite tribes of Jadum, with whom they have most of their customs in common, and who would seem to have the same ethnical origin, seem to know *Om el mahag*.

Thus *Om el mahag* substantially resembles American Baseball. In

<sup>2</sup> A *barracan* is a kind of white toga which constitutes the principal garment of the Libyan male population.

both are found two opposing teams, each led by a captain; a base, the touching of which makes the player safe; the catching of the ball in mid-air; the throwing of the ball, by the men of the fielding team, when picked up from the ground, or by the pitcher, at the opponents who are not at the base. Innings, forced runs, base stealing, and most of the other key situations in American baseball are also found. The objects with which the game is played are similar, the ball and bat. The tasks assigned the two teams are fundamentally the same. Baseball is, in some respects, much more elaborate, but this, as is known, is due to relatively recent regulations. The chief differences from the structural point of view are the presence, in Baseball, of the catcher, who is lacking in *Om el mahag*, and the use of three bases—besides the home plate—instead of one. More important are the functional differences which make Baseball much more complicated and difficult to play, more violent and more strictly regulated than *Om el mahag*. Essential among these differences are the importance which pitching the ball has in Baseball, the effort to make it difficult for the batter to hit the ball, the consequent importance of the pitcher, and the fact that his function is independent of that of the captain of the team, and also, on the other hand, the difficulty of the task assigned to the batter, increased by the round shape of the bat. The greater violence of the game entails the need of masks, mitts and protectors, and the presence of umpires.

It should however be noted that at one time there was no umpire and no masks, mitts or protectors. And in many other particulars the old game of Baseball, before the introduction of the rules a century ago, was much more like *Om el mahag*. The bat was flat as in that game, no special tricks were used in throwing the ball so as to make it more difficult for the batter to strike it. The batter could hit the ball twice without running to the base; he was only required to run after the third hit. On the other hand, *Om el mahag* is complicated by the principle of retaliation which is not generally found in sand-lot and early Baseball.

How are these similarities to be explained? Three suppositions seem possible. The game may have been borrowed by one people from another. This hypothesis is not, however, easily acceptable. It is difficult to see how an American or an Anglo-Saxon can have imported the game from the Berbers of the Gebel Nefusa. It is no less difficult to suppose that the Berbers of the Gebel Nefusa have in past centuries imported their game from America or Great Britain. The supposition of indepen-



dent origin and the convergence of the two games also seems difficult to accept, in view of the marked and detailed similarities between the two complex games. If the games were simple they could more easily have an independent origin.

The remaining supposition is that of a common origin. I do not mean of course a common origin between *Om el mahag* and the present game of Baseball, which, it is known, was organized about a hundred years ago in America. Rather, the common origin would be between *Om el mahag* and an ancestor of baseball.

"Town-ball" is looked on as the immediate predecessor of Baseball, and some of the characteristic features of that game resemble *Om el mahag* even more than Baseball. One of these characteristics is the undetermined number of the members of the teams, which sometimes rose to fifteen or more on each side. Another is the position of the batter, who is placed in the middle of one side of the square, instead of in a corner of the so-called diamond.

A still more distant ancestor of Baseball is, in the opinion of some authorities, the game of "Rounders," still played in England, but which is also held to be of comparatively recent origin, dating no further back than the eighteenth century, and not attaining any popularity before 1800.

In both Town-Ball and Rounders, the ball can be struck in all directions as in Cricket. So, from this point of view, *Om el mahag* resembles more closely the present game of Baseball than it does the games from which Baseball would be derived. Both in Town-Ball and Rounders the running bases are four, whereas in *Om el mahag* there is one running base only. But, on the other hand, it is well known that in the early days of Baseball the number was not always fixed, and although when it was not four, it was generally a higher number, we cannot exclude the possibility that in a previous period it may have been a lower one. Some consider that Town-Ball is a development of a group of games called "O' Cat," still played by American boys, of which there are four kinds; "One O' Cat," "Two O' Cat," "Three O' Cat," and "Four O' Cat," according to the number of bases. At each base there is a batter and a catcher. Besides these, in early "One O' Cat" there was also a pitcher, whereas in the others the catcher of one base also acts as pitcher to the others, and the men at each base form a team which plays on its own against the others. The closer analogies existing from many points of view between Town-Ball and Rounders than between Town-Ball and

O' Cat make it difficult however to accept the hypothesis which has perhaps arisen from the desire of Americans to trace back the origin of their national game to American rather than to English sources. The analogies found between Town-Ball, Rounders, and *Om el mahag*, make it seem still more likely that Town-Ball does not descend from O' Cat, but rather that O' Cat is a more simple form of Town-Ball which enabled boys to play the game.<sup>3</sup>

It seems to me very likely that Baseball is the result of the development (and perhaps partly of the reorganization) of a preexisting Anglo-Saxon or Celtic game. If we are to accept its common origin with *Om el mahag*, we should therefore have to admit a common ancestor for both games, which had spread over a very wide area covering Great Britain<sup>4</sup> and the Gebel Nefusa, and which then gradually became restricted to those two countries, or which, although at first spread over a smaller area, was afterwards imported in the Gebel Nefusa, in a form more or less closely resembling the present game, as it was also imported into America. To accept this hypothesis we should have to admit (and this is not difficult) that the game dates back to much earlier times than it is generally supposed.

As to the sub-hypothesis of importation, it will not be out of place to recall that there is a blond strain among the Berbers, more especially among the Berbers of the Gebel Nefusa. This blond strain probably descends from light-complexioned people who have gradually lost their characteristic pigmentation. Abundant documentary and other evidence bears witness to their existence and their increasing importance as we go backwards through the centuries up to some thousands of years before our era.<sup>5</sup> The study of the remaining relics of this strain was indeed the

<sup>3</sup> The information on Baseball, Town-Ball, O'Cat, and Rounders is taken from the articles "Baseball" and "Rounders" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and from A. G. Spalding, *America's National Game* (New York, 1911).

<sup>4</sup> In the English libraries there are drawings and illuminations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries representing "Club-ball," which is also mentioned in some edicts and documents of the time and is considered as the game from which Cricket originated. It is not possible to establish how the game was played and if it may be regarded also as an ancestor of Baseball; cf. "Cricket," in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; and J. Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the Peoples of England*, new ed. W. Hone (London, 1830), pp. 104-05.

<sup>5</sup> For the most ancient records of the Libyan population, see especially W. Hölscher, *Libyer und Agypter, Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Geschichte Libyscher Völkerschaften nach den Ägyptischen Quellen* (Hamburg, 1937). For the Greek-Roman period, information may be found in my paper "La pigmentazione degli abitanti dell' Egitto nell' età Greco-Romana," *Atti del Congresso Internazionale per gli studi sulla popolazione* (Roma, 1931).

purpose, as it has already been stated, of the expedition organized by the Italian Committee for the study of population problems. Many believed that the blond Libyans came from the North, or at least from Europe, and we might then inquire whether they brought with them this game, now known only to one of the strongholds of their race, where there are good reasons for believing that anthropological and ethnical miscegenation has been less important than elsewhere. In this case, we should have to admit that the game is a very ancient one, and that in recent times, through Rounders in England and subsequently Town-Ball and Baseball in America, it has been better organized and has acquired or, better, reacquired popularity.

In any case, the substantial analogies between Baseball and *Om el mahag* are undeniable. The reader can explain them, according to his inclination, by one or other of the suppositions above set forth.

Now some words on the other ball game: *Ta kurt na rrod*, or Berber Shinny. At Jadum the rules of the game are as follows: The playing field is an extensive level, 300 or 400 feet in length, rectangular in shape, the shorter sides of the rectangle forming the two gates or goals. Two teams, of equal strength, varying from ten to sixty players, compete. Each player is armed with a hooked stick twenty to thirty inches in length according to his stature.

The ball is the same as that used in *Om el mahag*.

At the beginning of the game, the ball is put in a hole at the center of the field and covered with sand. Two men, one from each team, play center, and, at a given signal, try with alternate strokes to extract the ball from the hole and send it towards the goal of the opponent team.\* The other men are scattered between the center and their own goal, each team striving to push the ball through the opponents' goal. If one team succeeds, the inning is gained, and the teams change sides.

The winning team has the privilege of the first stroke in the following inning. In the initial inning, lots decide which of the two teams strikes first. The ball cannot be pushed by hand or feet, but only handled with the stick. It is permitted, however, to pick up the ball from the ground, throw it in the air and, when in the air, to bat it with the stick towards

\* E. Doutté, who has studied the games of the Rehamna tribes of South Morocco, indicates that in *Kura* every team tries to pull the ball through its own goal instead of pushing it through the opponents' goal. (*Merrakech*, Comité du Maroc [Paris, 1905], pp. 318 ff.) But the difference is purely a matter of words; it depends upon whether the goal is named after the offending or defending team.

the opponents' goal; but this possibility is not easy to realize and becomes more difficult as the players become more numerous.

There is no captain; a goalman or back (sometimes two or three of them) has charge of defending the goal for each team. Dribbling is practiced by experienced players. It is not permitted to turn the back to the men of the opponent team, thus preventing them from reaching the ball.

The play is not without danger: the stick often hits the legs instead of the ball. Therefore adults play only adults, and boys play those of their own ages.<sup>7</sup> No leg protectors however are used. The positions of the teams at the starting of the game are represented by Figure 2.

As *Om el mahag* closely parallels the elaborate Baseball, so *Ta kurt na rrod* parallels the elaborate Hockey. There is however the difference that Baseball developed in America, while Hockey had its rules established in England about half a century ago;<sup>8</sup> though it attained its greatest achievements in recent times in Canada.<sup>9</sup> As *Om el mahag* has a more modest parallel in the American O' Cat, so *Ta kurt na rrod* has also a more modest parallel in the American Shinny. The main differences are that in Shinny the ball is put in a hole, but not covered with sand, and that leg protectors are sometimes used.

French authors trace in direct line the ascendance of the original Hockey and of North-African Kura,<sup>10</sup> as well as that of the Canadian Lacrosse and of the Anglo-Canadian Polo, to the ancient *Soule à la crosse* of Northern France. Imported in England during the One Hundred Years War (1338-1453) it would have developed into Hockey; imported in Canada by the colonists of Britain and Normandy, it would have developed into the national game of Lacrosse.<sup>11</sup>

This theory seems a little tainted with nationalism. As a matter of fact, it seems well established that the game called Lacrosse is of Indian origin, and Polo is said to be a Thibetan name (*pulu*-ball) and sure to have been played a long time ago in Persia whence it spread westward

<sup>7</sup> At Jadum, women do not take part in the game. In other Berber places, it is related that either a team of women plays against a team of men, or both teams are composed of women who play naked among themselves. M. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères* (Paris, 1920), pp. 242 ff.

<sup>8</sup> "Hockey," *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

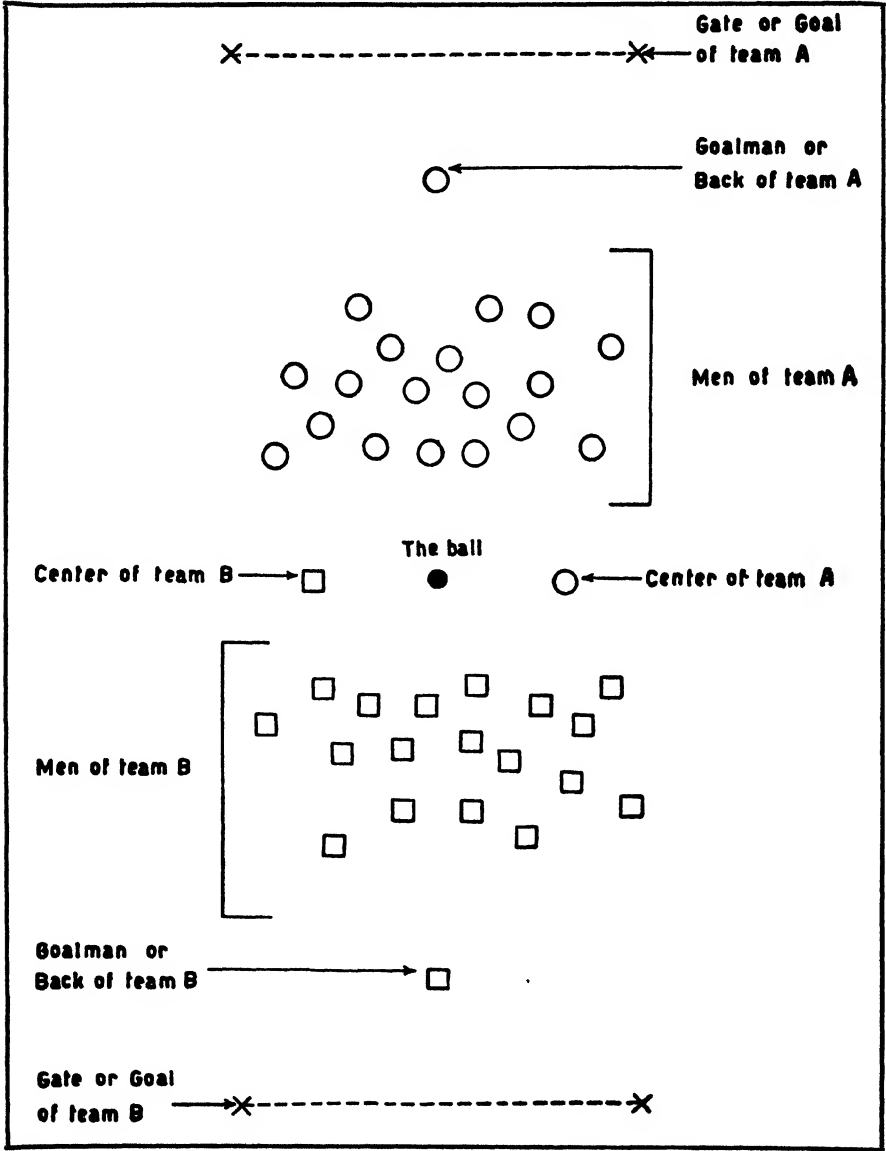
<sup>9</sup> "Hockey," *Enciclopedia Italiana*.

<sup>10</sup> *Laab el kura* (game of the ball), or simply *Kura* (ball), is the Arabian name for the Berber *Ta kurt na rrod*.

<sup>11</sup> S. Luce, *La France pendant la Guerre de Cent ans* (Paris, 1893), pp. 118-20; Doutté, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

and eastward from Constantinople to Japan.<sup>12</sup> For Hockey, the French origin is equally doubtful.<sup>13</sup> But a European origin is, in any case, certain for Hockey, as it is very probable for the ancestors of Baseball.

FIGURE 2  
POSITION OF THE TEAMS OF TA KURT NA RROD  
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GAME



<sup>12</sup> See the articles "Polo" and "Lacrosse" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.  
<sup>13</sup> "Hockey," *Encyclopedia Britannica*; "Hurling," in Strutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

So, between *Kura*, *Soule à la crosse*, Hockey, and Shinny a parallel exists, very analogous to the parallel between *Om el mahag*, Rounders, Baseball, and O' Cat. It is reasonable to give an analogous explanation to the two parallels.

The main difference between the two cases is that *Kura* is played all over North Africa, west of Egypt, while *Om el mahag* seems to be confined to Gebel Nefusa. A very plausible explanation of the difference is the greater complexity of *Om el mahag*. In a decadent population, as the Berbers have been for many centuries, the most elaborate intellectual achievements decay or disappear. Even at Jadum *Ta kurt na rrod* is preferred, for the sake of its simplicity and relatively few rules, to the rigid and complicated *Om el mahag*. The people I succeeded in collecting for the games had a distinct propensity to discontinue *Om el mahag* and play *Ta kurt na rrod*. The time is past when the adults used *Om el mahag* for training their muscles and developing their wind for sake of war; now the game is played mainly by boys. Probably, if no provision is taken, it will be extinct even at Jadum in the near future.

It is certain that the greater simplicity of the *Kura* makes the hypothesis of an independent origin less difficult to accept in this case, than in that of *Om el mahag*. But similar games with a ball and hooked sticks are known also for ancient Persia, ancient Greece, and ancient Rome. An independent origin in five places becomes obviously very difficult to admit. Diffusion may seem more plausible in this case: from Persia to Greece, from Greece to Rome, from Rome to France and North Africa. But an isolated explanation is not very satisfactory.

May I recall further in this connection, that also the Anglo-Saxon Association Foot-Ball, according to the same French authors, would descend from an ancient French game, the *Soule au pied* played in Britain and Normandy and also imported in England during the One Hundred Years War.<sup>14</sup>

Here also the pedigree is far from being established.

Italians claim that Football is nothing else than their *Giunoco del calcio* (the game of the kicks) played in several places of Italy in the late Middle Age and ascended to great honor in Florence during the Medicean period,<sup>15</sup> and they trace the origin of their *Calcio* to the

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Luce, *op. cit.*, p. 117; and Douffé, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. "Calcio," *Enciclopedia Italiana*. The substantial difference is that in the Italian Calcio, the use of both feet and hands was permitted for all players and not only for the porter; but, as it is well known, only in the first half of the past century, from the English Football the two present forms (Association and Rugby) differentiated, in the first of

Latins and hence to the Greeks.<sup>16</sup> Englishmen maintain that the sort of Football as engaged in by ancients had no relation to the organized game which is played in modern times,<sup>17</sup> but, in any case, they may cite an edict of 1349 in which a sort of Football was prohibited, with other popular games, in order to favor the progress of archery.<sup>18</sup> What is important for us is that games analogous to Football were spread over Europe from ancient times.

But *Football*, *Soule au pied*, and *Calcio* have also their North-African parallel in another manner of playing the *Kura*, observed, like the preceding one, by Douthé, in the Rehamna tribes.<sup>19</sup>

Then there are, not two, but three analogous parallels.

If I am not mistaken, these three analogous parallels demand analogous explanations. Then, if it seems difficult to explain with diffusion or independent origin the parallel between *Om el mahag*, Rounders, and Baseball or O' Cat, even more difficult it is to explain with three cases of independent origin or diffusion the three parallels between *Om el mahag*, Rounders, and Baseball or O' Cat, between *Ta kurt na rrod*, *Soule à la crosse*, and Hockey or Shinny and between the other variant of *Kura*, *Calcio*, or *Soule au pied* and Association Football.

On the contrary, the parallels, as well as the minor differentiations between the analogous games, may well be in agreement with the hypothesis of survivals or local developments from ancient games prevailing over much larger areas of the old world whence they have been later imported, in a more or less modified form, in the new one.

Like many other games, the Berber ball games have a paramount importance for Rural Sociology. They seem to play, or at least to have played, an important part in the magic rites for calling the rain. Certainly the American crowds which assist the exploits of the "White Sox" or the "Yankees," would not think of themselves as continuations of religious assemblies, and of Ty Cobb and Babe Ruth as rain makers (except for the rains of dollars). Nevertheless the original games seem connected with religion and rain making.

which the players (except the porter) handle the ball only with feet, while in the second they use also and principally hands. Cf. "Football Association" and "Football Rugby," *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Vocabolario della Crusca*, 1st ed. (Venice, 1612).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. "Football," *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Strutt, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 315.

The French scholars who have especially studied the Berber and Arab games, are very explicit in tracing this connection. Doutté says that the *Kura* is played in certain places of Morocco exclusively, or mainly, or with special and more rigid forms, by the *tolba* (students of the Koran); that it is played exclusively or mainly in the spring and sometimes as an essential part of spring festivities. He indicates that in France during the Middle Ages the ball games were played in the churches,<sup>20</sup> and sometimes by Bishops and Canons on the shores at special epochs and with special rites.<sup>21</sup> Thus he sees in the Berber and Arab *Kura* a survival of agrarian religious ceremonies made by a special caste.

Moreover, recalling the danger often connected with the field arguments about *Kura*, he associates it with the ceremonial battles—true or simulated—that, according to St. Augustine and Lion the African, were organized, at given seasons, in different places of North Africa. It would be from such ritual festivities that our carnival took its origin.

These rites would represent the conflict between the passing winter and the coming summer at the beginning of the spring, which was the seed season at one time in North Africa. The rites would have had originally the aim of insuring the crops, in the imminence of the sowing time.

Bertholon and Chantre,<sup>22</sup> endorsing Doutté unreservedly, connect the *Kura* furthermore with a ceremonial battle (described by Herodotus) engaged in by teams of Libyan girls in honor of Tanit (the Libyan Athena) to cause rain, as well as with other ancient and modern spring ceremonies in North Africa. Laoust<sup>23</sup> and Mercier<sup>24</sup> are equally affirmative in considering the *Kura* as a "rain rite."

Now do *Om el mahag* and *Ta kurt na rrod* played at Jadum also have a religious significance? All the local people are in agreement in denying them any religious character, as well as any aim in causing rain. They declare that their original purpose was to keep the muscles supple and to accustom men to the long races entailed in warlike pursuits.

<sup>20</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>21</sup> For this second point, see also Luce, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-19.

<sup>22</sup> L. Bertholon and E. Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie Orientale, Tripolitaine, Tunisie et Algérie* (Lyon, 1913), I, 635-37.

<sup>23</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes* (Paris, 1927), pp. 174-77.



The season of playing is not early spring, but summer, when field work is over. In the part of the day when it is still hot, so that many people do not assemble, *Om el mahag* is played; later in the day, when the number of potential players grows, the time comes for *Ta kurt na rrod*, to which greater importance is given in Jadum. The variance in epoch may however be explained easily by the change of the sowing season. The prevalent season for seeding in North Africa was once the spring; now is the autumn. To-day, also, the games are, as a result, played before the seeding season.

Moreover, if the local people deny that the games have the aim of causing rain, they admit, however, that there is a superstitious belief that if they are played in summer the year will be prosperous. Since a prosperous or unprosperous year depends essentially in the Gebel Nefusa on abundant rain, this superstition comes very near to the belief that the game causes rain. So that we may find here a confirmation of the view that the Berber ball games are the vestigials of ancient ritual ceremonies for rain. The use of ancient words, without significance for the Berbers of to-day, and the taking off of the *barracans*, which was discussed earlier, may be considered perhaps two further proofs in favor of this conclusion.

If I am not mistaken, the facts discussed in this article are also important for General Sociology as well as for Rural Sociology. When a similarity in artifacts, customs, or institutions is observed in different places, two alternative explanations are considered: *diffusion* and *autonomous evolution*. The discussion here shows that sometimes a third explanation may be more valid: an explanation in terms of *vestigials*. The similar artifacts, customs, or institutions observed in the different places may represent vestigials (sometimes successively developed along parallel or more or less divergent lines) of institutions, customs or artifacts, prevailing, in a previous time, over a large area.

Explanations by vestigials and diffusion are not mutually exclusive. Vestigials presuppose diffusion in a previous stage. On the contrary, diffusion is not necessarily followed by vestigials. But in any case, there are essential differences between diffusion and vestigials.

As a matter of fact, diffusion implies a common origin and a sequence of developments. Vestigials, on the contrary, imply a common origin and contemporary independent developments. Antonomous evolution,

lastly, implies independent or at least different origins, and contemporary, independent developments. Thus, the hypothesis of vestigials is nearer to the hypothesis of diffusion for what concerns origin and nearer to the hypothesis of antonomous evolution for what concerns development.

Other interesting points may be made on this subject. To exhaust the matter a special treatment would be necessary.

# The Impact of Mechanization of Agriculture on the Farm Population of the South†

*B. O. Williams\**

## ABSTRACT

An hypothesis is established to the effect that agriculture in the South will continue to increase, but the increase will be gradual and slow and will extend over a comparatively long period of time. The effects of this mechanization will be ultimately of a profound character and will result in reshaping the character of the farm population of the South as a whole.

A series of propositions is advanced as a means of analyzing the hypothesis. Essentially the propositions claim that the mechanization of agriculture in the South:

1. Will develop a technical pattern different from that of the factory system.
2. Has already gone forward further than is generally recognized.
3. Will result in a disruption of the family-farm institution.
4. Will be associated with large-scale farming, which has certain social and economic characteristics.
5. Will have certain specific effects on the farm population, such as density, sex, age, mobility, and race relations.
6. Would result in either (1) a lowering of material living standards; or (2) the migration of surplus laborers to other areas.

The foregoing hypothesis and the propositions as analyzed furnish the basis for a summary and conclusion, to the effect that, if the hypothesis is granted as being valid, the South is faced with some serious problems, which should be carefully studied and appraised as mechanization proceeds in its development.

Quite often in the past it has happened that social and economic action has been applied without much regard to the future consequences. Like playhouses made by children, the social and economic structures have been thrown up to achieve the greatest immediate satisfaction. Little effort has been directed toward projecting the whole scheme into the future and appraising the probable outcome. This was natural and plausible in the days when men knew little of facts and acted largely upon intuition and impulse. That was in the past. But science and the tools of research have added to the accumulation of facts and have furnished methods of procedure based upon analytical and fact-finding techniques. This has produced a new era. It is the era of social and

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economic stocktaking. Today social and economic adjustments are being worked out according to informed and appraised procedures. There are many dislocations; there are many conflicting situations; there are cross currents and turbulent distractions; but amidst it all there is a hopefulness that these new tools are working out an order in which measures of efficiency are being applied to social relationships and their concomitant problems.

Being mindful of the onslaught of technology in industry and of the tremendous dislocations and maladjustments which it has precipitated, let us apply the tools of the analytical techniques of modern research methodology to the probable effects of the mechanization of agriculture on the farm population of the South. These effects may be considered, not only as they work themselves out in the composition and characteristics of the population, but also as they may affect the whole demographic pattern of the farm population. As a means of setting up the analysis, a fundamental hypothesis will be formulated, then a series of propositions bearing upon the hypothesis will be presented, and finally an interpretation will be made of the whole procedure and certain tentative conclusions established. This procedure only claims to be based upon a rather careful examination of the literature in the field, and upon a critical application of the ideas so gained to the analysis.

#### THE FUNDAMENTAL HYPOTHESIS

*The mechanization of agriculture in the South will continue to increase, but the increase will be gradual and slow and will extend over a comparatively long period of time. The effects of this mechanization will be ultimately of a profound character and will result in reshaping the character of the farm population of the South as a whole.*

The assumption is implicit here that, even if a major invention, such as the cotton picker or the sugar-cane harvester, should be introduced its adoption would spread slowly, and some of the shock that comes with change would be absorbed in the time-period. It has been estimated that it takes a major invention about thirty years to permeate the culture base of an area.<sup>1</sup> Since the transition to mechanization in the agriculture of the South will be gradual, the effects will also be gradual, but nonetheless deep-seated, in the social and economic life of the region. There are numerous forces operating in connection with the

<sup>1</sup> National Resources Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy*, 75th Congress, House Document 360, June, 1937, p. ix.

mechanization of Southern agriculture. These will be stated in a few propositions, with appropriate comments.

*Proposition I: The mechanization of Southern agriculture will develop a technical pattern quite different from that which characterizes the factory system of urban industry.*

There are several reasons why the social, economic, and technical patterns that will emerge with mechanization of agriculture in the South will be different from those characterizing these patterns in urban industry. Some of these are as follows:

1. Piecework and piecework rates cannot so conveniently be applied to agriculture as to other industries. The separate items and tasks in agriculture are difficult to appraise qualitatively. The weather and other factors are so tied up with labor that it is difficult to separate them.

2. It is difficult even to apply standardized principles of farm management to the individual farm. The decisions have to be based on the operation of nature's forces and influences and must be changed in response to nature's pranks and operations.

3. It is also next to impossible to appraise and evaluate the details of operation in economic terms and thus to maintain bookkeeping accounts. Agriculture is so mixed with the household and living conditions that they can not in fact be separated. This is further complicated by the fact that the farmer uses many of his own products in maintaining the business. These products are used up to produce other products and joint costs are difficult to evaluate and allot to the separate stages and features—as, for instance, feed, straw, cotton-seed, manure, humus, and all organic matter. The farm is operated as a unit and the equipment, buildings, soil, labor, etc., are combined to serve the entire unit. There is an organic wholeness involved and this extends over a period of time, part of the contribution to any one year's crop carrying over in the soil for use by the next year's crop and even to successive years.

4. Because of the fact that land is ultimately limited in quantity, the law of diminishing returns to labor works inexorably, whereas in industry the addition of more and more labor is not necessarily followed by a decrease in the marginal productivity of labor. This would be true only if the other factors had the absolute scarcity characteristic of land, and this does not seem to be the case necessarily.

5. The very nature of agriculture, being spread out over the earth's surface, precludes to some extent the operation of the principles that

apply to large-scale production. Furthermore, the special interest in and the special care to be taken of the plants and animals requires the personal interest and attention of the cultivator, which cannot be assumed in large-scale production. The substitution of the machine in the place of labor is one of the main characteristics of large-scale industrial production. Size of operations is increased to achieve this objective. However, in agriculture machines cannot be substituted for nature's contribution to the business, and labor is more sensitive to and flexible in making adjustments and adaptations to the natural processes than is the machine.

6. The application and maintenance of secret processes in agriculture is not so pertinent as it is in industry. Likewise, monopolistic processes do not seem to be so well suited to agriculture.

7. Large-scale farming rests primarily on increasing the returns in rent and profits, whereas small-scale farming is regarded more as a mode of life and often the operator and his family are content with little more than subsistence in the form of the necessities of food and shelter furnished by the farm. This is especially true in times of low prices, when the large-scale producer loses out, while the small-scale operator holds on by virtue of the contributions to the family living made directly by the farm. Particularly when nonfarm prices are high, the farm family may increase its real income by consuming the farm products, whereas the bigger farm enterprises are unable to convert farm produce into cash at favorable exchange prices.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the above reasons that mechanized farming will produce patterns different from those of urban industry, there are some special characteristics quite unlike those of cities and urban industry which will continue to be carried by farmers. Some of these are: (1) Farmers will continue to live in relatively isolated homesteads or communities. Agriculture, even though mechanized, demands relatively wide open spaces and the extensive use of land. (2) Farmers will continue to work with nature, with growing, living things, and this will produce a different personality from that produced in urban industry, in which nature is minimized and artificialities maximized. (3) The stern forces of nature will tend to keep the farmer, even though a wage earner, of a

<sup>2</sup> See some references bearing on the foregoing points in: P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, 1930), pp. 449-66.

conservative and relatively independent frame of mind. (4) Because of the relative inability of farm people to mix and mingle with one another in large numbers, the organization of farm labor will not assume the extent nor the importance of organized industrial labor. There will not be the opportunity in agriculture to develop *esprit de corps* nor to achieve the same degree of integration of ideas and sentiments that is possible among urban industrial labor. Even if agriculture should become so thoroughly commercialized and mechanized that workers lived in barracks or in village communities, there would remain a high degree of community-centeredness in loyalties and attachments, rather than the work-centered or trade-union-centered loyalties characteristic of urban workers. (5) Agriculturists, whether wage earners or renters, will continue to assume a certain element of risk-bearing in the farming enterprise. The dependence on seasons, hazards of climatic forces, winds, rains, droughts, floods, frosts, the erratic influence of insects and pests—all these forces exert a sort of in-the-business attitude on the part of all engaged in the farm business. Struggling against these forces, the man who tills the soil, whether with machines or hand labor, stakes a risk in the yields resulting from his labor. These risks are quite unlike the risks of market price and supply and demand forces found in the realm of urban labor. These farm risks are primary and stem from the rigorous forces of nature; they are rooted more in the risks that spring from pure chance and are for the most part uncontrollable.

*Proposition II: Mechanization of agriculture in the South has already gone forward much further than is generally recognized.*

Up to the present time, with the exception of certain areas in the southwestern part of the Cotton Belt, mechanization has taken the form of additions of small machines adapted to the one- and two-horse farm. Such tools, plows, cultivators, etc., that economize on labor have been added little by little in such an unpretentious manner as to be almost unnoticeable, and have gradually supplanted a considerable amount of man labor on cotton farms, as well as other types of farms. This has resulted in increased efficiency of production, the net effect of which has been the conservation of labor. The changes thus made were not noticeable because of the increased industrialization in cities, which absorbed the surplus of labor. With industrial curtailment in cities during the depression and the consequential unemployment, the farm population became dammed up with this surplus of labor. The motor has dis-

placed large numbers of horses, which in turn displaced man-power necessary to produce the feed for these horses.<sup>3</sup>

I think it may be assumed that the rate of mechanization is now increasing, and will continue to increase at an accelerating rate in the future. Inventions will beget other inventions until we may in the near future witness the second Industrial Revolution, which will take place in the open fields of agriculture rather than within the borders of cities.

Many observers compare the process of agricultural industrialization to the industrial revolution and believe that it will result in the displacement of the domestic system in farming by large capitalistic operating units. Such changes would inevitably involve a profound transformation in the characteristics and status of the agricultural personnel and an equally significant modification of rural social structure.<sup>4</sup>

The prevailing system up to the present, with its customs, habits, and traditions, has defied change. Inertia and resistance have held back imminent transition. Once these are broken down, the rate of change will speed up.

*Proposition III: The mechanization of agriculture in the South will result in a disruption of the family-farm institution.*

Assuming that mechanization will increase, it may be assumed also that a shifting in the responsibility of the family as an economic unit will take place. It is probable that the owner-manager type of organization will come to prevail, changing the system of social organization from the family-farm type to the manager-labor type. The labor thus will function, not as a family unit, but as independent units, operating according to the increase or decrease in the demand for labor. The farm will not revolve about the family as a unit, but around the operating unit as a whole.

Thus it is possible that forces and influences that have hitherto developed individuality and independence among the family-farm units will in the future result in the stimulation of dependence and impersonal relationships. The society of the South will thus lose a potent force that has furnished a stable and conservative influence in the past. The strong familism of the South has been one of its most definite integrating influences. But, if mechanization should come to agriculture as it has to

<sup>3</sup> See E. G. McGibben and R. A. Griffin, *Changes in Power and Equipment—Tractors, Trucks, and Automobiles*, National Research Project, WPA Report A-9 (Philadelphia, December, 1938), pp. 62-71.

<sup>4</sup> L. C. Gray, "Agricultural Machinery," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1937), I, 553.



industry, and the corporate form of organization should prevail, this positive force of familism might be lost. The increased efficiency in production might not compensate for this loss.

The breaking down of the close relationship between the worker and the individual employer, and consequently of the close personal ties, would likewise be a great loss to the integration of rural life in the South.

Undoubtedly the fairly complete mechanization of agriculture in the South would result in a change from the annual basis of renting and sharecropping to the monthly or daily wage basis. The wage system would be substituted for the tenancy system. This would be only a part of the disruption of the family-farm institution.

There would also come an increased specialization by type of operations and specialties in production. The self-sufficient type of farming would be reduced with the resultant increase of crop specialties.

*Proposition IV: The mechanization of agriculture will naturally be associated with large-scale farming, which may be considered to have certain economic and social characteristics.*

Some of the more or less obvious advantages of large-scale farming are as follows: (1) Buying and selling may be carried on in larger quantities. (2) Superior managerial ability may be employed. (3) The more efficient use of labor and equipment, especially the largest types of machines, would produce certain economies in production. (4) Overhead expenses, on a per unit cost basis, might be considerably reduced.<sup>5</sup>

As contrasted with the economic advantages just listed, there are certain other effects of increased mechanization that should be examined. These pertain to the psychological and sociological side of farm life. Some of these are: (1) Through the institution of a new basis of selection in the farm population, there is the possibility of its being remade to some extent. Unquestionably the mechanically inclined would be selected for the farming occupation to a greater extent than previously. Those who like to work with machines would be inclined to stay on the farm and those who do not would be inclined to leave. (2) Mechanized agriculture will demand more positive interest in the business. Costly machinery will demand more capital, which investment may make it more difficult for farmers to leave agriculture and enter other pursuits. (3) The relative social rating of farm and nonfarm people may be changed. There will undoubtedly be a larger infiltration of urban ideologies and

<sup>5</sup> Roy H. Holmes, *Rural Sociology* (New York, 1932), pp. 110-11.

folkways into agriculture. The day may, in fact, come when the term "gentleman farmer" will reappear. (4) It is probable that the number of chores to be done about the farmstead will be reduced. This may result in more leisure time, which might result in a shortening of hours in agriculture. This might make possible the operation of multiple shifts of labor on the mechanized farm.\*

*Proposition V: The mechanization of agriculture in the South will have certain specific effects on the farm population. Some of these may be mentioned as follows:*

*On density:* There is a possibility of a change from open-country homesteads to the village-centered type of community, with a consequential concentration of population in these villages. This would affect markedly the types of service available to farm people. It should be kept in mind that the electrification of farming areas might serve as a hindrance to the concentration in villages, owing to the fact that certain modern services would be available to the people in their scattered domiciles.

*On sex:* The composition of the farm population might be changed by mechanization so as to affect the sex distribution. Intensive mechanization would open up more specialized jobs suitable to females, especially in the semi-processing phases of commercial agriculture, such as packing, grading, standardizing, etc. As it now stands, more females leave the farms of the South than males, but with jobs suitable to females in agriculture the balance between the sexes might be restored.

*On age:* Mechanization would unquestionably affect the age composition of the Southern farm population. Whereas at present the farm population contains a higher proportion of the young and the aged, under mechanized farming there would be a greater demand for the middle-age groups, say from twenty to fifty, and this balance would be restored.

*On mobility:* It is probable that the mechanization of agriculture would speed up the interchange between farming and nonfarming occupations, thus increasing the rate of interoccupational mobility. To the extent that industrial patterns came to be applied to farming there would be less difference between agricultural and nonagricultural occupations. The skills and techniques would have more in common, as there would not be so much difference between working with a tractor and many of the mechanical pursuits of industry. There would also result more sea-

\* *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

sonal and part-time jobs in agriculture which would require a greater fluidity of the farm population. This freer exchange between agriculture and nonagricultural pursuits would result in a revamping of the individual and social attitudes of the farming people, mostly by the spread of urban attitudes among the farm people.

*On race relations:* In the South the Negro has not been admitted freely to diverse occupational pursuits. The mechanization of agriculture would intensify the competition for mechanical and other jobs that heretofore have not been so accessible to the Negro as to the white man. If mechanization should increase the differentiation in skills and techniques, which seems plausible, the more skillful would be competing for the more technical positions, and a whole set of new competitive features would be ushered in. This competitive régime would be extended down the scale from the more skillful to the less skillful positions. The handling of the tractor might become, for instance, the key job in farming, the competition for which would be keen. Greater wage differentials would consequently result from the increased specialization. Such changes would increase the general competitive forces and tensions between the races.

*Proposition VI: The mechanization of Southern agriculture would result in either (1) a lowering of material living standards of large numbers of the farm population; or (2) the migration of large numbers of surplus and displaced laborers to other areas.*

As to the first phase of this proposition, it seems obvious that, if mechanization does come on a broad scale, large numbers of farm workers in the South would be displaced. The cheap price of farm labor in the South has retarded mechanization in the past. It is not economical to substitute machines for labor until labor becomes dear, and this fact will without doubt be an active factor in retarding rapid mechanization of farms in the South for some time to come. The high rate of natural increase of the Southern farm population continues to furnish a large supply of labor for the farms of the region. If mechanization should result in displacing this labor, the workers would either be without financial assistance, or else would have to turn to the state and federal governments for relief. This would be equivalent to the maintenance of low material living standards in the area.

As to the second phase of the above proposition, there seems to be little chance that large numbers of Southern laborers can look to other areas for jobs. In most of the sections into which the surplus of South-

ern labor has gone in the past, there is local unemployment which means that there is little demand for labor from outside these localities.

In the earlier stages of this country's growth it seems that the invention of machines did not to any appreciable extent result in the displacement of labor. But at the present time, with the maturation of the nation's growth, with the fairly high degree of exploitation of natural resources, it seems to the writer that a saturation point has been reached. With the further application of machines, especially to agriculture, there will inevitably result a certain amount of permanent displacement of farm labor. As long as the population was increasing rapidly, as long as free lands were available in the West, and as long as labor remained unorganized, mechanization seemed to absorb, rather than to displace labor. What often happened under these circumstances was that the price of wages was driven downward by the invention of machines. Now, with labor organized, with the national population reaching a stationary level, with the "making of machines to make machines," and with curtailment of production as an assumed policy in agriculture and industry, it seems that further mechanization will result, without question, in the net displacement of agricultural labor. The problem of what to do with its surplus of labor is one of the great challenges that the South will have to face with the further development of mechanical appliances in agriculture.

#### INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing analysis it has been assumed by hypothesis that the mechanization of agriculture in the South will continue to increase but that the increase will be slow and gradual and will extend over a comparatively long period of time. A set of propositions was introduced with comments on each. The attempt has been to show that the South is faced by the probable expansion of mechanization in its agriculture, that the effects would cut across the whole fabric of Southern culture and would result in numerous changes in the characteristics of the farm population.

It was pointed out that there is much resistance and inertia to be overcome in any process of social change, whether induced by mechanical appliances or by the forces of growth and expansion along any front. The South has held rather firmly to the policy of remaining agricultural, except in certain areas where cotton mills have developed to a marked extent. The probable extension of mechanical and technological processes to agriculture in the South will have many and varied ramifications.

tions, and it is worth while to the civilization of the South and to the people who live in the region to take stock of the most probable effects of mechanization on the farm population and on the culture of the area. Any analysis of probable effects as they may occur at some future date must of necessity be cast in a theoretical frame of reference. The venture is a speculative one, but there are certain analogies in the field of urban industry that may be useful in projecting possible trends in agriculture. These have been applied in the present paper, but the essential chain of arguments has been based upon deductive reasoning in terms of the problematical approach.

It may be said that one's guess is as good as another's. This would be true, assuming that the guesses were rooted in substantially similar studies and were based on comparable knowledge of the subject matter involved and of a similar insight into the general knowledge of the area. The scientific study of sociology is relatively new, but when applied to the analysis of a concrete problem, the objective treatment of the facts should shed some light upon the projected screen, which is the uncertain future lying just ahead.

With the prevailing rates of natural increase of the farm population of the South, it would appear that, barring migration out of or into the area, the farm population would increase by about 100 per cent in thirty or forty years. At the same time, the outlook for the nation as a whole at that time would indicate a practically stationary population. If mechanization should result in the net displacement of labor, as it has been claimed in this paper, then the South will be confronted by the problem of caring for this labor surplus. The states of the South are not financially able to assume this burden, and the federal government will obviously have to share heavily in the expense involved. There does not seem to be any clear prospect of areas outside the South absorbing this surplus because of prevailing unemployment in those areas. An international crisis might change the nature of the problem, or a wave of prosperity within the nation might furnish a demand for the surplus labor. Without some such intervention of unforeseen developments, the prospective picture may be assumed to be somewhat as stated above.

Even if it is admitted that the mechanization of Southern agriculture would not result in the net displacement of labor, and that the expansion would merely result in shifting the demand for labor, or that in the long run the labor would be reabsorbed in other lines, there would still be the great problem of caring for temporarily displaced labor growing out of mechanization. For an individual laborer there is little consola-

tion in the thought that, even though he be displaced, some job somewhere else will absorb some other laborer in his place. The maladjustments resulting from shifting fall definitely upon the shoulders of some individuals or groups of individuals. From the long-time standpoint, and from the view of society as a whole, this might work out all right theoretically. But the prospect of the imminent wave of unemployment that will result from the mechanization of Southern agriculture is sufficiently menacing to cause the leaders of the South and the nation to consider the implications and develop whatever social devices can be worked out to neutralize and ameliorate the effects of the extension of mechanical devices to agriculture.

The agriculture of the entire nation must be kept on a productive basis in the interest of primary security and of national defense. But at the same time social efficiency must keep apace with mechanical and technical efficiency. The South needs social inventors as well as mechanical inventors. But the social inventors must be aware of the concrete realities and practical aspects of society, as they must also understand the tenets and doctrines of a conservative and safe political structure. It is better that the citizens realize that sudden and dramatic change is fraught with danger, and that a sound and enduring civilization is based upon continuous adaptation to a continuously changing world. The society which refuses to work out adjustments to a changing order will become the victim of its own inertia. The society that chases after cure-alls and get-rich-quick schemes is likewise doomed. The South faces some real problems; this is obvious. But it also has resources, human and physical, that furnish great opportunities for its people. Perhaps a little more industry mixed in with the mechanization of agriculture would aid the South in working out some of its most complicated problems.

#### DISCUSSION<sup>7</sup>

Sociologists in convention assembled may be indeed, as one writer has recently pointed out, the windiest of American scholars, but no one in justice can accuse them of being overly optimistic. I do not mean to suggest even by the slightest implication that the first of these characteristics, windiness, applies to Mr. Williams' objectived, balance, and clearly reasoned discussion of the impact of mechanization of agriculture on the farm population of the South. I think that you will agree that little criticism can be leveled at his paper in point of clarity and candidness of statement, nor, for that matter, in point of the soundness of his conclusions.

<sup>7</sup> The two following discussions were given at the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta, March, 1939.

I think you will agree also that Mr. Williams is notably free of any tendency toward over-optimism. He thinks the imminent prospects gloomy and menacing; that the burden inescapably will fall upon the shoulders of individuals or groups of individuals. Indeed, in the grimness of his despair, the possibility of an "international crisis," by which I assume he means another world war, looms almost hopefully as a way out of the dilemma—a dilemma which has been described by one writer as our "being in a position where we cannot continue farm mechanization without great social cost nor can we stop it without great social cost."

Nor is Mr. Williams alone in his dark foreboding. Another writer discussing the same subject finds his only consolation in the fact that our "descent into social disintegration" is, he thanks God! in the nature of a downward spiral rather than a sheer downward plunge.

Regardless of how slim may be our consolation in the comparative slowness of our descent, the fact remains, as Mr. Williams has clearly demonstrated, that there is every basis for the gravest apprehension, and that deep pessimism in the main is warranted. However, there are three considerations that for me, at any rate, tend to lighten the prevailing mood and to offer perhaps some glimmer of hope, however faint.

In view of time limitations, two of these considerations only can be put forward as questions.

The first consideration is this: Does not the displacement of Southern farm labor hinge in the long run upon our ability to consume farm products? and does anyone know with any certitude just how much farm products, both food and clothing, we might consume if we had a more equitable distribution of income which would raise appreciably the level of living of the present low income groups? Given such increased consumption, what farm population could the South support, even with extensive mechanization?

Second, according to the National Survey of Potential Products Capacity, our national consumption of fruits, vegetables, and meats has been far too low. Is it unreasonable to forecast that our southern farm economy in the future may be turned in the direction of producing these deficiencies, thus absorbing many who would otherwise be displaced from the land through increased mechanization? Of course, it is purely speculative to assume that such changes as these questions reflect will occur. On the other hand, it is also purely speculative to assume that they will not occur and that present trends will continue without modification.

The third consideration revolves upon the question of how far the mechanization of agriculture will disrupt the family-farm institution. It is unquestionably true, as Mr. Williams has pointed out, that at the present time the trend resulting from farm mechanization is toward the manager-labor type of farm, characterized by wage-hire, and accompanied by specialization. The questions arise: How long will this trend endure? Is it an inevitable result of farm mechanization? Can we not forestall much displacement of our farm population through the extension of the small family-owned farm, operated in part on the basis of production for family consumption?

Certain considerations may lead us to believe that the family-farm institution is more deeply rooted in our capitalistic economy than we may have thought. The farmer, through mechanization and specialization, increases his dependence upon outside factors over which he has little control, such as domestic and foreign markets, general economic conditions, and labor costs which may possibly increase as a result of the future organization of the farm wage-worker. The care of the aged, the dependent, and the unemployed, managed under the family-farm system without great additional cost to the individual farmer, will constitute an increasing financial and tax burden to the farmer as a rural industrialist. In short, although mechanization may increase the individual farmer's income temporarily, in the long run he may stand to lose more than he gains, not only in tangible economic values but also in the intangible human values of contentment, independence, and security.

Admitting that many fundamental differences exist, can we say nonetheless that the experiences of European countries are without significance for us? In some of those countries, industrialized as early or earlier than ourselves, and in some instances now more completely industrialized than we are, the emphasis is falling increasingly upon the small family-owned and family-operated type of farm. The development of the small family-owned farm in Denmark is a familiar story. And now Hitler, through the creation of the Bauern or peasant-proprietor class, has fastened the family-farm system through rigid law upon rural Germany. The peasant-proprietor cannot sell his land, nor subdivide it; he must will it outright and intact to his successor. And this successor is compelled by law to support the dependent members of the family, including those sons which did not inherit the land. Nor can the dissatisfied migrate elsewhere without the written authority of the national government.

I do not advocate that we follow this strong-arm manner in dealing with our own problem, but I do suggest that the farmer in this country may in time come to realize the human and the economic values of the family-farm institution and that he may mold mechanization to its pattern, through communal and co-operative usage of machinery, rather than be molded by machinery to the prevailing patterns of urban industry.

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H. P. CROWE

#### DISCUSSION

I shall comment briefly on four aspects of Mr. Williams' paper:

1. *The appropriateness of the inquiry:* There may be some doubt as to whether we have reached the age of rationalism implied in the sentence, "Today social and economic adjustments are being worked out according to informed and appraised procedures." There is, however, agreement that "informed and appraised procedures" should be developed and supplied to society by social scientists. Mr. Williams' introduction is reminiscent of Mr. Giddings' insistence on the need for asking "What next?" "What else will happen or is likely to happen?"—which questions are just as appropriate in advance of changes we see evolving without direct, purposive initiation as well as in advance of those



contemplated by legislation. Certainly, the subject of the paper is of tremendous importance for the South and should engage the efforts of our best scientists to work out the "informed and appraised procedures" and the efforts of our social action people to implement them.

2. *The method of investigation:* Mr. Williams describes this adequately near the end of his paper where he says that the analysis of probable, future effects must be cast in a theoretical frame of reference, that the venture is speculative, and that the essential chain of arguments has been based upon deductive reasoning in terms of the problematic approach. This frankly admitted arm-chair method is most valuably employed by students with Mr. Williams' knowledge and long extended experience with the concrete aspects of the field. Theoretical deduction, overshadowed at present perhaps by the process of acquiring knowledge empirically from observation and analysis of factual data, retains its usefulness in the hands of a practical research man acquainted with all the facts assembled, particularly in dealing with an analysis of the future. Logic has just as valid a claim to divulging future secrets from the past and present as has statistics, which attempts this by projecting trends on the assumption of laws of growth or change. In fact, recent failures of extrapolators have made most of them quite ready to surrender the field of phrophecy. Mr. Williams is to be commended for his courageous venture into such dangerous territory.

3. *The content:* There may be various points where one could pose opposite views, but on the whole the propositions seem to follow validly from the hypothesis and are so lucidly stated as to need no comments. The only point I call attention to is the omission of a consideration of the effects on the birth rate as one of the specific characteristics of the farm population. Most of the effects listed have been in the past associated with a fall in the birth rate and it would be interesting to know what Mr. Williams foresees here. It seems especially important since a decline in the absolute rate and a decrease in the rural-urban differential would in a following generation have a bearing on the excess labor supply. This appears to be one possible self-resolving element of the problem presented, given a long enough period of time.

4. *Implications of the conclusions:* If the hypothesis, the propositions, and the interpretations are granted, the crying fact exposed is the need for and lack of social invention adequate to ameliorate the prospective situation. The only constructive suggestion put forth by Mr. Williams is the possible advisability of an admixture of industry—unless the mention of government relief as an alternative to a more desirable solution be so deemed. The next step after boldly deducing the consequences of mechanization must be equally bold proposals as to what social and economic adjustments would alleviate them, and how they may best be brought about. And this brings us to the always waiting end result of many research studies on population, agriculture, industry, or consumption in our times—unemployment and its so far successful defiance of solution within our present economic system.

# The Social Contacts of a Bulgarian Village

*Irwin T. Sanders\**

## ABSTRACT

Various explanations have been offered for the conservatism of the Bulgarian villagers who live in close proximity to and under the apparent influence of Sofia, the country's chief city. A study of the contacts which these villagers have with the "outside world" shows that even when they visit Sofia they still move in a peasant world and fail to break through the psychological barrier separating them from the urban dweller.

The "outside world" in visiting the village usually comes in holiday mood, either as returned relatives for a week end, as hikers climbing the mountain in extreme sport styles, or as summer guests enjoying the fine climate. Such visitors take little pains to interpret city ways to the solemn peasant. A few salesmen, officials, artisans, and entertainers make their appearance during the year but leave little impact upon the social structure of the village.

It seems an anomaly that the peasants who live in the Sofia region are among the most conservative in Bulgaria. One often hears the statement from Bulgarian and foreigner alike: "Surely the fact that a peasant lives near Sofia, a city of almost 300,000 inhabitants, should have some pronounced effect upon his attitudes and lower his resistance to social change." But there is universal agreement that these peasants are backward, though there is divergence of opinion as to the reason why. An early writer<sup>1</sup> advanced the theory that the *Shopi*<sup>2</sup> stock had been weakened because of the frequent "calls to arms" answered by the peasants. Living as they do on the edge of the important Sofia plain these peasants have been drafted for military service much more frequently than their fellows in the distant mountain recesses. In the little village of Dragalevtsy, four and a half miles from the outskirts of Sofia, more than forty fruit trees grow near the War Memorial, a tree for each son fallen on the field of battle since 1885, the date of the Bulgarian-Serbian War.

Another explanation for the *Shopi* conservatism is the fact that close proximity to the city makes it easy for the most intelligent and the most

\* Associate Professor of Sociology, Alabama College; formerly Dean, The American College, Sofia, Bulgaria.

<sup>1</sup> Irechek, Konstantin, who traveled extensively in Bulgaria in the latter part of last century.

<sup>2</sup> *Shopi*—the term used of the peasants in the Sofia region. Formerly it was derogatory in content.

ambitious villagers to break with the village and establish themselves in Sofia. One of Dragalevtsy's most brilliant young men now resides in Sofia and visits the village only occasionally. But during his early days in the village he was a dynamic spirit: serving as President of the School Board at the time of negotiations for and erection of the handsome new school building; as Chairman of the Committee on the Erection of a War Memorial, carrying the project through to successful conclusion where four previous committees had failed and the funds collected mysteriously disappeared; as President of the Reading Room Association, a "cultural" organization which has become an uplifting force in villages throughout the land. But now that he has gone, no native has arisen to lead as he led.

The *Agronom* for that district explains the conservatism in part by the poverty of the soil. Unproductive soil forms a poor basis for an enlightened, up-to-date type of farmer. Coupled with poor soil is the dividing up of the farm among all the children upon the death of the family head, with the result that farms become smaller, strips of land more numerous and scattered, and the occupation of farming a less remunerative enterprise.

Other theories take into account the descent of the *Shopi* from stock differing from that of Bulgarians in other parts of the country and their lack of educational facilities under Turkish rule (14th to 19th centuries). Then, too, we should remember that Sofia was nothing but a small provincial town—not much more than an overgrown village at the time of Bulgaria's liberation in 1878.

Part of my purpose in selecting one village for investigation was to determine as far as I could what contacts these villagers had with the outside world. I knew that I would probably arrive at no single all-embracing explanation of *Shopi* conservatism but I did feel that I could suggest to those interested in overcoming this conservatism the proper modes of attack.

The analysis of Dragalevtsy's<sup>3</sup> social contacts falls naturally into two divisions: (A) the peasants' contacts outside the village, and (B) the peasants' contacts with the "outside world"<sup>4</sup> within the village.

<sup>3</sup> Population; Dec. 31, 1934: 1,669 inhabitants.

<sup>4</sup> The peasants often speak of Sofia as "the outside world" and people from Sofia as "the people from the outside world," thus showing that a pronounced psychological barrier exists.

## THE PEASANT VISITS THE "OUTSIDE WORLD"

1. *To sell and buy; to work.* Thirty-eight milkmen go from Dragalevtsy to Sofia every morning. Eight walk beside a donkey; thirty ride in the high two-wheeled horse-drawn carts. The majority of milkmen cover a milk route, knocking at the doors of the regular customers and waiting patiently for the maid to bring a container into which to pour a quart or so of milk from the large cans they carry. The rest, perhaps less energetic and content with a lower price, leave their milk at a milk-station just inside the city limits. They are paid weekly and do not have the bother of making collections from housewives; furthermore, they do not have to rustle out of bed so early in the morning. Some of the milkmen buy newspapers to read on the return trip, some like to go farther into the city for a glass of wine or brandy, but most hurry back home to aid in the work on the farm, especially if a busy season is on.

Besides the milkmen there are sixteen workmen and ten students who make the daily trip and serve as a bond between the village and the outside world. These two groups are usually less opinionated and better trained than the other villagers to whom they attempt to interpret the puzzling aspects of western culture manifested in Sofia.

The following table, based on the trips of the family heads, reveals the frequency of trips to Sofia:

TABLE 1  
FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO SOFIA, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY  
HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934 CENSUS\*

Frequency	Number		Per Cent	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Daily	37	1	13 9	0 4
Weekly				
4 times	7	1	2 6	0 4
3 times	9	2	3 4	0 7
2 times	17	4	6 4	1 5
1 time	113	99	42 5	37 5
Monthly				
3 times	8	9	3 0	3 4
2 times	14	26	5 3	9 9
1 time	35	58	13 2	22 0
Yearly				
4 times	7	16	2 6	6 1
3 times	1	3	0 4	1 1
2 times	3	2	1 1	0 7
1 time	0	4	0 0	1 5
No times	15	39	5 6	14 8
Total	266	284	100 0	100 0

\*Unreported. 3 male, 3 female.

The table<sup>5</sup> shows that thirty-three male heads go to Sofia oftener than once a week. The great exodus comes on Friday, the market day. The peasants' childlike anticipation of market-day is best symbolized by the wagons which stand already loaded in front of the gates on Thursday evening. All that is necessary in the dim light on Friday morning is the yoking of the sleepy oxen, before the families start on their way to Sofia. I went with the villagers on these expeditions and saw their "ports of call," each visited via back streets and not by any handsome boulevards.

*Cattle market:* The cattle market and the sheep market, located not far away, lie on the other side of Sofia from Dragalevtsy, back of the railroad station toward the municipal cemetery. It is there a peasant goes if he wishes to dispose of, or purchase, an animal. At this market a nice young bull costs \$25-\$30; a fresh buffalo cow, \$50-\$60; ordinary milch cows, \$35-\$45; horses, \$12-\$60; donkeys, \$12-\$18. In the sheep market a pair of sheep sell for \$3.60. The cattle market is a colorful place. There is much excitement in the horse section where gypsies ride their not-so-fiery steeds up and down to show how sound they are. But the peasant does little visiting with others in the market; he is not the kind to strike up an acquaintance with just anyone. He does deal with the nimble-witted cattle-buyers whose crafty ways stand for city ways in the peasant's undiscerning judgment. In other words, the peasant's contact with "the outside world" in the cattle market helps build up a psychological barrier against the city since the peasant seldom leaves feeling that he has made a good bargain, unless he has concluded a trade with another peasant more rustic than himself.

*The mill:* A second place the peasant is likely to visit is the mill, not far away from the general curb market. In spite of the fact that there are many mills in Sofia the people of Dragalevtsy have chosen this as their favorite one, with another ranking as second choice. If they are tired out after their trip to the mill, the villagers lie down on sacks of grain until their turns come; if not sleepy, the peasants form talkative groups near their unyoked animals in the mill courtyard. But here again we find peasant talking with peasant, much of the conversation condemning the modern times, some government policy, or the sad effects

<sup>5</sup> At the time of the government census in December, 1934, I received permission to add to the regular census blanks a questionnaire of my own dealing chiefly with social contacts. Every family head was required to appear before one of the local clerks and answer all questions on the blanks, the writing being done by the clerk. Many of my statistics in this article are based on these questionnaires which, in the person of family heads, represented 97 per cent of the population.

of the World War. A talk with a conservative peasant from another village merely heightens the conservatism in the Dragalevtsy peasant.

*Curb market:* After finishing at the mill the peasant will perhaps go to the General Curb Market where his wife, squatted on the sidewalk, has been crying her wares for hours in the hope of selling a few bunches of vegetables or several "pairs" of eggs. She has seen many enticing objects in the vendors' pushcarts, observed the styles<sup>6</sup> worn by city housewives accompanied by peasant servant girls, the strut of the military, the bizarre appearance of a foreign tourist in knickers taking pictures of the scene. She must also have talked to other peasant women who like herself return to a favorite spot week after week. But the question arises: Do all the men usually take their wives along? Is it usually a family affair, this trip to market? The answer is that between fifty and sixty per cent of the female heads go to Sofia on a typical market day; fifteen per cent never go at all.

*Flower bazaar and tavern:* It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana*, the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.<sup>7</sup> They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana*, enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theatre on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The chief tailor in Dragalevtsy says that styles in dress reach the peasants from other villages. The women, for instance, imitate what a peasant from another village wears but not what a city woman wears.

<sup>7</sup> Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

<sup>8</sup> Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, all members of 73 families had seen a cinema; no members of 78 families had done so.

2. *To serve his country.* The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

3. *For the good of his soul.* When asked "Why do you go on pilgrimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred

objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

4. *To visit socially.* Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home Day." This event always falls on the name day of the saint, angel, or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named and is commemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the few hundred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. The following table shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes):

TABLE 2  
FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO VILLAGES, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY  
HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934\*

Frequency	Number		Per Cent	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Monthly:</i>				
6 times.....	2	0	0.8	0.0
5 times.....	0	2	0.0	0.8
4 times.....	2	4	0.8	1.6
3 times.....	3	2	1.2	0.8
2 times.....	8	9	3.1	3.5
1 time.....	68	52	26.4	20.3
<i>Yearly:</i>				
6 times.....	4	8	1.5	3.1
5 times.....	2	3	0.8	1.2
4 times.....	14	8	5.4	3.1
3 times.....	21	17	8.1	6.7
2 times.....	13	19	5.0	7.4
1 time.....	8	8	3.1	3.1
No times.....	113	124	43.8	48.4
Total.....	258	256	100.0	100.0

\*Unreported: 11 males, 11 females.



Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages:

Roughly speaking, about half of the family heads (men and women) do not go to other villages in the course of a year. For those who go, the greatest frequency of visitation is once a month.

Men born in Dragalevtsy visit the other villages more than do their fellow-villagers not born in Dragalevtsy; however, women born in Dragalevtsy visit less than those born outside.<sup>9</sup>

Children seldom go with their parents to other villages, though certain young men make numerous visits to parties during the year.

There are other contacts which the peasant makes with the outside world away from the village, but these are not important enough for separate consideration. There is, for instance, "the iron grip of the law." Since the mores of Dragalevtsy are still strictly observed, no criminals were led off to prison from the jail-less village during the three-year period in which I studied Dragalevtsy. Annually there are four or five lawsuits, involving about thirty people and taking on an average ten days' time for each person. For those involved, the trial is a big, important event but the effect upon the village is slight. What does have an effect is the quarrel which leads to the lawsuit, but that is an internal and not an external matter.

#### THE "OUTSIDE WORLD" VISITS THE VILLAGE

1. *The mountain and the monastery.* The "white-collar" people of Sofia are enthusiastic hikers. On sunny days, both winter and summer, they start out on an extended hike, usually in the direction of Vitosha, a majestic mountain which towers seven thousand feet above the Sofia plain. If very active, they climb to Hizha Aleko, the mountain hotel below the summit, there to spend the night. Or if interested only in a Sunday afternoon stroll of ten miles, they visit *God's Consecrated Spot on Vitosha*, a historic monastery from which they get a magnificent view of the Sofia plain, the city, and the Balkan peaks twenty miles to the north.

Dragalevtsy, hugging as it does a shoulder of the mountain, is on the main road leading from Sofia to the monastery (twenty minutes' walk above the village) and the mountain hotel far above the monastery.

<sup>9</sup> Eighty-three per cent of the male family heads but only 55 per cent of the female heads were born in Dragalevtsy. The 45 per cent of non-native wives come from villages ranging in distance from two to ten miles.

Dragalevtsy's taverns serve, therefore, as resting places for the weary, hungry, and thirsty trampers. Especially in Bai-Penko's tavern is there mingling between the village "élite" (intelligentsia and richer peasants) and these Sofia visitors—"people of the world." The peasants laugh at the sight of the women dressed in winter in ski trousers or in shorts in summer. No one ever explains to the peasant that sport styles are extreme.

One evening in Bai-Penko's tavern I was with a group of peasants who chortled when they saw a fat betrousered woman attempt unsuccessfully to get her loaded knapsack off. Turning to one of them I asked what he thought of such women, "Oh, we know what they are like," was the answer. When I pressed him further as to what he meant, he said: "They are the worst kind." Then I could not resist asking: "What would you do if your daughter came home dressed like that?" and the retort flared back, "Why, damn it, I'd kick her out of the house."

Estimates vary as to the number of *turisti*, as the Bulgarians call them, who pass through the village each year. Suffice it to say that on holidays and week ends there is a steady stream pouring through unless the weather is too forbidding. On August 28th, the Day of the Virgin, thousands flock to the monastery for the special services there as well as for the setting. Many of these hikers visit Dragalevtsy, whose square has been changed overnight into a lively market lined with temporary restaurants and a ramshackle merry-go-round.

The chief influence that these visitors have upon the villagers is to make them think that life in the city is as gay and carefree as the singing groups who stop to spend money in a generous manner. This is one reason that the peasants complain so bitterly of their dull, monotonous life and long to have their children counted among the white-collar class.

Recently Dragalevtsy has become a mountain summer resort. Twelve families have little villas in or near the village, while as many more live in the monastery. These seasonal guests buy most of their produce from the villagers, and patronize Bai-Penko's tavern daily. Some, especially the twelve families with summer houses, are counted as real citizens of Dragalevtsy, though the peasants do not try to assimilate them into their informal groups. These summer guests are in a position to do much in the way of village improvement if they cared to seize their opportunities.

2. *Family guests.* Another important influence from outside comes in the form of guests entertained by the family during the course of a

year. The guests from Sofia, from other towns and from villages is shown in Table 3 below:

**TABLE 3**  
**GUESTS IN DRAGALEVTSY HOMES DURING THE YEAR 1934, CLASSIFIED**  
**ACCORDING TO DOMICILE (CENSUS OF 1934)**

<i>Number of guests</i>	<i>Number of families entertaining guests</i>			<i>Total number of guests*</i>		
	<i>From city</i>	<i>From town</i>	<i>From village</i>	<i>From city</i>	<i>From town</i>	<i>From village</i>
0 .....	96	249	62	0	0	0
1-10 .....	125	8	135	786	36	824
11-20 .....	34	0	58	555	0	888
21-30 .....	3	0	14	75	0	380
31-40 .....	4	0	1	150	0	35
41-50 .....	5	0	0	250	0	0
Over 50 .....	1	0	1	100	0	65
Total .....	172	8	209	1,916	36	2,192

\*Computed from actual figures and not from class midpoints.

Out of the 268 families that reported, 96 families do not have any guests from Sofia during the year. The guests visiting the 172 remaining families total 1,916 people. In other words, if all the people who come from Sofia to visit stayed in the village and did not return home, the village would little more than double its present population, ignoring the possible natural increase. Of course, the total of 1,916 does not necessarily include that many people, but certainly over 1,000. These visitors are relatives or friends, generally of peasant origin, who have gone to the big city and succeeded. As one stands in the main village square and sees these visitors arrive, averaging 36 each Sunday, one marvels at the grotesque bundles with which their arms are loaded. A christening, a wedding, and, to a less extent, a funeral, call them back to the village. Conveniently for them, christenings and weddings take place on Sundays; funerals, unfortunately for them, cannot wait for Sunday but occur a day or two after the death.

There are no towns within forty or fifty miles of Sofia and therefore very few guests from other towns visit the village. Only 8 families report such guests, the total number of the visitors reaching 36.

Out of 271 families reporting, only 62 do not have guests from other villages during the year. This means that 209 families do. The total number of outside villagers is 2,192, many of them coming to Dragalevtsy's "At Home Day" on the Day of the Holy Trinity.

Only a few of these guests originally came from Dragalevtsy but it is of interest to notice how many leave the village permanently in the

course of a single year, why, and where they go. These facts are shown in Table 4.

**TABLE 4**  
**MEMBERS OF FARM HOUSEHOLDS WHO PERMANENTLY LEFT DRAGALEVTSY**  
**DURING 1934, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO REASON FOR LEAVING AND**  
**DESTINATION, (CENSUS DATA)**

Left to become:	Destination:			Total
	Sofia	Town	Village	
Soldier.....	3	1	0	4
Student.....	4	0	0	4
Coffee house proprietor.....	1	0	0	1
Cabman.....	1	0	0	1
Watchman.....	0	1	0	1
Laborer.....	0	0	2	2
Wife.....	1	0	4	5
Husband.....	0	0	1	1
Unreported.....	1	1	0	2
Total.....	11	3	7	21*

\*These 21 persons came from 19 of the 279 families covered by the census questionnaire.

3. *Village guests.* During the course of a winter several *vecherinki*, or community parties, are staged in the schoolhouse by some organization for the purpose of raising funds. These are usually followed by a dance at which the thirty-five guests from Sofia (that being the average) mix little with the peasant folk. These guests are entertainers or friends of the intelligentsia.

Three or four lectures, dealing with topics related to the elevation of village life, are given each year by men from outside. Each government inspector from the various departments is required to visit the village once a year and some in the course of this visit take occasion to give an educative address to the people. I do not feel, however, that the peasants take a very vital interest in these talks unless they get into the realm of politics, always a fascinating subject.

From the 15th of May until August 1st soldiers in training are encamped in and about Dragalevtsy, but it is only occasionally that they mingle with the young people of the village. Every year, however, three or four village girls become engaged to soldiers and subsequently upon marriage move elsewhere.

The outside world is also represented by a few salesmen and speculators in land and cattle, these numbering about fifteen a week. They transact their business with the interested party, perhaps break bread with him, and then go on their way.

4. *Telephone, radio, letters, printed matter.* There are two radios in

the village, one belonging to the priest and the other standing in the window of the mayor's office to blare forth its music and messages to passersby in the main square. The first program I heard from the public radio was the aria "My Heart at Thy Sweet Voice" from the opera *Samson and Delila* as played by an orchestra in Amsterdam, although music like this is soon turned off in preference to the folk-music periodically broadcast from the Sofia station.

There is one telephone in the village in the office adjacent to the mayor's. There is great pomp about the use of this instrument since one pays two cents and receives a receipt of payment from the telephone operator. Making a telephone call is a serious affair, so serious, in fact, that few peasants ever do so.

The post arrives around one o'clock each week-day afternoon but there is little excitement attached to its coming for not more than ten personal letters, usually for the intelligentsia, arrive daily for the whole village. A peasant family receives no more than one or two letters a year. Twenty newspapers and twenty magazines come each day for the 279 families. According to data furnished by 279 questionnaires, 21 families bought or received newspapers<sup>10</sup> to 257 who did not; and 7 families received magazines to 271 who did not. In both cases, 1 family failed to report.

### CONCLUSION

The concept "social contact" implies both the possibility of contact as well as psychic interaction.<sup>11</sup> The quantitative measurements of this study deal chiefly with the possibilities which the peasants have or create for social interaction since these were sufficiently clear-cut for the village officials and peasants to measure. But when it came to the more intangible element of psychic interaction I had to rely on direct personal observation. Therefore, the following conclusions are based in part on statistics and in part upon observation:

1. Proximity to a "city-culture" and frequent trips to the city on the part of the villagers does not necessarily mean psychological contact with that "city-culture." For the most part, the peasant moves in a peas-

<sup>10</sup> Of these, 13 families received a daily newspaper daily; 2 received a daily paper twice a week; 1, once a week; and 5 received a weekly paper regularly.

<sup>11</sup> At first I had in mind the formulation of a contact Index such as Kulp used in his Chinese study, *Familism in South China*. I soon found that the various contacts were of varying intensity, concerned different types of people and would, therefore, require separate weighting. My methods were not refined enough to make such weightings feasible. Furthermore, aside from the methodological interest the value of such an index would be limited to the study of other Bulgarian villages in the same cultural setting.

ant world even while in the city. It is quite natural for him to attach himself to the familiar.

2. Proximity to the city may in itself be a deterrent to the ready acceptance of "city ways" on the part of the villager, since he constantly confronts fashions, habits, and viewpoints which clash decidedly with his own. This leads me to wonder whether or not "modernization," granting that it is desirable, might not come more quickly through a small, provincial town which is more in keeping with rural thought and life than through direct contact with the city. The hikers who visit Dragalevtsy, although causing dissatisfaction, make the mature peasant more resistant to city influences; these visitors do seem to have an influence upon the young; but it would be hazardous to guess to what degree, because so often the seemingly liberal young people become conservative when they have children of their own.

3. Government leaders in their attempt to raise the peasants' standard of living visit the village systematically for lectures and some demonstrations. They seem to be overlooking the fact that thousands of peasants regularly visit the city where, if some Peasant Center could be established, methods of improved living could be interpreted in a favorable light. Some such approach would lessen the peasant's negativism toward the city, a negativism which has been built up as a defense or as a result of genuine disapproval.

4. The statistics relative to the reading matter which comes into the village weekly shows how little is being done effectively to influence the peasant by letters, journals, and other publications although the literacy rate for males over fifteen years is 92.

5. This study of one village can be merely suggestive and does not afford the basis for any sweeping conclusions, but it can serve as a pattern for those who wish to measure the social contacts of villages which are similar in many respects to Dragalevtsy.

6. In considering the social contact which the peasants have with the city and its implication for social change we must not overlook the sheer enjoyment derived by the peasant from the very fact of contact itself, whether it be from the thrill of a new experience or the more intimate association with friends from other villages. Because recreation is not yet commercialized and impersonalized, face-to-face contact is the chief form of amusement. Of course, this need is usually met within the village, but a talk with someone from the outside world does possess a novelty not afforded by everyday association.

# Content of the Country Weekly

*Carl F. Reuss\**

## ABSTRACT

Analysis of the content of small-town weekly newspapers offers a basis for estimating the socializing efficiency of this rural agency. A sample of twelve issues each of twenty Virginia weeklies showed 49 per cent of total space devoted to advertising, 34 per cent to news, 11 per cent to magazine material, and 5 per cent to opinion. Thus, three fifths of the space represented the business side of the newspaper, two fifths the community phase. Interpretation of locally significant events frequently was neglected. Magazine materials were largely non-shop-set. News was of persons, the primary group environment, and local institutions, including government, school, and church. Monthly and seasonal variations were found in type of newspaper content, emphasizing the value of the weekly newspaper as a source for sociological investigations into the nature and activities of the rural community.

As a social agency carrying tidings of unusual, timely events of great human interest, informing the public of the programs and services of local institutions, and interpreting the local significance of events on the broader horizon, the small town weekly newspaper holds an important place in the life of the rural community. An estimate of its probable efficiency in discharging its community functions can be gained from an analysis of the content of a sample of representative weeklies.

Such a study has been made for twenty Virginia weekly newspapers out of a total of 111 in 1935, chosen as representative in respect to region of the state, day of publication, number of columns per page, political sympathies, and population of the town of publication. Twelve issues of each paper were measured, one in each month of 1936. To avoid possible undue weekly fluctuations, issues of the same week were selected for each paper and the weeks were staggered. Thus, papers issued during the second week of January, the third week of February, the fourth week of March, the first of April, the second of May, and so on through December, were chosen for analysis.

All materials appearing in each of these issues were classified into four basic divisions: (1) news, (2) opinion, (3) magazine material, and (4) advertising. Opinion included editorials, cartoons, and letters to the editor; magazine material included all non-shop-set items, fiction, comics, home and beauty hints, "filler" material, and the like; news

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and advertising were easily enough distinguished except for certain "business office must" items found in the news columns similar to those calling attention to an advertisement elsewhere in the issue. These materials were kept in a separate news category.

Within this broad fourfold division further classifications were made. Thus advertising was divided into legal, classified, and display, with display being subdivided into local, national, and "tie-in"; opinion was divided into local opinion, reprinted editorials, and cartoons; magazine material was divided only into shop-set and non-shop-set material; and news was classified into human interest, informational,<sup>1</sup> and "label" news.

### COMMUNITY AGENCY VERSUS BUSINESS ENTERPRISE

Practically one half, or 49 per cent, of the total space of these twenty weeklies was found to be devoted to advertising. One third, or 34 per cent, was given to news, 11 per cent to magazine materials, and 5 per cent to opinion.<sup>2</sup>

From these percentages the essentially dual character of the newspaper as a business enterprise and a community agency is seen. Advertising, representing the business phase, occupies the largest proportion of space; and news, the community phase, the second largest. Magazine material in one sense is used as a business venture to fill space cheaply when news and advertising are lacking, although in some cases it may be used in the belief that readers really desire it. Opinion represents again a discharge of the community functions of the newspaper. Combining these categories, it is seen that three fifths of the space was devoted to the business phase of weekly newspaper operation, and two fifths to the community phase.<sup>3</sup>

Individual papers varied rather widely from these averages, but in only one case was more than half of the total available space devoted to news, and as much as three fifths of the space given to its community functions. Six other papers devoted from 43 to 47 per cent of their space to the socializing phase of their services.

<sup>1</sup> The terms *human interest* and *informational news* were suggested by Carrol D. Clark in his doctor's thesis, *News: A Sociological Study. Abstracts of Theses*, University of Chicago, Humanistic Series IX, 1930-32.

<sup>2</sup> Since all measurements were made to the nearest one half inch, and the "mast" carrying the statement of ownership was not measured, these percentages do not total 100. Were they carried out to one place they would total 99.4.

<sup>3</sup> It must be recognized that advertising in a certain respect has great social value as a medium of communication.



## TYPES OF ADVERTISING

Many weekly newspapers exist largely because of the county advertising, public notices, and other items which they are able to obtain whose publication is required by law. Seven per cent of the advertising space was devoted to legal advertising among the weekly papers in the sample, but in over a third of the cases, or seven papers, 10 per cent or more was taken up with legal advertising, and in one case 21 per cent of the advertising was legal.

Five per cent of the advertising space was devoted to "Want Ads," "For Sale," "Help Wanted," and similar classified advertisements, through which the individual or small firm may convey a message of wants or needs to the larger community at a rate lower than that charged for display space.

The remainder of the advertising space, 88 per cent, was taken up by display advertisements. There are the commonly known "ads," marked off from straight reading by borders of varying widths and styles, occupying large parts of the page, and many times an entire page. Local displays are those inserted by a merchant of the home community, advertising his merchandise or merely his store. National displays are those advertising products on sale over a wide territory, and are prepared and inserted by the manufacturer without mentioning the name of any possible local dealer. "Tie-in" displays are those advertising a national product, but giving also the name and address of the local dealer of the products, and may be paid for either by the manufacturer or the manufacturer jointly with the dealer.

Each of these types of advertising has a definite socializing value. The advertisement of the local merchant telling of his bargains draws rural residents to the trade centers, where they come into contact with villagers and their ways. The national advertisements in the local country weekly keep the residents informed on new products and techniques, and tend to create a standardization of values and demands in both rural and urban areas, while the "tie-in" ones stress the fact that the product may be obtained locally, putting the community on a par with other alert communities.

Nearly two thirds, or 65 per cent, of the display advertising space was devoted to local advertising, 18 per cent to national, and 17 per cent to "tie-in." Thus again the weekly newspaper was seen to be a community agency, deriving the greatest advertising space from local

merchants. Two papers, however, had only 26 and 27 per cent of display advertising from local sources, with as much as 44 and 47 per cent from national advertisers. Six papers carried one fifth or more in "tie-in" advertisements.

### OPINION AND MAGAZINE MATERIALS

One fourth of the opinion carried in the columns of the 240 issues analyzed was in the nature of editorials reprinted from other papers. While a certain amount of reprinted opinion is desirable in offering a better rounded point of view, the tendency in some papers is to rely entirely upon reprinted editorials and to omit entirely the function of interpretation of locally significant events. Eleven per cent was in the form of cartoons with a political viewpoint and 64 per cent in letters and editorials of a local nature. Many of the editorials, however, were of the sort furnished by an editorial writing syndicate and were localized only by filling the name of the town in the blank left for that purpose.

Seventy-one per cent of the magazine material was non-shop-set and only 29 per cent shop-set. In other words, practically speaking, the only selectivity the local editor has in using such material is to take it or leave it in its entirety. To remove nonpertinent paragraphs is almost impossible. The amount of material of this nature which has socializing value to the local community is very small, and from this point of view is a waste of space. It must be recognized, however, that use of a considerable amount of non-shop-set material makes it possible for the publisher to put out a larger paper, which may have great community value as a result.

### THREE CATEGORIES OF NEWS

News was divided into three broad categories—human interest, informational, and "label." In this last was included the typically syndicated "News Review of the Week," or a similar column under a set "label" head. While the material appearing in these columns could have been included under one of the other two main categories, it was felt that it was sufficiently important as an indicator to count it separately. Human interest news, according to Clark, is "the news that thrills"; it is preponderately emotional, aiming at the heart rather than the head, located on the front page and in the general news section for everyone. It is episodic, appeals to the broadest qualities of human nature, and employs the language of the street and the judgments of

common sense. The informational type has characteristics diametrically opposite, being matter of fact, tending to be departmentalized, continuous with the context carried forward from day to day, directed to special groups or classes with a common interest, and couched in a more or less technical vocabulary.<sup>4</sup>

One third of the paper, it has been shown, was made up of news. Practically three fifths of the news, or 59 per cent, was of the human interest type, 32 per cent of the informational type, and 9 per cent of the "label" variety. Thus the news appeal of the country weekly is primarily to the broadest qualities of human nature to reach everyone, and only one third of it is devoted to news of organizations, institutions, and specialized groups. The 9 per cent devoted to "label" news represents an attempt to give a kaleidoscopic view of the chief events of the week in the state, nation, and world. This is, no doubt, a valuable feature in an area where daily newspapers circulate to only a small extent, and indeed, it may be a valuable feature in any case, since it lends a perspective to the news of the week usually lacking in the daily news reports. In this regard, the "label" news columns may be considered informational news.

#### HUMAN INTEREST AND INFORMATIONAL NEWS

Human interest and informational news were further classified, largely according to a scheme of analysis worked out by Clark in the source referred to. Personal items of the type, "The Jim Jones family visited the Martin Smiths Sunday," together with news of births, marriages, deaths, and other personal items, regarded as so typical of the country weekly, were found to occupy 71 per cent of the human interest news space, and incidentally, one seventh of the entire newspaper space. News of the *familiar*, including the weather, local improvements, and home-town pride, occupied 9 per cent of the human interest space, as did news of elections, litigation, conflict of interest groups, included under *conflict*. Only 5 per cent of human interest space was devoted to *sensational* items on crimes, accidents, and the like; and 4 per cent, to *spectacular* items covering feats of daring, striking actions, or elaborate public ceremonies. Practically no space was given to romantic themes or to strange, unusual occurrences, and superstitions.

News of governmental agents and agencies, local, state, and national,

<sup>4</sup> See Carrol D. Clark, *News: A Sociological Study*, pp. 431-33, unpublished dissertation on file in University of Chicago library.

occupied one fourth of the informational news space. School news took up 20 per cent, and church news 13 per cent of the space of this type of news. Items on sports made up 8 per cent of the space; on the activities of professions and civic organizations, 7 per cent; on business conditions and activities, 6 per cent; movies and music, 5 per cent; and transportation and communication agencies, 5 per cent. Four per cent of the space was devoted to health news, and 3 per cent each to reports on the activities of fraternal organizations and social and philanthropic agencies.

In terms of actual space, items about persons took up by far the largest number of column inches—33,271, or 14.3 per cent of the total available space in the 240 issues; news of governmental activities was second, with 6,640 inches; and of schools, third, with 5,100 inches; reports covering the *familiar* category, totalled 4,284 inches; and the *conflict* category, 4,065 inches; church news was sixth, with a total of 3,420 inches. No other category exceeded 2,000 inches.

Thus it is seen that news of persons and of the primary social institution, the family, accounts for the largest portion of news found in the country weekly. News of other fundamental institutions, the government and education, occupy the next two positions. Items of the primary group environment account for the fourth largest space, and of elections and disputes between interest groups, which in many cases assume a primary group aspect because of the intenseness of feeling, the fifth position. Church news, reporting the activities of another secondary group institution, occupies the sixth position in news space. Altogether, these six categories account for over 71 per cent of the total news space.

Since the newspaper is expected to print the community happenings in which people are most interested, these findings verify the fact that the rural community, as represented by its weekly newspaper, is intensely interested first in persons, the primary group and its environment, and then in the government, the school, and the church as the foremost local institutions.

#### MONTHLY VARIATIONS IN TYPES OF CONTENT

Seasons play their part in the scheme of rural life. Predominant activities vary from season to season. The content of weekly newspapers reflects this fact by significant differences in the types of material presented in the various months. Advertising, for example, was highest in

December when people were being urged to shop for Christmas, and lowest in February when trade was reduced by the effects of wintry weather. Display advertizing of national products was largest in March, when fertilizer firms were advertising their product, and next highest in November and October, when automobile manufacturers were announcing their new models. Legal advertising reached its peak in March when many sheriff's sales were being made, and was high again in July.

The percentage of total space given to opinion was highest in February, when advertising was smallest, and lowest in December, when advertising was largest. A similar tendency was seen in the other months, showing that when advertising is plentiful the opinion function of the newspaper tends to be neglected. There was also a fairly close inverse relationship between the amount of advertising and of magazine material.

Types of news also show monthly fluctuations. This fact gives added evidence of the fact that the weekly newspaper reflects the activities of the rural community and that it may serve as a valuable source of sociological data. News of persons varied relatively little from month to month, additional evidence that the rural newspaper reflects the primary group atmosphere of the rural community.

News of a sensational nature, involving accidents, crimes, and the like, was highest in July and December, while news of dramatic or spectacular events, including public ceremonies and county fairs, was highest in June and October. Items falling under the *conflict* category, particularly political news, consumed large amounts of space during the same months, June and October, as political campaigns, first for the primary election and then for the general election, were reported. Articles on the familiar happenings in the local environment were most frequent in May, with February, March, and April also showing large proportions of this type of news.

A classification of the types of informational news shows especially the peak seasons in the activities of institutions and agencies important in rural life. Government news, for example, was proportionately largest in January, February, and March, when the sessions of the state legislature and the national Congress were attracting much attention, and was again high in May and June. News of business activity was largest in November and August, while reports on the activities of business and

professional organizations occupied large proportions of space in the immediately preceding months, July and October.

School news reached its peak in May, and a secondary peak in October, the former reflecting activities incident to the closing of the school year, the latter to the opening of a new one. The third most important month for school news was December, a time when many schools were presenting Christmas programs. Church news showed one peak, in April, the Easter season, but it was equally as large a proportion of the informational news space in the summer months of July, August, and September, when many churches and their related organizations were sponsoring picnics and the like.

Appeals for funds for flood sufferers, for Red Cross and Christmas basket charities were instrumental in causing unduly large proportions of space to be devoted to news of charitable enterprises in March and April, and November and December, respectively. The election and installation of officers caused the news of fraternal organizations to be highest in January. Sports news was most prominent during the months of June to September, when baseball received attention, and in November and December, when basketball was a favorite sport. Comparatively few rural high schools in the communities from which the 20 papers were selected supported football, but began basketball in November.

### CONCLUSIONS

This analysis points out conclusively the fact that while the weekly newspaper serves the community as a medium for the communication of opinions, news of broad human interest, and informative news of institutions and organizations, it is primarily a business enterprise. Only two fifths of its space is devoted to the performance of community functions. If the proportion of advertising is low, the proportion of legal advertising high, and the space given to magazine materials large, observation shows that the rural newspaper tends to be weak in the discharge of its functions as a social agency. Consequently, it is to the interest of the rural community desiring an efficient weekly newspaper of socializing value to see that it is published in a town where it can be given adequate advertising support. Too often, the rural newspaper, like many other rural institutions, has an inadequate base, both financially and in population, to justify its continued existence. When this is the case the community might be better off if it ceased supporting by advertising, legal printing, and subscriptions an enterprise of marginal value.

As the proportion of space given to advertising increases, the proportion of space given to opinion materials and also to magazine materials tends to decrease. Thus, if the paper is too richly supported, it also tends to neglect one of its functions.

News in the country weekly is chiefly news about people and the home community, and secondly, of important local social institutions such as the government, the school and the church. The fact that seasonal peaks are found for types of news which are closely related to the peaks of activity for various institutions serves to emphasize the value of the weekly newspaper as a source for sociological investigations into the nature and activities of the rural community.

# The Concept of Plane of Living and the Construction of a Plane of Living Index

Walter C. McKain, Jr.\*

## ABSTRACT

The assumptions implicit in a concept of plane of living and the construction of a plane of living index are seldom stated explicitly, and are frequently internally inconsistent. If it is assumed that the items comprising a plane of living index measure a broad plane of living, of which they are but segments, they must be weighted according to their representativeness. Since regions and subregions are not always homogeneous with respect to physical and social factors that alter the typicalness of the index items, it lessens the accuracy of the index to assign equal weights to the items. The amount of intercorrelation existing between the items may be considered a measure of their representativeness. When the items are weighted in this manner, the resulting index more nearly approximates actual conditions in the area. This is demonstrated for the state of Vermont.

The plane of living is generally considered to be an important criterion in the delineation of socioeconomic regions and subregions. During the past year several bulletins have been written on the subject of cultural areas, and without exception they have employed plane of living indexes.<sup>1</sup> Since an increasing amount of research is being done in this field, it is well to analyze the concept of plane of living, and examine the factors usually chosen to measure it.

There are two questions that are basic to the formulation of a satisfactory plane of living index but which are frequently overlooked or answered inconsistently. In the first place, what does the index really represent? Second, upon what basis should the items in the index be selected and weighted? It will be the province of this paper to discuss the significance of these questions and to advance a tentative set of answers.

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<sup>1</sup> C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, *A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-Areas with Application to Ohio*, Department of Rural Economics, Ohio AES and FSA MB 106 (Columbus, January, 1938); Carl C. Taylor, *et al.*, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, FSA and BAE co-operating (Washington, April, 1938); *Cultural Regions Within the Rural-Farm Population*, Rural Section of Division of Social Research, WPA (Washington, July, 1938).



Regardless of the way in which the above questions are answered, certain assumptions must be made. Our knowledge of the elements in the plane of living and the complex relations existing between them is so limited that much of any selective process will be admittedly arbitrary. Nevertheless these suppositions must be stated explicitly and uniformly since the value of the index is contingent upon them.

Plane of living indexes designed for nationwide application have been, and to a large extent must necessarily be, confined to six items included in the 1930 United States Census: namely, the value of the farm dwelling, and the access to electricity, running water, telephone, automobile, and radio in the home. These items may be regarded in two respects: (1) they may be considered as constituting the whole plane of living and therefore representing only themselves; or (2) they may be treated simply as measures of a much broader plane of living of which they are but segments.

Very few investigators would confess to a concept of the plane of living so narrow that it would include only the above-mentioned items. Although in most studies it is assumed that the items comprising the index measure more than themselves, rarely is this stated explicitly. By the time the authors have reached the second stage in the selective process, that of assigning weights to the items in the index, the assumption is frequently forgotten altogether.

Yet it is precisely at this point that the hypothesis adopted in the first step achieves significance. If it is assumed that the plane of living includes only the items listed in the index, weights will be attached to the items on the basis of their importance. For example, it may be contended that the ownership of an automobile is a more essential element in the plane of living than the possession of a radio. Under the above hypothesis automobiles would be weighted more heavily in the index than radios. But, if the concept of the plane of living is broader and the above-mentioned items are considered only as measures of it, weights will be assigned according to the representativeness of the items, irrespective of their individual importance. Thus, automobiles may still be considered more important than radios in the plane of living, but, if they are given additional weight, it will be only because they are more representative of the other elements in the plane of living than radios.

In the studies previously referred to, equal weights were assigned to the items of the index. This implies either that, to the best knowledge of the authors, the items are equally important or that they are equally

representative. An assignment of weights on the basis of the importance of the items is postulated on a concept of the plane of living that includes only the items of the index. Yet such a concept would probably be considered too narrow by the same authors. Equal weights might have been assigned on the assumption that the items are equally representative, an hypothesis which would be seriously challenged by the thesis of this paper.

If a separate and accurate measure of the plane of living existed, the items in the index would be weighted according to their correlation with this measure. Lacking a criterion of the plane of living external to its integrant parts, it is still possible to determine the typicalness of each item by internal means. *The amount of intercorrelation existing between the items may be considered a measure of their representativeness.*

Usually, if two or more items are highly correlated, only one is included in the index and weights are assigned on the basis of some external factor. Consequently it is advisable to examine the assumptions implicit in the suggested method and the reasoning behind them. A rather high correlation exists between the items when the states in the Northeastern Region are compared (see Table 1). States that are low with respect to one item rank low in the other items, while states that rank high in one item also rank high in the others. Likewise counties that have a relatively high proportion of farms equipped with one of the facilities included in the Census usually rank high in the proportion of farms containing other items in the plane of living index. However, if in any particular area a negative or a very low positive correlation exists between one of the items and the others, it is reasonable to attribute this

TABLE 1  
CORRELATION EXISTING BETWEEN PLANE OF LIVING INDEX ITEMS FOR THE  
STATES IN THE NORTHEASTERN REGION\*

	<i>Farm Dwelling</i>	<i>Auto</i>	<i>Electricity</i>	<i>Radio</i>	<i>Running Water</i>	<i>Telephone</i>
Farm Dwelling.....	.....	+.399	+.864	+.821	+.533	+.472
Auto.....	+.399	.....	+.259	+.489	+.138	+.052
Electricity.....	+.864	+.259	.....	+.940	+.820	+.748
Radio.....	+.821	+.489	+.940	.....	+.817	+.745
Running Water.....	+.533	+.138	+.820	+.817	.....	+.932
Telephone.....	+.472	+.052	+.748	+.932	+.932	.....

\*The Northeastern Region comprised the six New England states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and West Virginia.

to physical or social factors operating in the area which destroy the representativeness of that item. If such correlations exist between the index items, it may be expected that similar correlations will obtain between the segments of the plane of living represented by but not included among the items of the index. This assumption may not be entirely valid and the degree to which it is in error will be reflected in the plane of living.

The representativeness of the items will vary from one region or area to another, although the concept of the plane of living everywhere remains the same. This variance is due to the fact that the regions and subregions are not homogeneous with respect to physical and social factors that alter the representativeness of the items in the index.

Items that are greatly influenced by the physical setting of the area tend to be less representative than items that are independent of their physical surroundings. For example, running water in the home is greatly influenced by the topography of the area. The possession of running water may be less expensive in hilly areas where farmers use gravity flow from springs than in areas where the water must be piped for long distances or pumped from wells. In localities where the expenses are relatively high, families that can afford running water will generally be able to have other conveniences that make up a high plane of living, while families that cannot afford running water will probably lack other items in the plane of living. But, where it is relatively inexpensive to secure running water, its possession will be less representative of other items in the plane of living. Consequently, if running water is expected to represent anything more than the conveniences arising directly from its possession, its value as an index may vary from area to area.

Social or institutional factors in an area may affect the representativeness of certain items in the plane of living index.<sup>2</sup> There are several ways in which this influence is manifested. Sometimes it is in combination with the physical surroundings. The presence of water power in a locality may make it the site for an electric power plant and the availability of cheap electric power reduces the representativeness of electricity as an item measuring other segments in the plane of living.

<sup>2</sup> For example, in an independent study Dr. W. A. Anderson of Cornell has found that for New York state the presence of a large proportion of urban and rural nonfarm residents in a county is associated with a high plane of living for the rural farm population of that county.

In other cases a community, under the leadership of a few people, may introduce telephone or electric service at cheaper rates than individual families could ordinarily secure it. Except to the extent that this organized endeavor carries over into other elements of the plane of living, the possession of electricity or telephones in such areas may not be an accurate measure of the plane of living. Recent governmental activities in rural electrification fall under the same heading and reduce the typicalness of electricity as a measure of the plane of living for certain localities.

Sometimes an item in a plane of living index is associated with a particular type of farming or outside occupation. For example, if the farmers in a locality work in nearby cities, the possession of an automobile will reflect this practice and, being a necessity, will be less representative of the plane of living. Instead of measuring the plane of living of such an area the possession of an automobile would merely indicate the prevailing economy. The relation between the value of the farm dwelling and tenancy may belong in the same category.

Since different areas are seldom homogeneous with respect to all these factors, it is unwise to assume that the items are equally representative. If a plane of living index is to be considered representative of more than the specific items in it, it should include as few items as possible that are unduly affected by the social and physical environment; and when they are used, weights should be assigned accordingly.

It will be recalled that regardless of the index employed certain assumptions must be made. The value of these hypotheses may be judged in terms of the resulting indexes. If there are significant variations in the plane of living indexes when different methods are used, expert opinion may be used to appraise their relative merits or they can be tested by comparing them with other items in the Census considered to be related to the plane of living. The following paragraphs compare two such methods. According to the first method the six items in the index are weighted relative to the amount of intercorrelation existing between them. In the second, the items are weighted equally.

In Table 2 the correlations existing between the six items, taken severally, are shown for the state of Vermont. It will be noted that running water has a negative correlation with every other item with the exception of electricity. For this reason it was omitted from the index. Electricity had a low correlation with most of the items and was assigned a weight of one half. The possession of running water was considered unrepre-

sentative of the plane of living and electricity was believed to be less typical than the other items in the index.

TABLE 2  
CORRELATION EXISTING BETWEEN PLANE OF LIVING INDEX ITEMS FOR THE  
COUNTIES IN VERMONT

	<i>Farm Dwelling</i>	<i>Auto</i>	<i>Electricity</i>	<i>Radio</i>	<i>Running Water</i>	<i>Telephone</i>
Farm Dwelling.....	.....	+ .587	-.280	+ .642	-.771	+ .240
Auto.....	+ .587	.....	+ .205	+ .220	-.739	+ .346
Electricity.....	-.280	+ .205	.....	+ .288	+ .517	+ .192
Radio.....	+ .642	+ .220	+ .228	.....	-.442	+ .329
Running Water.....	-.771	-.739	+ .517	-.442	.....	-.182
Telephone.....	+ .240	+ .346	+ .192	+ .329	-.182	.....

When the items are weighted in this manner the counties have the indexes shown in Table 3. In the same table are shown the rank and index of each county when the plane of living index is composed of equally weighted items. It can be seen at once that the two methods give widely divergent results. Counties that have a relatively high plane of living according to one measure rank far down the list according to the other.

A person familiar with the state would probably suggest the following explanation: The farms in the western counties of Vermont are

TABLE 3  
INDEXES AND RANK OF VERMONT COUNTIES UNDER DIFFERENT METHODS OF  
MEASURING PLANE OF LIVING

<i>Name of County‡</i>	<i>Method One*</i>		<i>Method Two†</i>	
	<i>Index</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Index</i>	<i>Rank</i>
<i>Addison</i> .....	134	2	129	11
<i>Bennington</i> .....	139	1	142	4
<i>Caledonia</i> .....	118	10	146	2
<i>Chittenden</i> .....	134	2	142	4
<i>Essex</i> .....	102	14	126	12
<i>Franklin</i> .....	126	5	138	9
<i>Grand Isle</i> .....	124	7	117	14
<i>Lamoille</i> .....	103	13	126	12
<i>Orange</i> .....	112	12	136	10
<i>Orleans</i> .....	116	11	140	7
<i>Rutland</i> .....	130	4	139	8
<i>Washington</i> .....	121	8	146	2
<i>Windham</i> .....	119	9	141	6
<i>Windsor</i> .....	124	6	149	1

\*Water omitted from index and electricity weighted one half.

†Items weighted equally.

‡Counties in italics are in the western part of Vermont.

more prosperous than the farms lying in the more hilly sections of the state. For this reason it might be expected that they would have a higher plane of living (as they have when weights are assigned as in Method One.) However, since the possession of running water and electricity entails more expense in the western counties than in the hilly eastern counties, fewer farmers are able to afford them and consequently the western counties rank comparatively low with respect to their plane of living, if the items are weighted equally (see Method Two).

The per capita land value is sometimes associated with the plane of living. In areas where farm land values are high and the population density is not too great, the plane of living is usually high. Since such a criterion may be correlated with the items of the index in different degrees, it must be used with caution. Only large disparities between the two methods can be considered significant. In Vermont the difference appears convincing. There is a negative correlation ( $-.37$ ) between per capita land values and the plane of living indexes for counties under the second method. When the first method is employed and the items of the index weighted according to their representativeness, there is a positive correlation ( $+.68$ ) between plane of living indexes and per capita land values.

It is apparent from the preceding discussion that very little is known about the plane of living. In the absence of an objective criterion, the formulation of indexes will rest upon the a priori judgments of the investigators. The subsequent appraisal of the methods will also be subjective. Consequently it is especially important that the assumptions inherent in the different indexes are recognized and followed consistently. A more complete understanding of the selective processes involved will facilitate the preparation and interpretation of plane of living indexes.

# Notes

## THE EVOLUTION OF THE EURO-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

At the present time Euro-American populations seem to be in a period of unusually rapid change between the *urbanity* and the *country* and within both city and community. In addition, there is evidence that the present period is one in which former trends of relations between the city and community are either reversing themselves or moving in new and somewhat unexpected lines. In order to study these problems I have started upon the following investigation:

The first part was an attempt to apply the typological analysis of Frederic Le Play and Max Weber to an understanding of the North American community. In a book, *The Changing Community* (Harpers, November, 1938), I attempted to set forth the nature of the localistic community and the factors of permanence and change in this social aggregate as these could be observed in the United States and Canada. I classified the communities by types and tried to distinguish the nature of the community and its changes by differential types. Many of the important variations could be understood only if the local community were evaluated conceptually as representing some elements of nominalism, formalism, and realism as an extra-individual unity.

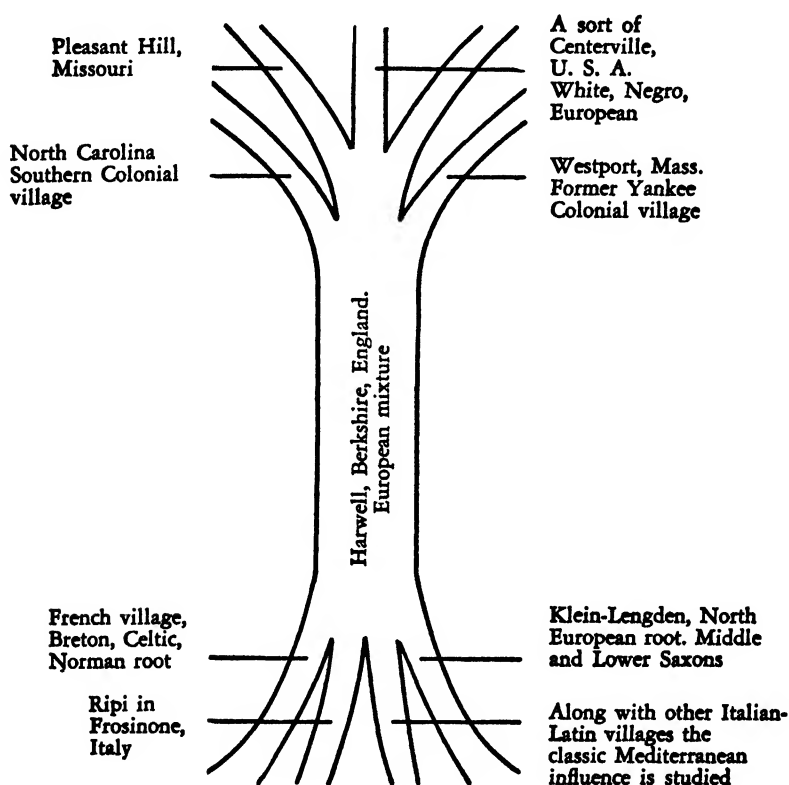
After this preliminary study, I found it essential to go into the background of the American community. The early history of the American community lies in Europe. The contemporary behavior of the American community of great age is not to be found in America, but in Europe. Consequently, I have entered upon a comparative analysis of American and European communities and am relating all of these communities to the city and to the new Leviathan spirit which has developed widely in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

My plan is to take three American villages (Westport, Massachusetts; Pleasant Hill, Cass County, Missouri; and an old southern one) and five or six European villages of the type from which the American people have come and to study all of them comparatively and as typological specimens. I have Harwell near Didcot in Berkshire, England; Klein Lengden near Göttingen, Germany; Ripi in Frosinone, Italy; a Norman or Breton village in France; and I may study a Bavarian village. In the North European villages named above I have already studied during the summer of 1937 and the last half of 1938.

I study the archives of each village, its history, its demographic and other records as far as they exist in the church books and all available historical material. I live in the villages and participate in their problems, their administration, their feasts, their fights, and their relations to the central bureaucracies. All available economic data are gathered. As a matter of fact, I pick little places and try to get all I can about them. Some of these villages have sent many people to America and many are now doing so. Westport, which was once North Euro-

pean, like Harwell and Klein Lengden, is now South European. The Italians, Portuguese, and Canadian French are now a majority of its people. Ripi has about three hundred persons either in America now or who have lived in America from one month to eighteen years and have returned to Ripi. In every village I study the local community, its problems, its relation to the American local community, and the particular relations of the people, past or present, to America. I plan, if possible, to have a Louisianan and a New Englander of French origin go to French Canada and then to Western France to study the Breton and Norman villages in co-operation with me.

### THE TREE OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY



In my work I am co-operating with many scholars in America and other countries. N. S. B. Gras of Harvard, who has studied several English villages, has helped me for Harwell. Richard L. Schanck of Louisiana is making an independent analysis of Harwell from the sociopsychological point of view at the same time as my study. Later we plan to compare results. Also Harold Peake of Berkshire, former head of the British Archaeological association, A. M. Carr-Saunders and other specialists of the London School of Economics, and C. S. Orwin, agricultural economist of Oxford, have helped me. In Germany, I have



worked with Wilhelm Seedorf, Max Sering, Wilhelm Saure, the State Historical Museum specialists at Hannover, and others. In Italy, Corrado Gini, many other specialists in the University of Rome, the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome and the Italo-American Foundation of Rome are helping. In Paris, through the American Embassy, I have made arrangements to work with Pierre Mornand of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and with many other French scholars. T. J. Woofter, Jr., is co-operating in the American study. Florence Kluckhohn of Radcliffe has been undertaking the burden of the early field work in America.

My study uses the historical, statistical, and participant observer methods. The Church books are awfully good when well kept. The documents for Harwell exist from 9th Ed. II (about 1320)—all the Elizabethan period particularly. In Germany in the Church records and in the local *Real-Gemeinde* I find a great mass of material. Demographic records begin in the Church books in 1624, two years before the Black Death of 1626. The Italian village belonged to the Church estate, but I can't tell yet what influence that has had on record keeping. Fundamentally, however, my study is based upon what I see. The diagram gives a representation of the American community tree.

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### NOTES ON MONTANA POPULATION TRENDS†

Montana won the uncoveted distinction of being the only state in the union to show a decrease in population from 1920 to 1930, according to the United States Census. The decrease amounted to 2.1 per cent. The only population data available for the state since that time are: (1) those showing the number of children 6 to 21 years of age and those under 6, which are secured in October each year through the census taken by the clerks of all school districts; and (2) the birth and death figures compiled by the Division of Vital Statistics of the State Board of Health.

Birth and death figures do not show the changes in population resulting from migration into or out of the state (a very important item in a state with high population mobility, which is characteristic of Montana and other Great Plains states), while the school census does reflect these changes but does not cover the population over 21 years of age. In spite of these shortcomings, these sources of information are helpful in getting some idea of what changes may be occurring in the population, the school census data at least giving a fairly good picture of what is happening to the number of the state's youth (under 21 years of age).<sup>1</sup>

The number of people living in Montana under 21 years of age decreased from

† Montana State College AES Paper 124, Journal Series.

<sup>1</sup> The Montana Common School Interest and Income Fund made up of rents collected from state school lands and interest from state land sales and related income is apportioned to the various school districts of the state according to the number of children between the ages of 6 and 21 residing within their boundaries. The clerk is required by law to make this census report under oath and if fictitious names of children or children who are not residents of the district are included, it constitutes a misdemeanor and is punishable by imposition of a fine. The school census records in Montana are, therefore, considered to be fairly complete and reliable.

213,222 in October, 1930, to 209,090 in October, 1938, according to the school census. This is a decrease of more than 4,000, or approximately 2 per cent in eight years. There has been a decline of nearly 2,000, or approximately 1 per cent in the past year.

But more important than the total changes in the population under 21 years old for the entire state, are the changes that are occurring in the distribution of this population within the state. Some counties have had significant increases in recent years, some have had practically no change, while still others have had significant decreases.

Nineteen of Montana's 56 counties show increases in population under 21 years of age in October, 1938, compared with October, 1930. Five of these 19 show increases of 25 per cent or more, 3 having increases of more than a third. These 19 counties are located in the more humid, cutover western third of the state and in irrigated areas, and the population increases are due largely to the influx of people from the eastern Montana drought counties and from the drought areas of neighboring states.

Of the 37 Montana counties in which the population under 21 years old was less in October, 1938, than in October, 1930, 10 show decreases of more than 25 per cent. One county (Petroleum) had exactly half as many youth under 21 in 1938 as in 1930. Four other counties show declines of more than a third during these eight years. These 37 counties are situated in the eastern two-thirds of the state where drought, dust, grasshoppers, and financial depression have hit hardest, with resulting widespread changes in farm organization and the population pattern accompanying reversion of dry land farming areas to grass.

Shifts in the distribution and composition of Montana's population are by no means complete. Significant changes have occurred in many counties since 1935, and in some during the past year. For example, in one county the population under 21 years old was 38 per cent less in October, 1938, than it was three years earlier (October, 1935), and 16 per cent less than a year earlier (October, 1937). In other words, the population under 21 in this county declined a sixth during the past year. Seven other counties show declines in population under 21 of approximately a fifth or more in the past three years.

A declining population does not necessarily mean poorer agricultural and business conditions and lower standards of living. In fact, many argue that it should mean just the opposite. However, securing more satisfactory living conditions and higher standards of living with a smaller total population in a state or in certain areas of a state, implies an intelligent adaptation of human institutions and patterns of use to the basic natural resources of these areas. In some parts of the state expansion of certain commitments may be in order, in others, contraction, and in still others little or no change. Such man-land adaptations require timely and intelligent action if painful errors and unsound commitments are to be kept at a minimum. A considerable amount of group action and co-operation among and between agricultural, business, and professional folk, both in and outside the state, are imperative if timely and intelligent action is to be achieved.

# Current Bulletins

*Charles P. Loomis, Editor*

## LEVELS OF LIVING

The Consumer Purchases Study made in six regions of the nation is based upon approximately 65,000 family income schedules, 34,000 expenditure schedules and some 134,000 supplementary schedules. As a part of the study a report on national incomes<sup>1</sup> (reviewed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, December, 1938) was issued in 1938. It is to be regretted that the bulletin, *Family Income and Expenditures, Pacific Region*,<sup>2</sup> received this quarter does not make comparisons with the national averages throughout. It is to be hoped that the many special reports which are to follow will do this. In the whole study, which is the largest single investigation of incomes and expenditures ever undertaken, features of sampling and analysis which promise to be epoch-making have been introduced. The use of some one of the many consumption scales based upon adult male equivalent units and the like has given way to breakdowns by family types designed to make comparisons among homogeneous groups of different composition and at different stages in the family life cycle. Although the types fail to represent the life cycle perfectly they do permit valuable comparisons on the basis of different types of composition units. It is to be regretted that the types could not have been so chosen as to have reflected more nearly perfectly the duration of marriage. However, Edouard Ducpétiaux's technique, the idea of type analysis, makes a real contribution.

*A Study of the Incomes and Disbursements of 218 Middle-Income Families in Honolulu*,<sup>3</sup> based upon names selected from tax rolls, follows standard procedures in level of living studies. Among interesting findings was the fact that men's clothing expenses exceeded those of women by ten per cent, whereas in the United States women's expenditures for clothing commonly exceed those of men by twenty per cent. This discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that in Honolulu the seasons are climatically so similar that women's clothing style changes are not so common as they are in the United States. Furthermore, the warmer weather in Honolulu increases the men's expenditures for cleaning of light clothes.

<sup>1</sup> *Consumer Incomes in the United States—Their Distribution in 1935-36*, National Resources Committee (Washington, 1938). 103 pp.

<sup>2</sup> *Family Income and Expenditures, Pacific Region, Part One, Family Income, Urban and Village Series*, USDA MP 339 (Washington, 1939). 380 pp.

<sup>3</sup> Harold J. Hoflich, William H. Taylor, and Lauren W. Casaday, *A Study of the Incomes and Disbursements of 218 Middle-Income Families in Honolulu*, University of Hawaii Bulletin 17 (Honolulu, October, 1938). 35 pp.

According to a study of *Sickness and Medical Care Among the Negro Population in a Delta Area of Arkansas*,<sup>4</sup> colds, malaria, eye trouble, rheumatism, and kidney trouble are the most prevalent illnesses. The analysis was based upon field interviews with 226 negro families in a typical Delta school district and includes data relative to amounts and kinds of sickness, availability of medical services, types and costs of services utilized—analyzed by income, tenure, and occupational status. The average cost of medical services for the schedule year was \$14.42 per family, or \$3.61 per capita, of which 37.2 per cent went for physician's services, 41.7 per cent for unprescribed medicine, 10.8 per cent for prescribed medicine, and 2.4 per cent for midwifery services. The use of local midwives, home medical remedies, and witchcraft are discussed. A serious omission is the consideration of the incidence and importance of syphilis, a disease known to be very prevalent among negroes of the Delta.

Mexico's health problems are discussed in a report<sup>5</sup> prepared for the Pan-American Conference of Rural Hygiene. Interest is centered on health among the aborigines, Mexicans, and Europeans in the rural areas where the restricted, monotonous bean and chili diet, quack or fake doctor, poverty, lack of medical facilities, and many other difficulties stand in the way of the development of a healthy people. Also, health in the cities and the problem of natural selection are discussed.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations has published the annual report<sup>6</sup> of the meeting of representatives of the National Nutrition Committees held in Geneva in October, 1938, in which sixteen countries participated. Included in this report is a summary of certain aspects of government action and research for the promotion of improved nutrition in a number of countries.

#### RURAL RELIEF

A Works Progress Administration report, *Changing Aspects of Rural Relief*,<sup>7</sup> presents the detailed results of the most extensive field survey of rural areas which has ever been undertaken. A complete analysis is made of thousands of case records of relief agencies in representative counties and townships of thirty-two states, bringing out the differences in various agricultural regions.

More than 8,500,000 persons, including nearly 16 per cent of all rural persons, received relief in rural areas in January, 1935, the peak month for the rural relief load, but since that time there has been a large turn-over in persons on relief rolls. This figure represents less than two thirds of the total number of rural households that have received relief during the depression and its after-

<sup>4</sup> Isabella C. Wilson, *Sickness and Medical Care Among the Negro Population in a Delta Area of Arkansas*, Arkansas AESB 372 (Fayetteville, March, 1939). 36 pp.

<sup>5</sup> Manuel Gamio, *Algunas Consideraciones Sobre la Salubridad y la Demografía en Mexico* (Mexico, 1939). 37 pp.

<sup>6</sup> *Survey of National Nutrition Policies, 1937-38*, League of Nations Publication Series II, Economic and Financial, II A 25 (Geneva, November, 1938). 119 pp.

<sup>7</sup> A. R. Mangus, *Changing Aspects of Rural Relief*, WPA RM XIV (Washington, 1938). 238 pp.

math. The total number of rural households that have been aided by relief agencies is much larger than the number on the rolls at any one date.

Heavy relief loads throughout the period that the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was operating were found in the rural regions most dependent on nonagricultural sources for income. These were the Appalachian-Ozark Area of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and adjoining states, and the Lake States Cut-Over Area of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. In both regions the farms are largely noncommercial or part-time, with farmers normally depending on work in the woods and mines for much of their cash income. When employment in lumbering and mining industries dwindled under the combined influence of technological improvements, depleted resources, and depression, these farmers were unable to make a living.

Drought caused a sharp increase in relief needs in the Wheat and Ranching Areas in the West and the Western Cotton Area of Oklahoma and Texas in the fall of 1934. Case loads in these areas fell in 1935 as conditions improved and as the rural rehabilitation program, the Works Program, and transfers to local relief agencies became effective. Rural relief loads were always comparatively low in such relatively prosperous farming regions as the Corn Belt, centering around Iowa, and the Hay and Dairy Area, bordering the Cut-Over Area around the Great Lakes.

The study presents a thorough analysis of the characteristics of the families on relief and the type of relief received. The recent arrival of many of the families to the counties in which they received relief bespeaks high mobility resulting in part from the depression or drought. Although the relief population in 1935 differed from that characteristic of periods of prosperity in that a large proportion were able-bodied workers (30 per cent were workers) in their efforts to find employment, many were handicapped by age, lack of experience, or limited education. Workers who were heads of rural relief households were forty years of age, on the average. Of the heads of households nearly one tenth had never gone to school or had not finished the first grade. Nearly one fourth had had no schooling or had completed less than four grades. Even when all persons ten to sixty-four years of age were considered, more than one fifth were found to have had less than a fourth grade education and 6 per cent had not even finished the first grade.

Each worker had an average of more than two dependents, including children, aged persons, homemakers, students, and the disabled. Only one fifth of the households had neither young nor old dependents.

Average amounts of relief granted to rural families per month ranged from \$10 to \$18 during the period studied. They were usually about \$15 less per month than the amounts granted to urban households. The peak of \$18 per month was reached in January, 1935, when the rural relief load was also at its peak. From that figure the average amount per month declined throughout 1935. In 1936, when the responsibility for general relief was returned to the states and localities, rural relief grants were stabilized at about \$12 to \$13 per household per month.

That different types of rural families were affected in different ways and to different degrees during the depression of the early thirties is emphasized in another Works Progress Administration bulletin.<sup>8</sup> Since the price of most of the products of the commercial farmer are determined by the exportable surplus, his market undergoes fluctuations in response to weather and economic conditions. The agricultural adjustment program has to some extent offset these circumstances, and, consequently, relief needs are not so heavy among farmers of this class. In contrast, the part-time and self-sufficing farmers, whose agricultural efforts are mostly for home use, have suffered more from the industrial decline and the depletion of natural resources. These families are helped relatively little by agricultural price-raising.

A third recognizable class of agricultural relief family is the chronically poverty-stricken, consisting chiefly of farm laborers in all areas and of sharecroppers and tenants in the Cotton Area of the South. They are dependent on commercial farmers and therefore suffer from the same troubles without being able to improve their own condition by raising much of the food for home consumption. Any factor which has a depressing effect on other farmers hits this group with especial severity.

Rural relief families had relatively more children than the general rural population and a smaller proportion of adults of working age. Normal families, consisting of husband and wife or of parents and children, accounted for almost three fourths of all rural relief units. They were relatively more frequent in the open country than in villages. On the other hand, broken families—that is, family groups consisting of only one parent and children—were found more often in villages, particularly when they had women as heads. Broken families were more frequent in the southern areas than elsewhere. The plight of many rural relief families is shown by the fact that one eighth of them had no employable member and an additional 8 per cent had women workers only.

Histories of continuous or recurrent relief were frequent in areas where rural incomes are particularly low or where depression had been aggravated by extraordinary disaster, as in the drought areas. The same factors largely determined the average size of relief grants. The smallest amounts of relief were found in the southern areas and the highest in the industrialized areas of the North and East.

The data on which the report is based were secured by means of a survey covering 138 counties, representative of nine major agricultural areas, and 116 New England townships. Throughout sociological generalizations concerning familism, with accompanying large families and stability, urbanism and its weakening influence in destabilizing the family, and the findings of other studies are interspersed.

A study of *Former Relief Cases in Private Employment*<sup>9</sup> is based upon 1,108

<sup>8</sup> Carle C. Zimmerman and Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Families on Relief*, WPA RM XVII (Washington, 1938). 161 pp.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph C. Bevis and Stanley L. Payne, *Former Relief Cases in Private Employment*, WPA Special Report (Washington, 1939), 23 pp.

families which left relief rolls during the summer of 1935 because a member of the family had obtained employment in private industry. In the twelve months covered three fifths of the cases studied were forced to seek assistance from public funds even though business activity increased. Also, the following findings are reported: "A great many of the cases leaving relief because of private employment may be expected to reappear on the public assistance rolls within a year following their separation. These cases are forced to return because of unstable employment and low earnings, occasioned by the fact that they are part of a reserve labor supply drawn upon largely for the seasonal needs of industry. Even with the help of public funds their incomes are below any reasonably adequate level of living. The cases going into private employment were, in a sense, a preferred group. This makes the high proportion of cases returning to public assistance rolls more significant."

A Works Progress Administration pamphlet, *Rural Relief and Recovery*,<sup>10</sup> deals with such subjects as population pressure, unequal opportunity, the plight of rural youth, disadvantaged farm classes, problem areas, drought distress, rural poverty, and other subjects which were given more comprehensive discussion in the book, *Seven Lean Years*, by T. J. Woofster and Ellen Winston.

A report, *Six Years of Relief in Rural Virginia, 1932-1937*,<sup>11</sup> depicts trends in types of relief, number of relief cases and expenditures for relief.

From a study<sup>12</sup> of old age assistance in Tennessee it is estimated that there are 35,000 eligible needy in the state. "A comparison of old age assistance programs in the various states for May, 1938, indicates that Tennessee was considerably below the national average both in the extent of coverage and in the amount of the average grant per recipient. It ranked above all the southern states except Florida in the size of average grants, but below all the southern states except Alabama in the number of persons per 1,000 of age 65 and over receiving grants." It is recommended that the amount of the maximum permissible grant be raised from \$25 to \$30 per month. Such a change would not materially increase the amount necessary for old age assistance, but would permit more adequate relief in specific cases.

#### RURAL ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

An Illinois Experiment Station bulletin, *4-H Club Work: Effect on Capability and Personal Quality*,<sup>13</sup> includes analyses of tests administered to 2,263 boys and girls living in six counties. The study makes comparisons of such statistical indexes as those derived from averages, multiple correlation, and multiple factor analyses of scores on achievement, attitude, social behavior, ascendancy-submis-

<sup>10</sup> Rupert B. Vance, *Rural Relief and Recovery*, WPA Social Problems, 3 (Washington, 1939). 32 pp.

<sup>11</sup> B. L. Hummel and R. B. Hummel, *Six Years of Relief in Rural Virginia, 1932-1937*, WPA Rural Relief Series 12 (Blacksburg, Virginia, April, 1939). Mimeographed, 33 pp.

<sup>12</sup> D. W. Eagan, *Old Age Assistance in Tennessee*, Tennessee State Planning Commission (Nashville, September, 1938). Mimeographed, 135 pp.

<sup>13</sup> D. E. Lindstrom and W. M. Dawson, *4-H Club Work: Effect on Capability and Personal Quality*, University of Illinois AESB 451 (Urbana, January, 1939). 343 pp.

sion tests and indexes of organization participation and prizes won by members and by nonmembers who were acquaintances of the members. From the elaborate and time-consuming analysis it was concluded that 4-H Club training had a direct effect upon capability as measured by the achievement test but that "the indirect effect of this training through such avenues as adaptability and attitudes toward farm life was not so strong as had been expected." The increase in capability of boys and girls was most pronounced among students who had not taken agriculture and home economics in high school. Prize winning was not closely related to achievement or adaptability to farm life, which indicated that other methods of motivation should be emphasized. The members were superior in many respects but, as demonstrated in a previous bulletin of the series,<sup>14</sup> the 4-H Club members were a select group. This being the case, the assumption that 4-H Club work had improved the personal qualities of the members appreciably was not definitely established by the analysis.

An Experiment Station Bulletin which analyzes *Washington Country Weekly Newspapers, Their Distribution and Characteristics, 1902-1938*<sup>15</sup> reports that the heyday for such papers was from 1914 to 1916 when there were 252 in the state. From 1918 to 1921, a period during which the building of improved roads brought the city dailies to the farmers, 28 per cent of these rural weeklies passed out of existence. However, since 1921 there has been only slight variation in their number. Most of the surviving weeklies are published on either Thursday or Friday so that rural people may have read their advertisements before making the customary Saturday trip to town. There has been a growing tendency to specialize on subjects of local interest not covered in daily papers and it is predicted that the weekly paper will continue to be published in medium-sized towns offering adequate population and advertising support. The chief source of data for the analysis was the Ayer Directory.

"By all quantitative and qualitative criteria, educational opportunities for rural children in the United States are inadequate in comparison with those for urban children," according to a report, *Education in the Forty-Eight States*.<sup>16</sup> The report states further that: (1) The rural child attends schools in which terms average 18 days shorter than those of schools attended by urban children. (2) As of 1930, 58 per cent of all urban youth of high school age (14-17) were enrolled in high schools, as compared with 39 per cent of the rural youth of the same age. (3) Thirty-one per cent of all rural youth of this age attended rural high schools of which, in all probability, at least 20 per cent had less than 20 pupils. "These comparisons point out the need of providing millions of children living in rural communities with opportunities comparable to those provided children living in urban communities."

<sup>14</sup> D. E. Lindstrom and W. M. Dawson, *Selectivity of 4-H Club Work*, reviewed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, I (December, 1936), 513.

<sup>15</sup> Carl F. Reuss, *Washington Country Weekly Newspapers, Their Distribution and Characteristics, 1902-1938*, Washington AESB 373 (Pullman, April, 1939). 30 pp.

<sup>16</sup> Payson Smith and Frank W. Wright, *Education in the Forty-Eight States*, The Advisory Committee on Education (Washington, 1939). 199 pp.



In an Experiment Station bulletin entitled "*Possible Savings Through Changes in Local Government*,"<sup>17</sup> it was concluded that in counties of 20,000 to 25,000 population county consolidation might save from \$10,000 to \$15,000, to say nothing of the economy in purchasing of supplies and in the increasing in efficiency of services rendered. Counties of less than 5,000 population may save up to \$15 per family by consolidation. Consolidation to make more economical units should involve not solely geographical or historical, but economic considerations as well. They should, according to the report, be effected through organic reorganization into new units or through functional reorganization involving the pooling of certain resources and responsibilities of existing counties. County manager or county executive plans and consolidation or reorganization of schools are advocated.

A short report printed by the Hermannstadt Association for Natural Sciences,<sup>18</sup> based upon 155 mailed statements from teachers, purports to prove that German students in the Transylvanian Mountains of Rumania who made good school records during the years 1906-10 later made better citizens and agriculturists than those who made poor grades. The report also includes a description of artifacts and anthropological findings.

#### POPULATION MIGRATION

The Works Progress Administration report, *Rural Migration in the United States*,<sup>19</sup> reveals that, in spite of a constant shifting between the country and city, migration offers no general panacea for the problems of rural areas and emphasizes the fact that the unguided migration of the past has not prevented the need for relief. Only by the combined effect of directed migration, reduced birth rates, and improvement of social and economic conditions in general within overpopulated areas, can the long-time problems of widespread need in rural areas be solved.

During the decade 1920-30 the total rural population increased by less than 5 per cent, but if there had not been a heavy net migration cityward the increase would have been more than three times as great, or approximately 16 per cent. During the depression the movement was greatly slowed down, piling up rural population in some sections. The effect of migration varies widely from one part of the country to another, with most sections having lost more rural migrants than they gained from 1920 to 1930. The Pacific coast was the principal exception, having a heavy increase in rural population. In all, 2,542 counties lost rural population through migration, while only 517 counties gained population through migration.

The depression of recent years has greatly affected the patterns of migration.

<sup>17</sup> H. C. Bradshaw and L. P. Gabbard, *Possible Savings Through Changes in Local Government*, Texas AESB 340 (College Station, April, 1937). 92 pp.

<sup>18</sup> Dr. Walter Hirschberg, *Verhandlungen und Mitteilungen des Siebenbürg. Vereins für Naturwissenschaften zu Hermannstadt* (Hermannstadt, 1938). 113 pp.

<sup>19</sup> C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *Rural Migration in the United States*, WPA RM XIX (Washington, 1939). 192 pp.

With urban employment curtailed, many persons moved back to the country, often to the poorer agricultural areas or to small farms on poor land near cities. The movement was in the nature of an exchange of people, with approximately 6,600,000 persons moving to farms from 1930 through 1934 and 7,200,000 persons moving from farms. Thus, as a result of this wholesale interchange of population between farm and nonfarm areas, there were only 600,000 more persons who moved from farms to villages, towns, and cities than moved in the opposite direction during the five years. Consequently the population on farms piled up in those areas where the birth rate far exceeds the death rate.

The fact that no single factor determines whether people will decide to move is emphasized. An examination of mechanization, quality of land, per capita agricultural income, plane of living, and distance to cities showed that their effect on migration is largely indirect. Choice of conflicting alternatives often determines whether or not a family or individual eventually decides to change residence.

In special studies of approximately 22,000 rural families in seven states by field interview, the extent of movement and the characteristics of the families were analyzed. The least movement was reported by families in the areas of oldest settlement. Of those who had moved, the great majority had moved only once, most frequently from another residence within the same county.

That migrants are relatively young is also emphasized by another Works Progress Administration Report<sup>20</sup> based upon records of 5,489 migrant families representing a sample of families receiving care in transient bureaus during September, 1935. Over one half of the heads of the transient families studied were under the age of 35, whereas in the general population, one half of the heads of families are under 45 years of age. The migrant families were also relatively small and relatively high in educational attainments. Because minority ethnic and racial groups were relatively more cohesive and also because they were less acceptable in new communities, they were under-represented among the migrants. The report disproves the belief that the majority of the migrants were on the road to "see the country" or were merely chronic wanderers. Most of them made relatively short moves, and four fifths of the families had definite contact with their destinations. Over half had close personal connections more or less obligated to assist them. Four fifths of the families sought economic betterment through employment and the assistance of relatives. Among the remainder, desire for a more healthful climate was the most important factor leading to migration. Unemployment was the chief expulsive force in all states except North Dakota and South Dakota, where farming failure was of principal importance. The contents of this scientific bulletin have been popularized in the pamphlet *Depression Pioneers*.<sup>21</sup>

Families on relief were found to have moved more frequently than those not on

<sup>20</sup> John N. Webb and Malcolm Brown, *Migrant Families*, WPA RM XVIII (Washington, 1938). 192 pp.

<sup>21</sup> David Cushman Coyle, *Depression Pioneers*, WPA Social Problems, 1 (Washington, 1939). 19 pp.

relief, but the nonrelief families were more likely to move long distances. Problems of relief have been found to be closely associated with important population movements. Areas receiving large-scale migrations, such as the far West, have found the migrants a burden with which the relief agencies have been unable to cope adequately. Residential requirements for public assistance and differences in policies of distributing relief have also had a significant effect upon currents of migration within the last few years.

Young people move more frequently than older people and women at a younger age, on the average, than men. During the depression of the early thirties young people stayed at home to a considerably greater extent than formerly, however. When they did move they were more likely to move shorter distances than those who migrated prior to January, 1929, and were more likely to move to the open country.

Lack of social stability, which has resulted in lack of community solidarity in the Northern Great Plains, is described in the Experiment Station Bulletin, *Farm Population Mobility in Selected Montana Communities*.<sup>22</sup> The study which is based upon field interviews includes data collected in 1937 concerning 1,356 households in eight communities selected to depict the characteristics of both in- and out-migrants as well as those of nonmigrant households for the period 1925 to 1937.

The study proves that the great exodus of people from the drought areas created mobility patterns not unlike those previously prevailing. "Among the more usual mobility aspects that also characterize drought period migration are the following: (1) short distance mobility is more frequent than long distance mobility; (2) an exodus out of an area is always accompanied by a counter-movement of population into the same area; (3) the older families and population are less migratory than the younger families and population; (4) proportionately more males than females enter the rural areas; and (5) long distance migrants tend to go more frequently to urban than to rural areas, and enter urban and industrial occupations more frequently than they enter rural and agricultural occupations."

Of the 317 households which had left the communities of study only 26 per cent had left the state. About two thirds of those which left Montana went West and most of the rest went East to their original "home" states. A large portion of those going West went to cities. The climatically more favorable areas which received migrants from less favorable areas have also witnessed an exodus of population.

*Transients and Migrants*,<sup>23</sup> who have entered California in large numbers as a result of displacement by drought, mechanization, and other causes, constitute one of the state's most knotty problems. The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California has summarized facts concerning the number and

<sup>22</sup> Carl F. Kraenzel, *Farm Population Mobility in Selected Montana Communities*, Montana AESB 371 (Bozeman, April, 1939). 63 pp.

<sup>23</sup> Victor Jones, *Transients and Migrants*, University of California Bureau of Public Adm., 1939 Legislative Problems, 4 (Berkeley, February 27, 1939). Mimeographed, 67 pp.

mode of life of these people and the efforts made by state and federal agencies to assist them. That a study of the problem be made by the National Resources Committee is recommended.

A study of *Migration into Oregon, 1930-1937*<sup>24</sup> has been made from school records of migrants with children in the schools of Oregon's fifteen largest cities and from records of migrant families whose head registered for employment at the Oregon State Employment Service offices throughout the state. After duplications on these two registers were eliminated, the migrants in the two samples totaled 115,400. From the study it was estimated that "some 200,000 migrants from other states probably came into Oregon," and that "the gross migration into Oregon during the seven and one-half year period equalled at least 11 per cent, and probably reached 20 per cent or more of the resident population."

Eighty-four per cent of the recent migrants came from 14 states, 3 adjoining, 7 Northern Great Plains states, and 4 North Central states. These are the same states from which most of the 1920-30 migration came. The people tended to move directly from east to west along parallels of latitude and the shorter the distance the greater the number of migrants. That there was high population turnover is indicated by the fact that for every two persons entering Oregon, approximately one leaves. Newcomers tended to seek localities similar to their former environment or those particularly desirable for certain reasons, and the larger the cities the more persons they received.

#### RURAL YOUTH

A study of 185 rural boys in Pennsylvania<sup>25</sup> who dropped out of high school before graduation, points to these conclusions: (1) the lower the intelligence of these rural boys, the more likely was their early withdrawal from school; (2) those chronologically retarded tended to leave school earlier than those who were normal or accelerated; (3) vocational subjects appealed more than others to those boys who left school before graduation; (4) the scope of recreational interest of this group was very limited; (5) they frequently presented disciplinary problems to school authorities but were seldom dismissed because of their conduct; (6) when asked to indicate their vocational choices during the early high school period, the boys did not express a predominant preference for the work of their fathers, but, as they approached the time when they dropped out of school, interest in their fathers' occupations sharply increased; (7) later employment bore practically no relation to occupational preferences expressed before leaving school; and (8) principal reasons listed for withdrawal from school

<sup>24</sup> V. B. Stanbery, *Migration into Oregon, 1930-1937*, Oregon State Planning Board (Portland, March, 1939), II. Mimeographed, 49 pp.; a previous volume in the series was reviewed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, III (September, 1938), 328; see Stanbery, *Migration into Oregon, 1930-1937*, (Portland, February, 1938), I (Net Migration and Population Estimates), in which the Oregon State Planning Board presented estimates of net migration and increases resulting therefrom.

<sup>25</sup> C. S. Anderson, *Out-of-school Rural Young in Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania AESB 374 (State College, February, 1939). 34 pp.

were employment, scholastic failure, lack of interest, social maladjustments, inaccessibility of schools, and home influences.

A bulletin of the American Council on Education of the American Youth Commission<sup>26</sup> presents a summary of the organizations which reach rural young people.

The National Child Labor Committee has made a study<sup>27</sup> of child labor among the migrants on the Pacific coast, with particular emphasis on those working in the hop fields, walnuts, cotton, and fruits. Living and working conditions, educational opportunities, and health are studied, and recommendations are made for improvement in the lot of the migratory worker.

The Division of Research of the Works Progress Administration has published a preliminary report of a Survey of Youth in the Labor market.<sup>28</sup> The study is based on interviews with about 30,000 youth from eight cities chosen to represent the various regions of the country. From these interviews a record was obtained of each youth's activity from the time he left the eighth grade to the time of the interview, and these records were used to examine the process of youth's transition from school to job.

#### FARM LABOR

According to a Works Progress Administration report<sup>29</sup> "a century ago the production of an acre of wheat required nearly 60 man-hours; in 1896, with machine methods about 9 hours were required in the central winter-wheat belt; today, with the most modern machinery it requires less than 5 hours, and in some regions not more than 2 or 3 hours of work."

Since the introduction of improved varieties and more efficient methods of farming have kept per acre yields constant in spite of soil depletion and other changes the reduction in labor requirements per bushel of wheat is comparable to the per acre reduction. The higher the prices and the more farm prosperity prevails, the greater will be the tendency to carry the process of mechanization further into all areas, especially the less specialized areas.

#### GERMAN PEASANTS

An analysis<sup>30</sup> of the historical development of the rural culture of South East Prussia based upon a special study of an eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century life in a rural village has been received. The study made by a student of G. Ipsen, who heads a new school of German rural sociology, is based upon analysis of secondary sources and first hand contact with the village families. It

<sup>26</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes M. Boynton, *Older Youth in Farm Organization and Other National Agency Programs*, AYC (Washington, July, 1939). Mimeographed, 82 pp.

<sup>27</sup> James E. Sidel, *Pick for Your Supper*, National Child Labor Committee Publication 378 (New York, June, 1939). 67 pp.

<sup>28</sup> *Urban Youth, Their Characteristics and Economic Problems*, WPA, I, 24 (Washington, 1939). Mimeographed, 52 pp.

<sup>29</sup> Robert B. Elwood, et al., *Changes in Technology and Labor Requirements in Crop Production, Wheat and Oats*, WPA Report A-10 (Philadelphia, April, 1939). 182 pp.

<sup>30</sup> Hans Linde, *Preussischer Landesausbau* (Leipzig, 1939). 95 pp.

depicts the structure of the village through the decades, emphasizing the influence of the great German land-use reforms and their relation to the thinking, daily life, and population fertility of the village.

In the welfare of the German nation the mountain peasant plays an exceedingly important role, according to a recent report of the Reichsministerium für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft<sup>81</sup> based upon a synthesis of the existing literature. His frugal hard life makes him a brave soldier, a good citizen who preserves the traditions of the past. His relatively high birth rate helps provide the country with healthy, strong workers. However, his lot has become increasingly difficult in modern times and should be ameliorated by the introduction of better farming methods, of home industries and other devices calculated to retain his culture without encouraging urbanization and commercialization.

The plight of some 60,000 Germans, whose parents and grandparents were induced by the Russian nobility to move into an area in the Ukraine during the sixties of the previous century, was a sad one, especially during the World War when they were torn away from their homes and scattered over the empire. As inducement to colonization, the Russian nobility had originally offered cheap, uncleared woodland which could be cleared, and employment possibilities. The Russians had offered these inducements because of the shortage of labor which resulted from the freeing of the serfs, who were too ignorant to clear the forests. The return of the surviving settlers after the World War to their old holdings in the new nation of Poland, and their difficulties since, are described in another report of the German Reichsministerium für Ernährung und Landwirtschaft.<sup>82</sup>

#### DROUGHT FARMERS

According to a Works Progress Administration report entitled *Farming Hazards in the Drought Area*,<sup>83</sup> based on secondary data and on 1,000 records taken by field interviews in 13 counties in 7 states in the Great Plains, rural relief loads have been heaviest in areas most severely affected by drought, but the financial plight of most farmers has by no means been caused entirely by drought conditions. From one fifth to one third or more of all farm families in most sections of the Great Plains have been forced to apply for relief in recent years. In some counties the proportion has risen as high as 80 or 90 per cent.

Heavy mortgage indebtedness, unpaid feed and seed loans, mounting tax delinquencies, repeated crop failures, small farms, and increasing tenancy had all contributed to the economic insecurity of the farmers interviewed in the counties typifying the range of conditions in the Northern and Central Great Plains. During recent dry years from two fifths to three fourths of the cash receipts of

<sup>81</sup> P. Ehrenberg, *Berichte Über Landwirtschaft, Die besonderen Schwierigkeiten in der Lage des deutschen Bergbauern und Wege zu ihrer Erleichterung* (Berlin, 1939). 122 pp.

<sup>82</sup> Hans-Jürgen Seraphim, *Berichte Über Landwirtschaft, Rodungssiedler—Agrarverfassung und Wirtschaftsentwicklung des deutschen Bauerntums in Wolhynien* (Berlin, 1938). 146 pp.

<sup>83</sup> R. S. Kifer and H. L. Stewart, *Farming Hazards in the Drought Area* WPA RM XVI (Washington, 1938). 219 pp.

farmers came from government expenditures in the form of production control payments, emergency livestock purchases, or relief grants. In addition, many farmers obtained government crop and feed loans. Crop sales provided little or no cash receipts. That the precarious situation of the farmers has not been due to recent droughts alone is indicated by the fact that in Dakota counties studied 30 to 46 per cent reported financial losses since they began to farm in the area.

In contrast, farmers in the eastern counties of the Northern and Central Great Plains have remained in much better condition. Their cash receipts were more nearly normal throughout the drought years, crop failures have been rare, and even the small farms have offered more than a bare living. Also, as a result of heavier precipitation, higher temperatures, a normally mild winter, and a long growing season, the Southern Great Plains presents problems of agricultural adjustment considerably different from those in the other Great Plains Areas. Except in northern Texas, where wind erosion has aggravated the drought situation and where farmers were already in serious straits prior to the excessively dry years, the agricultural situation has been less serious than in either the Central or the Northern Great Plains. However, small farms, depleted livestock herds, heavy indebtedness, nonresident ownership of land, and increasing tenancy have intensified the need for agricultural readjustments.

In almost all of the areas studied permanent rehabilitation of farmers involves an increase in the size of some of the farms, reorganization of the operating units, retirement of some land from crops, an increase in pasture acreage, replacement of depleted livestock herds, repairs to buildings, and repairs or replacement of machinery.

#### CO-OPERATIVES

There are now some 15,000 co-operatives in the United States, of which between 10,000 and 11,000 are engaged in marketing farm products and purchasing farm supplies, or other related services. Through these co-operatives two billion dollars worth of farm products and supplies are sold annually. Farm Credit Administration surveys have shown that over one fifth of the farmers' co-operatives have been doing business twenty-five years; 65 per cent have been doing business at least ten years.<sup>84</sup>

The American co-operative movement, although not having reached the relative proportions attained in some of the Northern countries of Europe, is of tremendous consequence in the whole national economy and especially in the farm economy. The importance of the movement is attested by the number of bulletins about co-operatives printed annually. As usual the bulletins received this quarter<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup> A list of the many bulletins on co-operatives published by the Farm Credit Administration in recent years may be had by writing the Director of Information and Extension of that organization.

<sup>85</sup> Harold Hedges, *Operations of Cooperative Grain Elevators in Kansas and Oklahoma*, FCAB 30 (Washington, January, 1939). 64 pp.; L. M. Brown and R. J. Penn, *Cooperatives in South Dakota*, South Dakota AESB 328 (Brookings, April, 1939). 31 pp.; E. F. Dummer, *Cooperative Purchasing in Washington*, Washington AESB 371 (Pullman, March, 1939). 28 pp.; John B. Roberts and H. B. Price, *Organization and Management*

are in no instance written by sociologists. As usual the sociological and psychological problems of the co-operatives are recognized as being of utmost significance. The necessity for "emotional loyalty of members," "enthusiastic leadership," "keeping the membership intelligently informed," and "right attitudes" were among the problems mentioned, but, unfortunately, no adequate treatment of these subjects was rendered. It is to be hoped that rural sociologists will grasp the opportunity to assist in this fruitful field of research. Some of the sociologists of the past, such as Ferdinand Toennies and J. V. Emelianoff, recognized the importance of the sociological considerations involved in co-operation. Economists who believe co-operatives can be studied as something apart from the cultural setting could profit from a consideration of their practical and theoretical knowledge. They would profit by reading such articles as: R. Weber's "The Consumers Cooperative as a Synthesis of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft" in the *Koelner Vierteljahrshefte fuer Soziologie*, V, 1/2 (1925).

In addition the following publications have been received:

- Lloyd E. Blauch and Charles F. Reid, *Public Education in the Territories and Outlying Possessions*, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study 16 (Washington, 1939). 243 pp.
- L. C. Gray, *Evolution of the Land Program of the United States Department of Agriculture*, BAE (Washington, March, 1939). Multilithed, 17 pp.
- M. M. Chambers and Howard M. Bell, *How to Make a Community Youth Survey*, AYC Series IV, III, 2 (Washington, January, 1939). 45 pp.
- David T. Blose and Ambrose Caliver, *Statistics of The Education of Negroes, 1933-34 and 1935-36*, U. S. Dept. of Interior Bulletin 1938, 13 (Washington, 1939). 67 pp.
- "Social Problems of Agriculture," in *Science Serving Agriculture*, Oklahoma AES Report for 1936-38 (Stillwater, January, 1939). 231 pp.
- Thomas Alfred Tripp, *Social Action*, V, 5 (New York, May, 1939). 39 pp.
- Leopold G. Scheidl, *Die Kulturlandschaft Alt-Japans*, Die Japanisch-Osterreichische Gesellschaft (Tokio, 1937). 43 pp.
- CCC Foremanship, Division of CCC Enrollee Training, U. S. Forest Service (Washington, 1939). 90 pp.
- Walter D. Cocking and Charles H. Gilmore, *Organization and Administration of Public Education*, The Advisory Committee on Education Staff Study 2 (Washington, 1938). 183 pp.
- A Statistical Handbook of Farmers' Cooperatives*, FCAB 26 (Washington, November, 1938). 334 pp.
- A Study of the Possibilities of Rural Zoning as an Instrument for Improving Land Use in Hamilton County, Tennessee*, USDA Tennessee State Planning Commission (Knoxville, February, 1939). 31 pp.
- of the Falls Cities Cooperative Milk Producers' Association*, Kentucky AESB 390 (Lexington, January, 1939). 87 pp.; and A. A. Dowell and S. T. Warrington, *Livestock Shipping Associations*, Minnesota AESB 339 (Minneapolis, November, 1938). 24 pp.



- Oregon Looks Ahead*, Oregon State Planning Board (Portland, November, 1938). 93 pp.
- U. S. Community Improvement Appraisal*, A Report on The Work Program of the WPA, by the National Appraisal Committee (Washington, April, 1939). 62 pp.
- Proceedings of the Second National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth, January 12, 13, and 14*, U. S. Department of Labor (Washington, 1939). Mimeographed, 123 pp.
- Christopher Turnor, *Land Reclamation and Drainage in Italy* (London, 1938). 24 pp.
- E. L. Langsford, and B. H. Thibodeaux, *Plantation Organization and Operation in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta Area*, USDA & Mississippi AES Technical Bulletin 682 (Washington, May, 1939). 92 pp.
- J. Orde Browne, *Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia*, Colonial 150 (London, 1938). 99 pp.
- Recreation in New England*, New England Regional Planning Commission, Publication 53 (Boston, September, 1938). Mimeographed, 26 pp.
- Benson Young Landis, *A Guide to the Literature of Rural Life*, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (New York, 1939). 15 pp.
- Margaret T. Olcott, *Rural Psychology: A Partial List of References*, USDA Agricultural Economics Bibliography 78 (Washington, March, 1939). Processed, 76 pp.
- Cooperative Societies in Palestine*, Report of the Registrar of Cooperative Societies on Developments during the Years 1921-37 (Jerusalem, 1938). 133 pp.
- Wisconsin State Planning Board, *The Cutover Region of Wisconsin, and A Park, Parkway, and Recreational Area Plan*, Bulletins 7, 8 (Madison, January, 1939). 146, 134 pp.
- Proceedings of Third Annual National Farm Institutes at Des Moines, February 17-18, 1939*, Agricultural Department, Des Moines Chamber of Commerce (Des Moines, 1939). 137 pp.
- Fred W. Johnson, *Land of the Free*, U. S. Dept. of Interior, General Land Office (Washington, 1938). 18 pp.
- Herman M. Haag, *Operating Expenses of Cooperative Exchanges and Elevators*, Missouri AESB 401 (Columbia, September, 1938). 48 pp.
- Wm. H. Dankers and E. F. Koller, *A Survey of Cooperative Creameries in Watonwan County, 1937*, Minnesota Ag. Ext. Service Bull. 54 (University Farm, November, 1938). Mimeographed, 26 pp.
- G. H. Aull, *Some Economic Characteristics of Owner-Operated Farms in South Carolina*, South Carolina AESB 316 (Clemson, October, 1938). 31 pp.
- L. F. Garey, *Land Transfers in Twelve Counties in Nebraska, 1928-1933*, Nebraska AESB 107 (Lincoln, November, 1938). 24 pp.

- Anne R. Matthews and Theresa E. Wood, *What Foods to Eat and Why*, Cornell Junior Extension Bull. 58 (Ithaca, October, 1938). 85 pp.
- Robert R. Hamilton and Paul R. Mort, *Selected Legal Problems in Providing Federal Aid for Education*, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study 7 (Washington, 1938). 71 pp.
- R. T. Burdick, *Landlord and Tenant Income in Colorado*, Colorado AESB 451 (Fort Collins, October, 1938). 54 pp.
- Ownership of Farm Land in South Dakota, January 1, 1938*, South Dakota State Planning Board (Brookings, September, 1938). Mimeographed, 68 pp.
- Sam H. Thompson and Knute Bjorka, *Community Livestock Auctions in Iowa*, Iowa AESB 376 (Ames, September, 1938). 343 pp.
- Margaret C. Klem, *A Plan for a Case Census of Recipients of Public Assistance*, Social Security Board, Bureau of Research and Statistics Report 2 (Washington, March, 1938). 92 pp.
- Report on the Agricultural Implement and Machinery Industry*, Federal Trade Commission, House Document 702 (Washington, 1938). 1176 pp.
- C. Horace Hamilton, *Statistics on Farm Tenancy for Texas*, Texas AESB 580 (College Station, December, 1938). Mimeographed, 15 pp.
- Die Wirtschaft Jugoslaviens*, Veröffentlichung Des Instituts zur Forderung des Aussenhandels in Beograd, 1937. 368 pp.
- C. F. Strickland, *Rural Welfare in India* (London, 1936). 54 pp.
- P. K. Whelpton, *Needed Population Research*, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1938). 196 pp.
- What's New in Farm Science*, Annual Report of the Director, Wisconsin AESB 442 (Madison, November, 1938). 113 pp.
- A Tour of Nova Scotia Cooperatives*, Report of Conference-Tour, St. Francis Xavier University (New York, 1937). 48 pp.
- Rev. Edgar Schmiedeler, *Our Rural Proletariat*, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Social Action Series 11 (New York, 1938). 31 pp.
- Rural Catholic Action*, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Diocesan Directors' Series 1 (Washington, 1936). 61 pp.; and Series 2 (Washington, 1937). 49 pp.
- Outlook for Farm Family Living*, 1939, USDA Misc. Publ. 332 (Washington, November, 1938). 6 pp.
- Farm Family Living*, Agricultural Outlook Charts, 1939, USDA (Washington, October, 1938). 23 pp.
- Prices Paid by Farmers for Commodities and Services—Telephone Rates to Farmers in the United States, 1910-14, 1924-29, 1932, and 1935-36*, BAE III, 3 (Washington, December, 1938). 15 pp.
- Research Report on Farming*, NYAR 5 (Chicago, March, 1938). Mimeographed, 49 pp.

- C. S. Hunsinger, *Accomplishing Rural Community Work*, Ohio National Township Council (Flat Rock, 1938). 37 pp.
- S. D. Sanders, *Organizing a Farmers' Cooperative*, Farm Credit Adm., C-108 (Washington, 1938). 42 pp.
- John Chancellor, *The Library in the TVA Adult Education Program*, Illinois ALA (Chicago, 1937). 75 pp.
- Lillian Keller, *Clothing the Farm Family*, Tennessee AESB 200 (Knoxville, November, 1937). 12 pp.
- Social Welfare Costs in 1938*, Kansas State Board of Social Welfare Publ. 70 (Kansas, February, 1938). Mimeographed, 9 pp.
- H. C. M. Case and Joseph Ackerman, *Our Farm Tenancy Problems*, Illinois AES (Urbana, May, 1938). Mimeographed, 17 pp.
- Agricultural Merit*, 1936, Report of the Minister of Agriculture of the Province of Quebec (Quebec, 1936). 171 pp.
- How Swedish Cooperatives Break Monopolies*, The Cooperative League 389 (New York, 1938). 15 pp.
- Alabama, 1938*, Alabama Industrial Development Board (Birmingham, January, 1938). 207 pp.
- Agriculture of Alabama*, Alabama Dept. of Ag. and Industries (Montgomery, 1938). 160 pp.
- Economic Information Relating to North Dakota*, North Dakota Farm Credit Adm. of St. Paul (St. Paul, September, 1937). Mimeographed, 42 pp.
- Memoria de Agricultura*, 1938, Bagota Imprenta Nacional Department of Agriculture (Columbia, 1938).
- Annual Report on the Working of Cooperative Societies in the Province of Bombay, For the year 1936-37* (Bombay, 1938). 174 pp.
- A. M. P. A. Scheltema, *The Food Consumption of the Native Inhabitants of Java and Madur*, A. H. Hamilton, tr., International Research Series, Report A. Institute of Pacific Relations.
- Virginia University Institute of Public Affairs, Addresses delivered*, 1938. Virginia District of Rotary International (Charlottesville, 1938).
- Fabio Luz Filho, *Agricultural Cooperatives in Rio Grande Do Sul, Brazil*, Pan-American Union, Div. of Agricultural Cooperation, 2 (Washington, October, 1938).
- Foods, Human Nutrition and Other Home Problems*, Reprint from report on AES, 1937.
- A. G. Black, *Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics*, 1938, USDA (Washington, 1939).

# Book Reviews

*Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor*

*A History of Social Philosophy.* By Charles A. Ellwood. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938. xvi, 581 pp. \$2.60.

With his usual facile pen, my distinguished former teacher has written a book which follows the traditional course of western social philosophy and sociological theory. Ellwood's necessarily condensed work begins with a brief reference to Hammurabi, then takes up Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and the Epicureans. Summarily he treats the early western period by remarks only upon Augustus, Aquinas, Dante, and Machiavelli, and includes more lengthy analyses of some forty thinkers following Bodin (1530). Each analysis includes the following: a short biography; a survey of the thinker's relation to his predecessors; a discussion of his method; a résumé of the thinker's doctrine of social origins, development, social organization and functioning, social order and progress; and Ellwood's criticism. Twenty pages are devoted to Marx, fifty to Comte, thirty-one to Spencer, twenty-six each to Sumner and Ward. Jesus is omitted. Nietzsche is included and defended, since "we cannot dismiss a man's thinking, for example, because we know he had tuberculosis" (p. 394). (This rhetoric puts softening of the brain, from which Nietzsche actually suffered, in the same category with other tissue diseases.)

Asiatic theorists and philosophers (Confucius, Mencius, Lao-tze, Manu, Buddha, *et al.*) are justifiably omitted because of space restrictions. However, one may deny the validity of Ellwood's other "grounds" for their omission—namely, their lack of relation to western cultural history, and their predominantly religious, nonscientific outlooks. Correspondingly, one may question the statements that it was Plato who first constructed a "coherent well-organized social philosophy," and that Aristotle (in a sense) possessed the only truly scientific mind in antiquity. Whatever be Ellwood's estimate of the Asiatic thinkers, their omission does not excuse his contention that it was Socrates who first conceived "good" and "intelligent" as synonymous, nor does it excuse the postdating of the code of Manu as practically coincidental with the Christian era.

The principal points of my critical argument arise, however, in connection with the author's interpretations of the thinkers he has discussed, particularly Machiavelli, LePlay, and Durkheim. Ellwood brands as "political immoralism" Machiavelli's doctrine of ends as necessarily important for institutionally acting persons. Individual immoralism, yes. Hardly, however, "political immoralism" unless one is a pure sociological nominalist, a position which I do not think Ellwood will defend. To take such a position one must discard the assumption that any act has both good and bad (moral and immoral) implications, depend-

ing on its frequency and the situation in which it occurs, an assumption emphasized by Confucius, Aristotle, and many subsequent thinkers.

Ellwood errs widely in his analysis of LePlay. The French thinker was an engineer to be sure, but that does not mean his principal acquaintances during his family budget investigations were miners! Such an idea is quite erroneous, as I have shown in Chapter VI of my *Family and Society*. LePlay was a Catholic, but that does not mean he represented "the Roman Catholic reaction to Comte's social philosophy." Actually, LePlay never associated himself with either Catholic politics or philosophy. In his writing LePlay frequently referred to Rousseau, but never—so far as I know—to Comte. Possibly Geddes and Branford sought a synthesis of LePlay and Comte, but as I have shown in my work, the school of LePlay apparently had little understanding of what LePlay himself was trying to do.

I cannot agree with Ellwood that LePlay's contributions were "negligible" and "superficial," that LePlay was a pious reactionary, and that his school went much further than he did in making fundamental interpretations. Ellwood obviously disdains the social-survey method (pp. 416-17) and he believes that LePlay felt the economic life to be more fundamental than other aspects of family living. Although LePlay's works included economic data, Ellwood is wrong in his interpretation, as evidenced by point thirteen in LePlay's nomenclature and by the original works. The charge of geographic determinism and the criticism of LePlay's "pious Roman Catholic milieu" are likewise proved false by an examination of the original writings. Those moral principles, the practice of which constituted LePlay's *besoins essentiels de l'homme*, were found by him in Mohammedan and Confucianist as well as Christian societies, and formed a *universal décalog*. In addition, Ellwood is guilty of distorting omissions and various factual errors in connection with LePlay; *les ouvriers européens*, referred to here for example, were published in 1878 and not in 1855.

Durkheim is represented as a second-rate follower of Comte. Durkheim followers may claim that Ellwood is guilty of numerous inaccuracies and misinterpretations. One learns that Durkheim's typical attitudes "did not come out until he published his *règles*," that he sought to make sociology "follow the same methods that the natural sciences follow," that his social facts are "things" in the same category as eighteenth century phenomenal psychology, that he "finally decided" (in a most sophomoric fashion) upon exteriority and constraint as measures of social facts, that he is usually represented as a follower of Comte's point of view, that he held "very strictly" to the view that sociology was "not able to offer any value judgments," that he was *feeling* his way "toward a cultural sociology," that his "extreme" social realism led him astray, and that it is doubtful whether the use of the term "collective representations" advanced the cause of scientific explanation of such phenomena.

This work is better than most previous surveys of sociological theory. A familiarity with the history of social philosophy and sociological theory is important since science is a hard-boiled combination of thought and fact. Still, undisciplined thought can, as most books on theory show, be as scientifically

sterile as the 30,000 local social surveys (according to Ellwood's evaluation), many of which, as Ellwood suggests, "have undoubtedly been devices to secure degrees for graduate students who could not do original, constructive thinking." The book is not a substitute for the reading of original materials by either student or teacher.

C. C. Z.

*Marginal Land.* By Horace Kramer. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1939. 426 pp. \$2.50.

Horace Kramer writes with a mellow and sensitive pen. *Marginal Land* is a tale of struggle, of saddened years and victory on a ranch in central South Dakota. The story is one of the finest things that I have read in many days.

Steve Randall, a Chicago-bred youth, ill and fearful of tuberculosis, goes to his ancestral "waste" land in Dakota where he is later joined by his selfish young wife, Josephine. Randall dreams of wheat, but old Voorhees, who has watched the uncompromising hills since the days of Randall's father, talks cattle. "Charley Spink's got a clump of oats six foot high in his office that he raised on his manure pile and watered with a bucket. There ought to be a law against such goings on."

The inexperienced, land-hungry homesteaders come and go. The length of their stay is determined by the unseasonal rains. Voorhees is as much at home on the land as the unmolested buffalo. He is part of the rolling sweep of the prairie. "When All-Mighty God was laying out this world and come to this place, he turned to Gabriel . . . . 'This here is going to be a stock country . . . . I'll cover it over with good, rich grass that cures on the stem, and so's they'll make no mistake, I'll fill it with buffalo.' "

Randall learns. He had long since discovered that to invite this land to fight contrary to her own rules "was to go down in defeat." Finally the ranch pays. In the meantime Josephine—sick of the smell of manure—returns to Chicago. Randall remarries—this time it is Trina. Trina, despite a background of squalor on the prairie, possesses an irresistible charm and an unfailing devotion to Randall.

Serene beauty rises from almost every page of this book. Even in the midst of Josephine's retorts, tranquil moments appear. The story ends with the bestowal of a superb "sticky" kiss upon Randall's cheek by little Tinka, who repeats, "Trina says you should come to supper."

University of Nebraska

J. M. REINHARDT

*The City: A Study of Urbanism in the United States.* By Stuart Alfred Queen and Lewis Francis Thomas. New York: McGraw-Hill Co., 1939. xv, 500 pp. \$4.00.

This treatment of urbanism in the United States is organized around five major considerations: the rise of cities, urban institutions and folkways, distributive and selective factors in city life, population characteristics and problems, and predictions and control.

A foundation for the study is laid in the geographic conditions which have to do with the location and development of cities. In fact the book combines the point of view of the sociologist and the geographer, for Professor Queen is a sociologist and Professor Thomas a geographer.

Those who have used other books written by Professor Queen know that he organizes his material clearly and supports his positions with substantial research findings. This study is no exception. The authors have made good use of the available research findings to support their hypotheses. In some instances there may be disagreement about the hypothesis presented, but these men support their suggestions well.

The rural sociologist will be particularly interested in the section of the book discussing urban institutions and folkways. Here the authors contrast urban with rural life, indicating differences in the situations. The rural sociologist is likely to desire more amplification of rural-urban relations than is presented. The book, however, is written as a treatise on urbanism and uses the contrast with the rural simply to make clear the urban.

The book will be widely used in courses in urban sociology, for it is well written, with a logical development, a clear-cut organization, and challenging suggestions about unsolved problems.

Cornell University

W. A. ANDERSON

*Danish Agriculture: Its Economic Development.* By Einar Jensen. Copenhagen: J. H. Schultz, 1937. xvii, 417 pp. \$3.75.

This interesting book describes the precise nature of the co-operative process among Danish farmers. It differs from other works on Danish agriculture more in the abundance of factual materials used to demonstrate its propositions than in the originality of the author's theses. The period 1870 to 1930 was the one selected for intensive analysis. It has an introduction, thirteen chapters, three appendixes, a bibliography, and an index. Seventy-four illustrations add much to the method of presentation, and fifteen tables present elaborate statistical compilations. Chapter I, which treats the early political and economic history of Denmark, will prove valuable to those interested in the social effects of large-scale agriculture. Chapter III is devoted to the people and their social background; in it will be found much concerning the institutions. Land Tenure is treated in detail in Chapter IV. Other chapters are devoted to the Natural Basis, Industry and Commercial Policy, the Technical Basis of the Agricultural Revolution, Effects of Monetary and Technical Influences and of Tariffs, Statistical Summary of Danish Agricultural Development, 1875-1930, Changes in Production on the Representative Farm, Problems of Economic Organization, and Differences in Organization due to Size of Farms and to Sectional Character of Natural Resources.

The author gives in Chapter XII a lengthy discussion of co-operation in Danish Agriculture. He treats in detail the co-operative creameries, packing plants, egg marketing, buying of feeds and fertilizer, co-operative stores, co-operative seed supply, co-operative supply of cement and coal, and co-operative banking.

The essential characteristics of Danish co-operatives are not the complete reorganization of society as envisioned by Robert Owen, although co-operation "has fostered the point of view" and led to the educational enrichment of the rural population.

T. L. S.

*The Black Man in White America.* By John G. Van Deusen. Washington: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1938. 338 pp. \$3.25.

*The Negro Immigrant.* By Ira De A. Reid. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. 261 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Van Deusen's book is a good presentation of a cross-section view of the Negro in America civilization. With the possible exceptions of Chapter IX—"The Forgotten Man of the New Deal"—the greater portion of his subject matter is already familiar to the students of race relations in the United States. Nevertheless, it is a contribution in that the author has made a rather exhaustive study of the more recent literature pertaining to his subject, emphasizing pamphlets, magazine articles, and the Negro press, an often neglected source of information. Its value lies in the condensation of this large amount of literature into nineteen clear and concise chapters dealing with the Negro in both urban and rural environment. He points out the much overlooked fact that "Negroes' rights are limited by tradition and custom in the North just as they are curtailed by custom and legislation in the South." The reviewer, in some recent observations of Negro sections in the "cradle of American liberty"—Boston—was impressed by their close resemblance to the Negro sections of New Orleans, which leads him to agree with Van Deusen that in the North "there is a difference between sympathy for the Negro who is far away and the one who is actually present." In his thoughtful analysis of the various schools of Negro leadership the author concludes that in the long run the best interest of the American Negro lies in following "patiently" the counsel of that great leader, Booker T. Washington.

Dr. Reid of Atlanta University has contributed the first extensive study of foreign-born Negroes in the United States in his thoughtful work *The Negro Migrant*. He shows that most of the 100,000 recent Negro immigrants to this country come from the Caribbean area, principally from the crown Colonies and the dependencies of Great Britain and France located in the West Indies, and they "represent a polyglot collection of racial mixtures and cultural adaptations." Ninety per cent of the immigrant and foreign-born Negro population are located in the three states of New York, Massachusetts, and Florida. But of these groups about 65 per cent are concentrated in New York City, which was the source for most of the material analyzed. After developing the geographical and historical background of Negro immigration, the author analyzes the impact of the United States culture upon the immigrant Negro groups, as well as the effect of their cultures upon the native Negro population.

Of particular interest to the reviewer was the section on "Life Histories," the Negro immigrant's life story. Here one observes the processes of acculturation as



the Negro immigrant makes the adjustment to an intraracial situation as well as to an interracial one. The author concludes that "the Negro immigrant is not only a 'problem' and a producer of 'problems,' but also an agent of social benefits to the native Negro population." Besides general documentary materials, the author has used to good advantage his objective and subjective observations as a participant observer. To students of race relations this book fills an important need.

Louisiana State University

VERNON J. PARENTON

*Rural Education and Rural Society*, Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College Columbia University. By I. L. Kandel. New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College Columbia University, 1938. 399 pp. \$3.70.

This compilation of discussions by fourteen educators on Rural Education and Rural Society represents the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Mexico, to the south of us; Canada, England, India, and Australia, of the British Empire; Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, and Norway, of Continental Europe; China; and the United States of America. In spite of their differences, there are common problems, the major social and economic problems varying more in degree than in kind. The authors begin with the regional aspects of the problems found within their own countries and follow with discussions of the cityward movement of both quantity and quality among the young but include also mention of the migrant agricultural workers. Then they take up the problems of keeping the land in the possession of the farm operators; the attempts to encourage co-operatives in spite of the indifference or opposition; housing and health standards; and the urgent need for more recreational and cultural opportunities.

The many educational systems range from the traditional types administered and supervised centrally by urban-minded bureaucrats to those of Mexico of which it is said "Rural schools are judged by the way they are transforming the life of the people, rather than by the kind of knowledge acquired there." They range from those with a dominant vocational emphasis to those that can be known from city schools only by their comparative size, drabness, and lack of equipment. Common problems found are: the predominance of the very small school; the immaturity and lesser training of the rural teacher, even in those countries in which the single salary schedule prevails; the desire of teachers to be "promoted" to city schools, notwithstanding the fact that a relatively high proportion are rural born and bred; and the difficulty of providing broader educational advantages beginning with the secondary school level for whatever proportion of the children secondary and higher education may seem desirable. The peak of enthusiasm for consolidation of schools reached in the report from our own country and approached by that from Norway shaded off to a low of almost complete indifference in the reports from Germany and Australia. There was evident a growing concern for adult interest and participation in the affairs of the school and for adult education. In this latter the surface has seemingly been but merely

scratched even with the notable exceptions of our own agricultural extension program and the folk schools of Denmark.

The one dominant hope throughout the entire book is that the rural schools may be more closely related to their immediate environments and that they may at the same time make their contribution to a more gracious way of rural life.

Western State Teachers College,  
Kalamazoo, Michigan

WILLIAM MCKINLEY ROBINSON

*Social Control: Social Organization and Disorganization in Process.* By Paul H. Landis. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Co., 1939. xxii, 507 pp. \$3.50.

This contribution to general social analysis written by one who previously had distinguished himself chiefly in factual reports bids fair to be the most usable textbook in its field. It is timely, readable, and exceptionally well organized. The author feels that sociologists have been too much "enamoured with the problem of change" and have largely neglected "the problem of order, stability, and permanence." At the outset he also emphasizes the point that "new concepts of human nature call for a new interpretation of social control." He succeeds admirably in integrating the contributions of sociology, anthropology, and psychology to produce this new interpretation.

Social control is held to embrace "not only such agencies as law, authority, punishment, codes and creeds, but also mores, customs, traditions, the subtle influence of group expectancy, and other such factors." Social control "becomes important, not simply as a safety device for the social order, not simply as an insurance to the permanence of society, but as a means of preserving the well-being of each individual constituent in that society." The six parts of the book include: (1) a statement of the problem, (2) a discussion of personality-forming processes, (3) an analysis of differences in the primary and secondary group worlds, (4) a study of institutions as agencies of social control, (5) a consideration of means of social control, and (6) a presentation of dangers or social problems arising out of the breakdown of social control. Each of the twenty-five chapters is strengthened by a statement of conclusions, a list of selected references, and a few remarks tying it in with that which immediately follows. A complete dual cross index of names and subjects adds to the value of the work.

Those working in nonacademic fields, such as rural adult education, will regret the fact that the author delimited the field to "deal very little with the whole system of class control, class struggle, racial accommodations, and so forth." Unquestionably, "harnessing the dynamic forces of our age and making them conform to the need for stability" requires further treatment of class interests. Moreover, in the opinion of the reviewer, the goal of more effective democratic social organization will be advanced only if more grist can be put through the mill in the way of emphasis on activities which contribute both to individual happiness and social welfare.

Iowa State College

W. H. STACY

*Social Ecology*. By Milla Aissa Alihan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. xiii, 267 pp. \$2.75.

The ecological school of sociology originated at the University of Chicago in the early twenties under the guidance of Robert E. Park. Today, as a result of outstanding theoretical works by its founder and such co-workers as Burgess, Wirth, and McKenzie, and of numerous factual studies, this school, with a conceptual framework and terminology of its own, occupies an enviable position among the various American approaches. Yet, there has been conspicuously lacking a comprehensive critique of the theory of human ecology. Aware of this gap in the field, Alihan proposed in this work "to present and examine the position of the school, its fundamental concepts, and the methodology upon which . . . [its] studies hinge and which serves as their guiding principle." And this critical examination consisted of the slow whittling away of the foundations of the school through the revelation of numerous inconsistencies in theory, labored analogies with the natural sciences, and an untenable monistic conception of causation.

Remaining for praise, however, were "the methods and techniques instituted or adopted by this school and the focusing of attention upon localized and territorially delimited investigations." The isolation of these particular qualities as the wholesome and justifiable phases of human ecology is notable from the standpoint of rural sociology. It will be observed by the rural sociologist that the development and application of the statistical technique, the primary tool of the empirical ecologist, was paralleled, if not preceded, in the field of rural research. Also before the ecological school was ever thought of as such, rural sociologists were specializing in territorially delimited investigations. And in 1916, Galpin evolved his revolutionary method of ascertaining community limits in terms of group participation in various activities. From this it is plain that if rural social research has benefited from the methods of social ecology, it has also contributed in a generous fashion.

Louisiana State University

HOMER L. HITT

*The Repressible Conflict, 1830-1861*. By Avery Craven. University, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1939. xi, 97 pp. \$1.50.

This is a series of three lectures delivered at Louisiana State University in February, 1938. Documentation and other academic ritual are therefore lacking, but the work has real substance. The thesis is that the anti-slavery conflict and the Civil War were by no means the inevitable results of opposing natural forces, as economic and geographic, but rather of what we might now call ideologies. There were, it is true, sectional, industrial, and other differences between North and South. But these differences were as great in the West; in fact, were almost as great within the South itself. But the South had slavery, which, rightly or wrongly, was viewed as a "peculiar institution." The attacks upon slavery, first in principle, then upon slaveholders, and finally upon the South in general, magnified other differences and gave them a moral and symbolic focal point. This was accepted by both North and South, though the relationship of slavery to

other differences was purely arbitrary. The implication is that the conflict was over the *idea* of slavery, not its practice, since abolitionists did not take the trouble to find out about the latter.

This analysis leaves untouched the question of why the *idea* was so distasteful to abolitionists. The dismissal of the importance of Puritan and Cavalier traditions is, for example, too hasty, especially in view of the author's recognition of an aristocratic tradition in the South. It is also too simple to say that the conflict could have been avoided because the idea of slavery did not fit the facts, and that its role as a symbol unduly magnified its importance. The "definition of the situation" was real enough to the abolitionists, whatever an impartial observer with hindsight, or a completely rational person at the time, might know to the contrary.

Harvard University

WILBERT E. MOORE

*Bald Knobbers.* By Lucile Morris. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1939. 253 pp. \$3.00.

*The Rampaging Frontier.* By Thomas D. Clark. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1939. xiv, 350 pp. \$3.00.

Once the European colonists in America crossed the Appalachians, the history of much of contemporary rural America began again on a new frontier. This post-Appalachian society, which is not yet two centuries of age, is one of shirt-sleeve incidents most of which a stranger or a middle-American schoolchild, unacquainted with his grandparents, would not believe today. The Caxton Printers of Caldwell, Idaho, are doing much to uncover this earthly background of the European in his brief existence in the United States. *Bald Knobbers* by Lucile Morris of Springfield, Missouri, represents years of detailed investigation of a *vigilante* society in the Missouri Ozarks centering around Springfield. The original organization was formed by Nat Kinney in 1885 to rid the hills of thieves, murderers, and other disreputable characters. The members wore devil-like masks, but contrary to the Ku Klux Klan, they comprised a Missouri-Arkansas society largely of northern sympathizers. In the stress of the excitement of the organization innocent people were killed. A national campaign against violence made the matter a political issue in Missouri so that an entire company, including some persons innocent of the actual killing, were tried. After a long trial with numerous heart-rending incidents the guilty persons and one or two accessories to the killing were hanged. The book comes nearer to depicting the real character of the American hillbilly than any of our contemporary *Tobacco Road* and other primitivistic nonsense. (See "Broadway's Picture of Rural America" by Hugh Carter, *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, IV [March, 1939], 89 ff.)

*The Rampaging Frontier*, on the other hand, is a study of the manners and humors in the pioneer days in the South and Middle West by Thomas D. Clark, a Kentuckian. Here we have a penetrating insight into what Kentucky has been through the eyes of a person who conscientiously elaborates the facts. In the

buckskin and homespun days the expression "he has gone to hell or Kentucky" had a meaning in terms of manhood which has helped build America and will probably dominate it more in the future than in the present. Differential regional fertility and restricted immigration are bringing this about. The best chapters from the reviewer's point of view are those entitled "Foolin' with the Gals" (family life), and "Yankees B'Gad" (New England traders). However, all chapters show exemplary excellence in giving a real history of the times.

If we rural sociologists are going to deal fundamentally with the foundations of America, these and similar books cannot be neglected for our own libraries and for the assigned readings for sociology students.

C. C. Z.

*Brooklyn Village 1816-1834.* By Ralph Foster Weld. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. xv, 362 pp. \$3.50.

If the author of *Brooklyn Village* could have developed the concepts so ably presented by Dixon Ryan Fox in the Foreword, the result would have been an important milestone in the writing of social history. However, instead of analyzing the institutional growth of this "dormitory suburb," Dr. Weld has confined himself to a meticulous enumeration of events, persons, and ideas that influenced or were a part of the rise of various organizations in Brooklyn. His desire to omit no fragment of research left him very little opportunity to consider his findings. The descriptions of early newspapers, a community Sunday School, and a temperance crusade are especially well done. The author came closest to the ideal set forth by Dixon Ryan Fox in his treatment of community consciousness. He considered public spirit in Brooklyn for the most part "a product of the hostility of self-seeking New Yorkers" and the "outcome of the largely unstimulated economic growth of the village." Researchers in the field of rural social organization should derive many suggestions from the bibliography of sources that appears at the end of the volume.

Division of Farm Population and Rural Life,  
Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

*The Peopling of Virginia.* By R. Bennett Bean. Boston: Chapman and Grimes, 1938. viii, 302 pp. \$3.00.

The author, who is a professor of anatomy at the University of Virginia and past president of the anthropological section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has produced here a volume of extreme value to any student of early Virginia history as well as our general colonial settlement. It points out that the early Virginians came predominantly from England, France, and Germany. The central fact of the book is a genealogical index of Virginia by counties. In eastern Virginia as far west as the earliest "frontier" at Richmond, the English, Scotch, and Irish were predominant. As these types moved westward, German and Scotch-Irish migrants moved southward in the great Val-

ley of Virginia and these two groups fused to populate Virginia's southwestern empire.

In the final part of his volume Dr. Bean considers the anthropological characteristics of the early settlers in the natural genealogical subdivisions of the state. This includes all pertinent details for those who are interested in the anthropological history of the American people. He notes that "the German population of Richmond was 30% of the entire population in 1860, and, Groesinger estimated the Germans as 25% of the population of Virginia. . . . The German population was one-fourth of the foreign population in the state in 1860, second in rank." Several entire German companies were formed in Richmond in 1861 and several sections of the state furnished German soldiers. The "Stonewall Brigade" was mostly German. Jeb Stuart's Horse Guards were almost all German and were commanded by Captain Edward Euker.

Not only is the book of inestimable value to Virginia history, but above all, it is a contribution to the study of the origin and development of the *homo americanus*.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

B. L. HUMMEL

*Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft fuer Geschichte und Literatur der Landwirtschaft*, Neue Folge der Landwirtschaftlich-Historischen Blaetter. (Goettingen, 1939), XXVIII, 1/2, 28 pp.

At the present stage of the discussion of basic ideas concerning the meaning and functions of agriculture, a periodical devoted to the history of agriculture and of ideas on farming has more than mere academic significance. The present issue contains two short papers of special relevance to Rural Sociology. A narrative by A. Brosch on customs connected with hand-threshing offers a nice illustration of the social significance of co-operative labor characteristics for premechanized farming. A carefully documented monographic study of the so-called "Dutch" dairy-renters (*Hollander*) by L. Middlehaue contributes to the knowledge of the origin and development of one of the most interesting categories of farm labor in Northern Germany. The bibliographic section will also be valuable to a student of rural population and farm communities. The periodical is edited by the Institut fuer Landwirtschaftliche Betriebs- und Landarbeitslehre an der Universitat Goettingen, the head of which is Professor Dr. W. Seedorf.

Louisiana State University

RUDOLF HEBERLE

*Rural Australia and New Zealand*, Studies of the Pacific 2. By Edmund deS. Brunner. New York City: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1938. 70 pp. \$1.50.

This report contains a clear penetrating discussion of population, closer settlement (which means movement to increase the density of the rural and particularly agricultural population), land utilization and erosion, marketing and control, and agricultural extension and rural sociology in Australia. In New Zealand, population, farms and farming, the guaranteed price for dairy products, and in-

dustry and agriculture receive consideration. Frequently, especially in the part dealing with population, data are presented to supplement the statements or observations which are made. The reader in the United States will be interested in the report as it shows that many of our problems in the social and economic aspects of agriculture prevail also in the far-off countries of Australia and New Zealand, even including programs by governments to stabilize agricultural prices.

Michigan State College

C. R. HOFFER

*Progressive Norway.* By Georgine Ritland Harris. Washington: The Daylison Company, 1939. 256 pp. \$2.50.

The writer of this work exhibits more insight into rural institutions than is found in the ordinary travel book. The short chapters on Rural Life in Norway, Family Life, The Government's Policy, and Cooperatives are of most interest to the student of rural society.

T. L. S.

*International Bibliography of Agricultural Economics.* Rome: Institut International D'Agriculture, 1938. I, vii, 137 pp. Published quarterly; \$1.60 a year.

This new publication in English, French, and German deserves a place in every departmental and general library. Many social scientists will want to own it. It

. . . indexes publications dealing with the economic and social aspects of agriculture in the widest sense of the words. It comprises agricultural policy with special subjects such as settlement, agricultural credit, co-operation, marketing, insurance, taxation, statistics, etc., as well as publications on farm management inclusive appraisal, farm labour and accounting. Closely related subjects such as agricultural history and geography, legislation, education and rural sociology are also included. Publications of an economic character dealing with individual crops, horticulture, forestry, animal husbandry, machinery, agricultural industry, etc., are also indexed and are put under these headings. On the other hand publications concerning purely technical matters and those dealing with general economics are excluded. All languages receive equal treatment. The less known languages are provided with a translation in one of the recognized world languages. Translations given in the original publications are reproduced. Translations added by the editor are given in French.

Of special interest to the rural sociologist is the prominent attention given to this field with the open recognition that rural sociology is the more general subject and economics the more specialized branch. Thus public recognition is given to the fact that rural sociology is not the tail of the economics dog.

C. C. Z.

*Technical Progress and Unemployment: An Inquiry into the Obstacles to Economic Expansion.* By Emil Lederer. Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office, 1938. xi, 267 pp. \$1.50.

After reviewing the conditions favorable to a rapid expansion which existed at the beginning of the industrial system, Professor Lederer describes developments since 1914 which have culminated in the present problem. "Unemployment is

characteristic of our time," he says, whereas in the nineteenth century there was shortage of both labor and capital. The "purpose of this book is to study the phenomenon of technical progress in its various forms and effects, especially in its effects on unemployment and on the formation of capital." (5)

This is a highly theoretical treatise which is impossible to summarize in a paragraph or two, so many are the assumptions and qualifications which frame each section of the discussion. It is probably not unfair to the author to say that in general his argument is to the effect that technological unemployment is ordinarily a medium-term phenomenon which adjusts itself unless the economic system is subjected to a succession of "waves" of progress. That is to say, the effect of the introduction of a laborsaving device is to create unemployment which lasts from one to five years, when counterbalancing or compensatory movement takes place. This "medium-term unemployment occurs periodically" (52) and "will lead to long-term unemployment if several waves of technical progress follow each other rapidly." (52) Rural sociologists interested in the social effects of mechanization in agriculture will want to consider carefully the hypotheses discussed in this treatise.

L. N.

*Immigrants: First Case-Story Book on Immigration and Naturalization.* By Hans Mayer-Daxlanden. New York: Five D's Publishing Co., 1938. 130 pp. \$1.00 (paper-bound).

A practical guide intended to safeguard the fourteen million foreign-born and their twenty-six million children from the pitfalls of deliberately or inadvertently transgressing the laws of immigration and naturalization. Its value is enhanced by citation of relevant court decisions and laws.

*Das Bauerntum als Lebens- und Gemeinschaftsform.* By Hans F. K. Günther. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1939. viii, 673 pp. Rm. 12.

The author, distinguished sociologist at the University of Berlin, presents here in mature form the most systematic and challenging treatise in the rural field which has appeared to date other than in America. In this he has the advantage of the German scientific language which gives a meaning to the title (the rural man as a living social form) hardly translatable to the other more unbanized and less humanly philosophical Western languages. Consequently the work is not only a monument to the spread of the American originated discipline of rural sociology, but, in addition, offers us Americans something extremely worthy of careful study. Günther recognizes the contribution of Americans to the science in that of the more than six hundred authors cited in the work, at least sixty, mostly members of the American Rural Sociological Society, are quoted.

The first chapter is similar to the introductions to our works in that it gives the setting for the whole rural problem. Here he quotes numerous American rural sociologists, among others, to show that *the* rural problem must be understood in the social relation of the man of the country (*Bauerntum*) to the man of the city (*Stadter*). The next two chapters contrast the agricultural and mate-



rial environments of these two typological men. Following this, two chapters deal respectively with the social or human environments of these two. Chapter VI takes up the problems of local groups—village, neighborhood, and family. The whole approach is sociopsychological, which paves the way for Chapter VII, where the concepts of Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, become for the author the chief conceptual pictures of the whole *milieux* known as "country" and "city." By this time Günther has built up a high level of sound theoretical analysis, one maintained in the remainder of the book. This high conceptual level is, incidentally, necessary if sociology ever amounts to more than disorganized facts relationally organized primarily only by the histrionic abilities of the pedagogues.

Chapter VIII takes up the relations between the country man, the city, the state and the legal systems. This is followed by an analysis of the social values (*Lebenswerte*) of country life. Psychosocial values (faith and religion) come next in order as a preliminary to a characterization of the farmer's soul or his spirit life (*Geistesleben*). Others deal respectively with childhood and education, sex life and moral customs, marriage, the birthrate, urbanization and migration to the cities including the general flight from the soil. The final chapter is understandably entitled "The Folk (*völkische*) Significance of Country Life." The work develops naturally from one level to a higher one so that the reader finishes with an understanding seldom reached in works in the social sciences, particularly the so-called "problem" types of texts.

A short review must necessarily neglect most of the contents of such a solid work. In addition to its specific intellectual value the book can be recommended as required reading for the doctorate for those who wish to be informed about or to do research in basic sociology (*Gemeinschaft* forms of life). The work is also proof that social scientists who use the empirical-conceptual approach can reach more fundamental agreement and understanding than can the rabid nominalists. This book answers the question What is Rural Sociology? definitely and permanently.

C. C. Z.

## News Notes and Announcements

*Cornell University*:—The name of the department of Rural Social Organization has been changed to Rural Sociology.

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., has been appointed Professor of Sociology in the College of Arts and Sciences and becomes chairman of the new department of Sociology and Anthropology. He will retain his position as rural sociologist in the Agricultural Experiment Station and will continue his research work in rural sociology. He taught during the summer session at the University of Washington.

W. A. Anderson is on sabbatical leave until February, 1940. He will spend the fall in Sweden studying rural conditions there.

The following have been appointed graduate research assistants for the coming year: Afif Tannus, formerly instructor in rural sociology in the American University at Beirut, Lebanon; Harold F. Kaufman, M.A., University of Missouri; and William W. Reeder, M.A., Utah State College.

Josephine Strode has been appointed instructor and will give courses in social work and problems of rural social welfare, and will supervise the practice work of undergraduate students with social agencies.

**ANNOUNCING . . .**

## **THE REPRESSIBLE CONFLICT 1830-1861**

**By Avery O. Craven**

**T**HE TRADITIONAL issues over which the Civil War was fought are subjected to unsparing analysis in this book. The movement for abolition is interpreted as an economic crusade directed, not against the "peculiar institution" of slavery as it actually existed, but against slavery as the symbol of Southern agrarianism in conflict with Northern industrialism.      xii, 108 pages. Cloth. \$1.50

## **MY DRIFT INTO RURAL SOCIOLOGY**

**By Charles J. Galpin**

**"Q**UITE APPROPRIATELY, the Rural Sociological Society of America has begun its series of monographs with the memoirs of Galpin, distinguished father of rural sociology as an intellectual discipline. The work includes the author's autobiography, the story of rural sociology's beginnings at Wisconsin and its establishment in Washington, an account of Galpin's contacts with the movement in Europe, and the correspondence between Galpin and Sir Horace Plunkett of Ireland. This delightful document clearly demonstrates that exceptional men may be literate and informed as well as scientific."—Carle C. Zimmerman in the *American Sociological Review*.      xii, 150 pages. Cloth. \$1.00

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***University - Louisiana***

# RURAL SOCIOLOGY



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# RURAL SOCIOLOGY

VOL. 4

DECEMBER, 1939

No. 4

## CONTENTS

<i>Theory of Human Conservation.</i> By N. L. Whetten	385
<i>A Theory of Social Security for Farm People.</i> By C. Arnold Anderson	399
<i>Action Programs for the Conservation of Rural Life and Culture.</i> By Lowry Nelson	414
<i>The Transmission of Farming as an Occupation.</i> By W. A. Anderson	433
<i>Housing in Rural America.</i> By Florence M. Swire	449
<i>Notes</i>	
<i>The Application of Psychotechnics to Agricultural Planning</i> By Ernst Harms	458
<i>The Pattern of Social Activities in a High Participation Group.</i> By C. Arnold Anderson	463
<i>Current Bulletins.</i> Edited by Charles P. Loomis	465
<i>Book Reviews.</i> Edited by Carle C. Zimmerman	473
Zimmerman, <i>The Changing Community</i> , by Robert E. Park	473
Baker, Borsodi, and Wilson, <i>Agriculture in Modern Life</i> , by Ray F. Harvey	475
Beals, <i>American Earth</i> , by Gordon W. Blackwell	476
Herron, <i>The Small Town in American Literature</i> , by Carle C. Zimmerman	478
Kifer and Stewart, <i>Farming Hazards in the Drought Area</i> , Zimmerman and Whetten, <i>Rural Families on Relief</i> , by Gordon W. Blackwell	479
McWilliams, <i>Factories in the Field: The Story of the Migratory Farm Labor in California</i> , by Nicholas Mirkowich	480
Miner, <i>St. Denis, A French-Canadian Parish</i> , by Vernon J. Parenton	480
Ullrich, <i>Sociologische Studien zur Verstädterung der Prager Umgebung</i> , by Charles P. Loomis	482
Thorndike, <i>Your City</i> , by Robin M. Williams	483
Bridenbaugh, <i>Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742</i> , by G. T. Bowden	483
Sears, <i>Who Are These Americans?</i> by Leonard A. Salter, Jr.	484
Antevy, <i>Rainfall and Tree Growth in the Great Basin</i> , by Walter C. McKain, Jr.	485
Ferenczi, <i>The Synthetic Optimum of Population</i> , by Ray E. Wakely	485
Gustafson, Ries, Guise, Hamilton, Jr., <i>Conservation in the United States</i> , by Otis Durant Duncan	486
Fairchild, <i>The World Was My Garden: Travels of a Plant Explorer</i> , by John Useem	487
Murray and Flynn, <i>Social Problems</i> , by George F. Fitzgibbon	487
Heske, <i>German Forestry</i> , by E. Y. Hartshorne	488

Lowe, <i>State Public Welfare Legislation</i> , by Leonard A. Salter, Jr. . . . .	489
Halle, <i>Women in the Soviet East</i> , by Edgar A. Schuler . . . . .	489
<i>The American Journal of Sociology</i> , Vol. XLIV, No. 6; <i>The World of Industry and Labour</i> , 1939; <i>Sociological Review</i> , Vol. IV, No. 3-4, and Vol. VI, No. 3-4; Monographs of the Economic Geographic Institute of Tartu, Esthonia, Nos. 20, 21, 23, 25, 26; W.P.A. Research Projects (1939): Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by Carle C. Zimmerman	490
Woofter, Jr., and Winston, <i>Seven Lean Years</i> , by Paul S. Taylor .	492
de Simone, <i>Inchiesta sulla Piccola Proprietà Coltivatrice Formatasi nel Dopo-guerra</i> , "Lazio," Vol. XIV and Lorenzoni, "Relazione Finale, l'Ascesa del Contadino Italiano nel Dopo-Guerra," Vol. XV; Bellucci, <i>I Lavorati Avventizi nell' Agricoltura Toscana</i> ; Perini, <i>Risultati Economici di Aziende Agrarie nell' Anno 1936</i> ; Todeschini, II. <i>Pomodoro in Emilia, Importanza Economica della Coltivazione</i> ; Spagnoli, <i>Monografia Economico-Agraria della Piana di Salerno (Studio Generale della Economia della Produzione Terriera)</i> ; Platzer, <i>Monografia Economico-Agraria di Terra di Lavarò</i> , by Wilbert E. Moore .	492
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i> . . . . .	494



# Theory of Human Conservation

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## ABSTRACT

This paper has three major divisions. The first deals with the relation of *human* to *natural* resources. In view of the evidence presented, that what comes to be regarded as *natural* resources is pretty much determined by man's wants and by his ability to use his physical environment to satisfy them, human beings are recognized as society's most important resource. Hence the problem of human conservation becomes paramount.

The second part deals with quantitative aspects of human conservation. Since latest population estimates indicate that there will be about the same number of people in the U. S. 50 years hence as we have now, we are hardly warranted in taking any drastic measures either for increasing or decreasing our present numbers. More urgent is the need for frequent data to measure population changes as they occur so that plans can be made accordingly.

The third part is concerned with qualitative aspects of human conservation, involving both biological and environmental considerations. Possibilities are noted for conserving the quality of the population through manipulation of environmental factors so as to give possible hereditary qualities more adequate opportunities for development, especially in those areas from which a large proportion of our future population seems likely to be recruited.

It is generally acknowledged that the greater part of the history of this country has been characterized by the rapid exploitation of natural resources. It is only in recent years that the problem of conservation is receiving its due emphasis. The conservation movement was started during the latter part of the past century, gathered momentum with the appointment of the National Conservation Commission in 1908, and received its latest impetus by the recent New Deal legislation setting up such programs as the Soil Conservation Service.

With these programs receiving increasing emphasis, it seems appropriate to turn our attention for a few moments to the problem of "human" conservation in relation to other conservation programs. Obviously, the terms "conservation" and "resources" need considerable clarification at the outset of any discussion of this topic.

The traditional use of the term "conservation" refers to the protection of the physical resources of man's environment against waste. The term "resources" is defined by Zimmermann to mean "those aspects of man's environment which render possible or facilitate the satisfaction of

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human wants and the attainment of social objectives. They are thus distinguished from resistant or harmful aspects of the environment and from neutral or inert environmental aspects, which affect man's achievements neither favorably nor unfavorably."<sup>1</sup> Although resources are usually thought of as physical properties such as soil, water, minerals, and forests, it does not seem entirely illogical to include man himself as a resource since he too facilitates the satisfaction of *other* human wants and hence can qualify under the above definition of resources. Therefore, "human" conservation might refer to the protection of the population from the waste of its physical and mental potentialities.

#### THE RELATION OF *Human* TO *Natural* RESOURCES

The importance of the problem of human conservation is best revealed through further discussion of the relation of *human* to *natural* resources. The latter are usually thought of as assets which may be catalogued as relatively permanent and unchanging except as they tend to become exhausted through exploitation or continued use. But, as stated in the definition of resources above, the capacity to satisfy human wants is the criterion of a resource, and this depends on the nature of man's wants in the first place and on his ability to devise ways and means of satisfying them. The human element would therefore appear to be the most important part of the equation, and what we term natural resources are to a large extent a function of man's changing wants and technical achievements. A few illustrations<sup>2</sup> may serve to clarify.

Petroleum is now considered an important and valuable resource. Its value as such is very recent, however, petroleum having reached its present importance largely in the last third of a century. It was first important as a fuel for oil lamps because of its kerosene. For some time two of its main by-products, gasoline and natural gas, were considered to be more or less worthless if not actual nuisances. Dr. Karl Brandt points out that "during the sixties of the last century, the State of Pennsylvania passed laws that sought to prohibit the pollution of rivers and creeks with dumped gasoline."<sup>3</sup> The invention of the internal combustion engine made possible the extensive use of gasoline as a

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Zimmermann, "Natural Resources," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XI, 290.

<sup>2</sup> These illustrations are drawn largely from a paper delivered before the Western Farm Economic Association at Berkeley, California, in June, 1939, by Karl Brandt, entitled "Long Time Shifts in Human and Natural Resources."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

motor fuel. The discovery of ways and means of taming and piping natural gas long distances and the utilization of crude oil for heating fuel and for low-cost fuel in Diesel engines made these two by-products also important, so that today the petroleum industry is one of the greatest in the United States. Already man is making plans to get along without this very important resource by inventing other ways of satisfying his wants. As Dr. Brandt says, "Technology has made oil accessible, has created the demand for it, and has already invented the methods for getting along without it. If tomorrow all the oil wells in the world were exhausted it would not be long before automobiles would be operating in similar numbers with other fuels. One of the substitutes available already is pulverized coal blown into the cylinders and exploded there."<sup>4</sup>

Another example will further serve to illustrate our point. As indicated above, we are now very much concerned about soil conservation. Our criteria of what constitutes "good" soil or "poor" soil have changed very greatly over a period of years. For a long time heavy loam and clay soils were thought to be the good soils because of their plant nutrients, while sandy soils were considered as submarginal and of little value.<sup>5</sup> The discovery of the importance of minerals for the growth of plants, however, and the discovery of fertilizers by means of which the plant food can be supplied and retained in the soil, together with achievements in plant breeding, have greatly increased the relative value of the sandy soils. They have become especially important for certain intensive crops, although they may serve little more than as a base for holding the fertilizer. Likewise, the invention of the irrigation ditch has further served to increase the supply of available soil. Perhaps the most recent manifestation of the possible impact of man's ingenuity on the importance of soil as a resource is the development of *hydroponics*. By this process it now appears possible to grow almost any field vegetable or floral crop in liquid culture media without any soil. Although the cost of labor and materials for doing so appears to be economically prohibitive at present, especially in the case of low tonnage crops, there are those who believe strongly that this process will become economically promising in the future for such crops as potatoes and tomatoes, and for floral crops.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> "Hydroponics," *Britannica Book of the Year*, 1939, p. 329.

Other illustrations of the changing character of the physical resources could be cited from such fields as the textile industry, where the manufacture of rayon from wood cellulose is now not only replacing natural silk but is beginning to compete successfully with cotton;<sup>7</sup> or from the field of engineering, where plastics are now displacing many products which but a short time ago were thought to be indispensable. Perhaps these few examples are enough to emphasize the point that, although man is definitely limited to the possibilities offered by his physical environment, yet within this range of possibilities, what is regarded as natural resources is pretty much determined by man's wants and by his ability, in any given stage of technical development, to devise ways and means of using his physical environment to satisfy them. This would seem to argue strongly for the importance of the human factor and for the need of appraising all conservation programs in terms of their probable effect on human conservation.

#### QUANTITATIVE ASPECTS OF HUMAN CONSERVATION

The first problem which presents itself in connection with any direct policy of human conservation is that of insuring for the future an adequate, though not excessive, supply of population. Any goal agreed upon in this regard will involve a value judgment reflecting the ideals and traditions of the culture with which one is identified. There has been a great deal of anxiety expressed in recent literature about the possibility of a declining population in the near future in the United States. If we could divorce ourselves from our own culture and take a world viewpoint, there might be no need for alarm at all since the thinning out of numbers here would make more room for such people as the Chinese or other Orientals, several millions of whom could be imported each year to fill up whatever space was left vacant. It is true that the increasing heterogeneity of the population resulting from such a policy might make for instability, since it would be more difficult to mold the diverse elements into a national unity; but whatever of value were lost to the world from this procedure would probably be offset by the advantages accruing to the immigrants and by the enrichment of our own culture through cross-fertilization with that of the newcomers. A similar attitude might be taken concerning the exploitation of natural resources. From a world point of view it might be advisable in this particular country to abandon some of the conservation practices

<sup>7</sup> Karl Brandt, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

we have already started and to exploit some of our own resources more rapidly so as to relieve the fast disappearing resources in other countries. But we are not so concerned about what might happen to China or what might take place in other countries as we are in planning for our own future needs. Therefore, as sociologists discussing problems of conservation, we should bear in mind that we are speaking as members of our own culture group, and that as such our conclusions will be quite different from what they might be if we had the welfare of the whole world at heart.

With this caution in mind, we might ask ourselves the rather difficult question of what is a reasonable goal for the United States to strive for concerning the quantity of population. In the past we have assumed that a rapidly growing population was the ideal. Our business enterprises have been developed on the basis of this assumption, and it has become such a fundamental part of our planning that we think of any other prospect as a sign of disaster. Just why we should want our numbers to increase indefinitely is rather hard to see. A stationary population might be just as desirable. Such a situation might necessitate many far-reaching adjustments in our socio-economic life, but these would presumably come about rather gradually so that the shift would not be too abrupt. The main fear expressed by some is that, when once the declining birth rate gathers momentum, it will be impossible to arrest the decline. While there may be some danger of this happening, nevertheless, the population specialists tell us that according to their lowest estimates we shall have about the same number of people in this country 50 years hence as we have now.<sup>8</sup> This would seem to allow considerable time in which to weigh the different possible alternatives as to public policy. In this regard it is interesting to note that only a few years have elapsed since Ross's *Standing Room Only* and East's *Mankind at the Cross Roads* had us all jittery about overpopulation. Obviously, our point of view has radically shifted since then; and if there is any validity to Spengler's or Sorokin's<sup>9</sup> predictions concerning the fate of Western Culture, we may look for rapid changes in the future. It is possible that before 50 years have elapsed the situation will have changed completely. Moreover, there are some who believe that if

<sup>8</sup> National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population* (Washington, May, 1938), p. 29.

<sup>9</sup> O. Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (New York, 1932); P. A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York, 1937).

this country becomes convinced that it wants an increasing birth rate, it will be able to devise propaganda techniques emphasizing the values of family life which, when accompanied by favorable economic considerations, might have profound influence in this direction. The experience of certain European governments, however, does not seem to offer too much encouragement in this regard.<sup>10</sup>

We might try setting up desirable goals for population increase in terms of *optima*, such as the expansion of population until the *optimum* ratio between population and natural resources is achieved or until the highest per capita income is made possible. Or, we might state it in terms of the *optimum* size to allow the greatest per capita income of consumption goods consistent with the maximum development of the individual personality. Similarly, other desirable goals might be set up. Perhaps such considerations as international relations and military strength should enter into the setting up of any *optimum* goal as long as we are living in a world where "power politics" is a determining factor in the fate of nations. It would be hard to get any general agreement as to just what would constitute an adequate *optimum* for any one country, since the attainment of one goal would tend to preclude the attainment of others. Furthermore, an even more serious difficulty arises when one attempts to measure our degree of approximation to these goals. We have no adequate criteria for determining when any of these *optima* are reached.<sup>11</sup> The economic *optimum* constantly shifts with changes in technology and with the expansion or contraction of markets, and there is no way of telling how close we are to it at any one time. A similar difficulty is likely to arise in connection with any other *optimum* goal which is set up.

From the foregoing it would seem that on the basis of what information we have at present concerning the relation of population to resources, we are not warranted in launching any widespread program either for increasing our population or for decreasing it. Perhaps about all we can do at present concerning the problem of quantity is to improve our registration systems and our research techniques and measure as accurately as possible the various changes in population as they occur. This would enable us to keep abreast of any violent shifts, and

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, "Population Policies of European Countries," in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (November, 1936), pp. 297-306.

<sup>11</sup> For a critical discussion of the optimum population concept see Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems* (New York, 1930) Ch. XXV.

we could make plans accordingly. A complete census every five years would greatly facilitate this procedure.

### QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF HUMAN CONSERVATION

The problem of conserving the quality of the population brings up for consideration both the biological and the environmental aspects of the subject. The relative role played by each of these factors in human affairs has been discussed for ages without any convincing conclusions emerging; so we shall not attempt to settle the issue here. A few remarks, however, on the possible influences of each would seem to be necessary in considering human conservation.

*Biological Considerations.* Recent studies have shown rather conclusively that the birth rate in this country varies inversely with the socio-economic position of the population groups in question. The upper urban groups do not bear enough children to replace themselves, while the lower urban groups and the farm population in particular, produce a fairly large surplus of children. A summary of recent data on this subject is given as follows in the recent report on population problems by the National Resources Committee:

1. As a class the total farm population is supplying 60 per cent more births than are necessary for replacement. . . . This excess is not uniformly distributed in all sections of the farm population, but the highest fertility rates are found in areas with low farm values. The occupational analysis shows that, as a class, the farm owners are less fertile than farm renters and considerably less fertile than farm laborers.
2. Although the total nonfarm population may be just about reproducing itself, there are marked internal differences in urban fertility levels. The rates of the professional class are lowest; those of unskilled laborers are highest. According to data drawn from 1928 birth registration reports, the professional and business class rates ranged from 15 to 25 per cent lower than the requirements for population replacement of these groups.
3. The relatively low fertility of urban "white-collar" workers is due in part to later ages at marriage. However, the fact that maximum occupational differences in fertility appear among those who married at the youngest ages would seem to indicate deliberate and effective postponement and limitation of births among younger couples in the higher income groups.<sup>12</sup>

The above data indicate that a large proportion of the succeeding generation will be recruited from the lower strata of our present society, while a relatively large proportion of the reproductive *genes* from

<sup>12</sup> National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

individuals in the upper strata will die out either with their present possessors or in the near future. Therefore, to the extent that differences in socio-economic status reflect differences in inherent ability, this differential fertility will be dysgenic and result in wastage of superior ability for succeeding generations. There have been many discussions, however, concerning the degree to which differences in socio-economic status actually represent differences in inherent ability. Some would have us believe that the correlation is so positive that race deterioration will be certain if the present differentials prevail over a long period.<sup>13</sup> Others would be inclined to ascribe differences in socio-economic status pretty largely to differences in social and economic opportunity. Perhaps the conclusion reached by the National Resources Committee concerning this problem is somewhere near correct. It is as follows:

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that hereditary ability varies widely among individuals in all social groups, ranging from low mentality to genius in all groups and that these individual variations are far more important in most respects than the smaller average differences between groups. However, the existence of large differences in reproduction rates between different social groups may give group differences in average hereditary ability a long-time significance that they would not otherwise have.<sup>14</sup>

Assuming then that the present differential birth rate does represent at least some degree of dysgenic selection, what can be done about it? Positive eugenic programs, whereby certain individuals are definitely singled out and mated for purposes of reproducing their kind, are hardly consistent with the ideals of a democracy, and it is extremely unlikely that any such program could be undertaken under our present form of government. Furthermore, except in extreme cases, it is almost impossible to isolate the effects of heredity from those of environment in producing diversities in human nature. It is true that heredity sets the limits within which environment may operate to bring about differences, but within these limits there may be wide variation.

Then again, the rapidity with which changes could be brought about by eugenic programs, even if we could determine which qualities are inherited and are worthy of perpetuation, have sometimes been exaggerated. This is due to the fact that the number of genes in any individual is large and, in producing offspring, the parental combinations of genes are broken up and half from each parent are combined in a

<sup>13</sup> See P. A. Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928), chapt. v, for various theories reflecting this point of view.

<sup>14</sup> National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

somewhat random fashion to produce the offspring. Since there are many possible chance selections and combinations, there is room for wide divergence between parents and children.<sup>15</sup> This would tend to make the results of any program insignificant unless practiced on an extensive scale. Finally, there might be considerable difference of opinion as to what traits we would like to perpetuate. Some might want to favor the rapid propagation of intellectuals; but in the minds of others, a society made up largely of intellectuals would be highly unbalanced, to say the least. Others might want to propagate the tall or the short or perhaps the blond types of individuals as opposed to their opposites. The present emphasis of Nazi Germany on the "Nordic race" indicates how one-sided the emphasis might be, depending on the peculiar preferences of different groups who might be in power at any given time.

Thus, it would appear that if we wish to recruit a larger proportion of our population from the upper socio-economic groups, we would be compelled to resort to more indirect methods than those of deliberate breeding. Perhaps inducements of some sort could be offered which would remove certain of the obstacles that at present seem to militate against the rearing of families on the part of some of these groups. Our present system of economic rewards now rests entirely on an individual basis. The single individual receives just as much compensation for his labor, other things being equal, as does the man with a family. Where competition is keen, therefore, the family frequently turns out to be more of a liability than an asset. Young people desiring to secure higher education and reach the top in the professions find it necessary to postpone the rearing of a family until their training period is over or until they become well enough established to support one. Others never succeed in securing the conventional answer to the arithmetic problem that "two can live as cheaply as one;" so they prefer to maintain a higher standard of living at the expense of remaining single, or at least childless. A system of economic rewards based on the family as a unit, instead of the individual, or a system of rewards to mothers along with efficient propaganda emphasizing the values of family life might counteract some of the influences noted above, although any such scheme would be difficult to administer, especially if it were necessary to distinguish between the "desirables" and the "undesirables." In this connection the view held by Corrado

<sup>15</sup> H. S. Jennings, "Eugenics," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, V, 620.



Gini is interesting. He thinks that differential fertility is a form of biological senility and is nature's way of eliminating those family stocks that have fulfilled the cycle of their evolution. He says that "To hope to improve the race by artificially stimulating the fertility of the upper classes is a delusion comparable to that of those who should hope to increase the efficiency of the population by prolonging artificially the life of the aged."<sup>16</sup> If this theory has any validity we might as well give up any attempts to eliminate the possible dysgenic effects of differential fertility. At present there appears to be no readily available method of either proving or disproving it.

On the negative side, eugenic programs might offer more hope, but even here it is necessary to proceed very cautiously. Certain types of feeble-minded persons and persons with certain types of insanity or other defects that can be demonstrated to be definitely inheritable should be prevented from propagating their kind. It is likely that public support could be rallied to enact appropriate measures. Any improvement in the quality of the population due to the weeding out of these elements would come about unbelievably slow, however, because of the many possible combinations of genes, as noted previously, and because of the possible recessive character of the traits in question. Professor Hooton of Harvard seems to be of the opinion that negative eugenics should be practiced on a much wider scale. He thinks that the human race is deteriorating rapidly biologically because of our humane efforts in the preservation of human weaklings. He argues that through modern sanitation and medical measures we are prolonging the lives of many constitutionally weak individuals who would otherwise die off. These weaklings, he says, grow up to reproduce their kind with the result that the race as a whole is degenerating.<sup>17</sup> He thus questions the advisability of extending medical and health facilities indiscriminately to all groups in our population, since by doing so we are unduly favoring the propagation of the unfit. His theory may have some validity, but there does not appear to be enough scientific information on the problem of heredity, nor do we seem to know enough about the traits which should be perpetuated, to attempt to carry out any discriminatory measures except in the case of definitely proved hereditary defectives. In this regard it is interesting to note that Charles

<sup>16</sup> Corrado Gini, "The Evolution of Nations" in Harris Foundation Lectures, 1929, pp. 24-25.

<sup>17</sup> E. A. Hooton, *Twilight of Man* (New York, 1939), chap. x.

Darwin was somewhat of a "weakling" physically. It is reported that frequently after delivering a paper before a group of scientists, he became so upset that he could not work for several days. It seems likely that certain unfavorable changes in his environment might have robbed the world of any scientific achievement which he made, in spite of his inherent capabilities.<sup>18</sup>

Thus it looks as though a great deal of research concerning human heredity is necessary before deliberate eugenic programs should be undertaken on any appreciable scale. In the meantime, we might join Professor Hooton in urging the need for founding research institutes to make exhaustive studies of these problems.

*Environmental Considerations.* While we are accumulating more information concerning hereditary phases of the problem, it might be advisable for us to see what can be done to improve and conserve the quality of our present population by the manipulation of various environmental factors. It is quite possible that many of the finest hereditary abilities of the population are never achieved because of their being smothered through lack of opportunity to express themselves. In spite of our ideals of equality and democracy there is abundant evidence to indicate that equality of opportunity is far from being a reality in our society.

As was mentioned previously, a disproportionately large share of the nation's children are born in the homes of those families least able economically to provide for their training and health. Obviously, this means inefficiency in imparting cultural ideals and techniques to the oncoming generation; and since early childhood is the most impressionable period in one's life, the result is that the maximum opportunity for development is never extended to the groups from which most of our population comes. In other words, the selection process results in the choosing of the poorest equipped homes and those having the most meager facilities to serve as the cradles for most of our future population. The better equipped homes in which educational, medical, and other essential services could be most adequately provided are the ones with few or no children. This would imply considerable waste in the process of passing on our social heritage.

Not only is this inequality of opportunity for children manifest among individuals in any one area, but it appears to exist among families from one region to another. This appears to be especially marked

<sup>18</sup> Warren S. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

as between families living in the country districts as opposed to those living in the city. Thus, the Advisory Committee on Education states that "In 1935-36 almost equal numbers of children were attending city schools and rural schools. City school systems spent an average of \$108 that year for each child in attendance; rural schools spent an average of \$67."<sup>19</sup> They further conclude that "for millions of children the opportunity for anything more than the smallest amount of meager and formal public education is largely determined by place of birth." "In 1930 the farm population was responsible for the care and education of 31 per cent of the nation's children, but the farmers received only 9 per cent of the national income."<sup>20</sup>

Similar differences are found with respect to the existence of adequate health and medical facilities. The Committee on Medical Care states that relatively adequate health standards would call for a hospital in nearly every county and a public health nurse to every 2,000 people. But recent studies indicate that more than 1,300 counties have no registered general hospital, and in some counties there are as many as 25,000 people per nurse.<sup>21</sup> The fact is that the poorer health facilities are found in those areas where poverty is more widespread and where the greatest increase in population is taking place. Throughout the country *adequate* medical assistance appears to be quite largely a special privilege available only to those few who are able to purchase it. Some might argue that this is one way of reducing the possible dysgenic effects of differential fertility by making the struggle more severe among the children of the lower socio-economic strata. But with such differences existing in opportunities for health and personality development, it would seem rather questionable to assume that differences in socio-economic status reflect clear-cut differences in inherent ability. Furthermore, in view of the rapidity with which population increase is slowing down in this country, it would seem to be questionable public policy that would willingly place excessive handicaps, whether physical, economic, or educational, on the only reliable source of population available for the future. Therefore, if the public is interested in the quality of its future population supply, it might be well to consider the adequacy of the educational and health facilities available throughout the various areas

<sup>19</sup> The Advisory Committee on Education, *The Federal Government and Education* (Washington, 1938), p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Ellen Winston, *Seven Lean Years* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1939), p. 61.

and to consider seriously the advisability of greatly extending these opportunities in those disadvantaged areas from which our future population seems likely to come.

A further environmental factor which needs more attention than it has received thus far, if any adequate program of human conservation is to be undertaken, is that of unemployment. As indicated by the National Resources Committee, "Security of the opportunity to work, for all who are able and willing to do so, is coming to be recognized as a major responsibility, perhaps the first responsibility of civilized government."<sup>22</sup> Yet, in spite of all the measures taken since the beginning of the depression in 1930, we still have several million unemployed workers in the United States.

The recent migration of thousands of destitute families in search of employment from the Great Plains and the Cotton Belt to areas on the Pacific Coast, where they are not wanted, attests to our failure to cope adequately with this problem. Obviously, unemployment is wasteful to society in several ways. In the first place, it deprives society of the productivity of those who are idle; and this amounts to no inconsiderable figure when it is so widespread, or when it continues over a long period of time. The loss of earning power on the part of the present unemployed amounts to at least several million dollars per day. Probably more important is the deteriorating effect on the personalities and skills of the unemployed persons themselves and their families.

In this respect human resources differ radically from natural resources. When the demand for the latter slackens, they can be stored away without depreciating their quality to any great extent. Coal can be left in the hills unmined until demand for it increases; oil can be left untapped; and soil, when unused, may grow vegetation which enriches it and makes it more fertile as a result of its idleness. Human beings, on the other hand, cannot be stored away when demand for their services slackens. Their physiological needs for food and shelter continue, and they possess the peculiar characteristic of being "aware" of their existence and of their physical and social environment. Hence, their efficiency may be altered by certain psychological factors such as worry or apprehension over what seems to be happening about them or to them.

Thus, in Bakke's study of the *Unemployed Man*, he collected a number of case studies which tended to show the demoralizing effect of un-

<sup>22</sup> National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

employment on the personality. He found that at the beginning of an extended period of unemployment, the worker is usually confident and hopeful of reemployment. As the period is prolonged he gradually loses confidence in himself as well as in society. He finally becomes sullen and despondent.<sup>23</sup>

Stagner finds that during periods of extended unemployment living conditions deteriorate, juvenile delinquency increases, family disorganization takes place, and psychoses develop.<sup>24</sup>

Pribram concludes that the "younger elements among the unemployed often turn to restless, aimless wandering, as a result of which they lose all moral and social restraint, so that even when an opportunity to work is at length available, they find it difficult to adapt themselves to an orderly existence. Among the older and more settled workers with family responsibilities, prolonged unemployment, after inspiring rebellion at the outset, later breeds a wild desperation regarding society and the institutions which condemn the unemployed, through no fault of their own, to moral and physical decay. . . . Such feelings often enough lead the unemployed to join social revolutionary parties or movements. In many cases, however, the attitude of revolt seems to give away after a time to a sullen resignation."<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the unemployment problem is one not only of saving the productivity of the idle persons who could be contributing their part to the national income, but also one of preserving the "peace of mind" of those involved and of preventing the physical, mental, and moral deterioration of both the unemployed workers and their families. Closely related to these problems is the danger to society of possible revolution if and when the unemployed become convinced that there is no hope of their ever receiving at least a semblance of equality of opportunity under the existing form of government.

Undoubtedly, there are many other environmental influences that could be singled out and focussed more sharply upon the problem of conserving the quality of our population, but they cannot all be included in a short paper such as this. Nevertheless, it is hoped that enough material has been presented to develop the idea that society's most important resources consist of human beings, and to emphasize the nature of some of the problems involved in attempting to conserve the quantity and the quality of these human resources.

<sup>23</sup> Wight Bakke, *The Unemployed Man* (London, 1935), chap. xxi.

<sup>24</sup> Ross Stagner, *Psychology of Personality* (New York, 1937), pp. 293-394.

<sup>25</sup> Karl Pribram, "Unemployment," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 15, 148.

# A Theory of Social Security: with Special Reference to the Significance of Government Programs for Rural Society†

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## ABSTRACT

An attempt to formulate a strictly sociological concept of security proposes four criteria oriented around the central idea that security is the functional adequacy of a system of relationships. These four are: (1) the congruence of the institutional patterns, (2) the adequacy of culturally given personal roles to the institutional ends, (3) the availability of facilities to the individual for carrying out these roles, (4) the conformity of the modes and rates of change in personal roles and institutional patterns to the need for preserving stability or continuity in the system. To facilitate the comparison of the concept with reality, a fifth is added which is entirely a derivation from the preceding four: (5) the accordance of group structures and inter-relationships with the institutional pattern. This concept is then applied to an interpretation of the diverse consequences of the programs of social security in the field of agriculture.

*Security* is not established among the concepts of sociology. It has, however, been used explicitly by one sociologist, and it has been used by others as a convenient synonym for, or as an incidental deduction from, other concepts. The modified term *social security* is in current use in the fields of social reform and social welfare.

The purpose of this paper is to show that the meanings attributed to the term *security* by these authors embody certain ideas which may be refined to some degree to constitute at least a quasi-technical concept. Some of these meanings will be illustrated by the use of the term to interpret certain aspects of current programs which are designed to insure social security for farm people.

In the field of practical action social security has at least three meanings. (1) It is a collective name for many specific social welfare activities which have become part of the government's services. (2) Many persons use it as a laudatory label for the goals around which may

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center various hopes for improving society and eliminating some of its less welcome features. (3) It is also a symbol for organized humanitarianism in an impersonal, secular society—the asserted equivalent of primary group neighborliness. Naturally these three meanings are not mutually exclusive. Collectively, they embrace all those social organizations and devices extending secondary group (public) assistance to enable individuals to arrive at expected standards of life and group functioning. This assistance is over and above that level which, by acknowledged custom, an individual may be expected to achieve alone or with primary group support.

Among sociologists the term *security*, or its collateral concepts, has been used with three distinct meanings: (1) to refer to a component of the satisfaction accompanying the attainment of the goal of specific innate drives, or of a "wish" of the individual or person, (2) to designate a property of a certain specific relationships, and (3) as a criterion of the functional adequacy of complex systems of relationships. Different theorists have used these meanings in various combinations, frequently under some name other than security. A brief discussion of examples of each of these usages will be followed by an attempt to formulate an analytically useful concept.

1. "*Instinct*" and "*wish*" theories. Those who seek to describe the biological nature of man or the organic basis of human nature include instincts or drives, whose functions are to provide certain types of security for the individual. The drives postulated may be for self-preservation, food, protection, parenthood, sociability. These are usually asserted to be explicit traits of the "raw organism," but more cautious writers sometimes consider that they are merely names for acquired integrations of random activity. Most sociologists would conclude that if such drives exist they have no meaning except as socially defined. Some go further and hold that sociological theory need not consider factors of the biological order in its analysis. Yet, even though it is considered a necessary but insufficient condition, the fact cannot be neglected that certain minimum levels of satisfaction of specific types are prerequisite to social life. In line with this last viewpoint are the various studies showing the socially disorganizing effects of frustration of hunger and sex and sociability "drives."

American sociologists speak glibly in the language of "wishes," by which they apparently mean acquired desires for certain socially defined goals or conditions of life. In the usual list, by Thomas, the "wish for

security" is included as descriptive of the desire for stable situations, assurance of continuation of the terms on which behavior has heretofore proceeded, as well as certainty of specific goods, material or nonmaterial. It may be argued that a desire for recognition or response is equally a desire for security—and here this conception of security shades off into the second type, discussed below. It has also been remarked that these wishes are not desires for specific things, but rather descriptions of types of relationship of individuals to goals. This interpretation would also be similar to the second type. In any case a wish for security is a culturally defined wish.

A third formulation conceives of security as the ratio between desires and the facilities available to satisfy these desires. Thus Sorokin says satisfaction or "happiness" results when the means at command to achieve a goal are abundant enough to permit its attainment; dissatisfaction results from our being unable to achieve all we desire. Security would be regarded as excess of means over desires.

2. *Security conceived as a property of certain types of social relationships.* This interpretation tends to diverge from the biologizing tendency which is inherent in the first group of theories; yet it also may evaluate security with some reference to certain organic properties of man. Among the analytical concepts which would be related to security by this group of theorists are primary group relationships, the marginal man, personal disorganization. A derivative attribute of each such specific sociological relationship is the presence or absence of a particular type of satisfaction or of a condition facilitating a certain subsequent mode of response. This property may then be evaluated in terms of one or more of the "four wishes" or other more specifically biological impulses, but this additional step is not necessary to an adequate concept.

It may be said that primary group ties provide a feeling of being uniquely esteemed, a feeling of intimacy or of being permitted to know the whole personality of the other instead of being admitted to a limited segment only of his personality. This judgment assumes that man is so constituted that relationships of this type are more satisfying than impersonal or specialized ones, but no one has demonstrated a specific biological basis for this satisfaction. The existence of such a basis might be taken as a datum by the sociologist, or the question of its existence may be regarded as outside the range of his investigation. But it may be suggested that the basis lies in the fact that intimate relations give continuity; activities have flow instead of requiring re-evaluation and



re-orientation with each change of situation. This interpretation may be extended to some of the other relationships cited. The insecurity of the marginal man would be attributed to both lack of intimacy and consistency in his relationships; he must act differently in situations which are formally identical, whereas the "normal" man can avoid this constant decision making and compromising.

The illustrations so far would appear to attribute security mainly to relationships of the primary group type. There is such a bias in much of the sociological literature. But security, although of a different type, is also found in secondary relationships. The opportunity to attain individuated desires without the interference of family or moral guardians is a form of security.

It is clear that there are two or more types of security corresponding to the typologies of social systems which we use in analysis. A rural, sacred, ideational society would have a preponderant type of security different from that appropriate to an urban, secular, sensate society. It is, therefore, necessary to specify the general social system under analysis when we are attempting to make use of the concept of security as a property of specific social relationships.

3. *Security as a criterion of the functional adequacy of a system of social relationships.* This approach presumes to be strictly sociological. It assumes that security must be viewed with reference to configured and integrated patterns of relationships rather than in terms of biological urges or of single relationships. There are several varieties of this third type. The functionalist in anthropology defines the role of a custom or culture complex in terms of the contribution which it makes to maintaining the integrity of the total pattern. Sorokin attempts to show empirically that a "living culture" must approximate to a certain balance of "mentalities" and cultural subsystems. Zimmerman and other writers who stress the values of familism also are thinking in terms of "balance." Still others say civilizations "fall" because they become "too urbanized" or "too bureaucratized," or too something else. In short, any theory of social disorganization assumes certain criteria of the optimum proportionality of different types of social relationships.

Implicit or explicit in all theories of this type is a corollary that when harmony or balance or integration exists in the total system that system as a whole is "healthy" and the members of that society will enjoy security—in whatever terms defined. This approach to formulating a concept of security may be summarized by defining security in the socio-

logical sense as a derivative property of any social system which is marked by consistency and co-ordination (*a*) among the values shared by the members of the society, (*b*) among the roles expected of each person in the society, and (*c*) between the set of values and the set of roles.

This abstract formulation may be elucidated by stating four corollaries. Only when all four are present will security emerge. (1) The society presents to its members certain personal roles, each including a particular cluster of goals and approved procedures for attaining those goals. The roles assigned to individuals directly or attached to positions left open to acquisition by achievement reflect the institutional order. For example, there is the mother role including the idea that motherhood is the natural destiny of every woman, etc. This will be accompanied by certain behavior patterns for carrying out her role, such as kindness to children, sacrifice of her independent interests to this end, etc.

(2) The functions necessary for the realization of the values shared by the society are carried out by established institutional patterns. In this way the subsistence of the group is assured by assorted lines of production carried on by particular associated individuals in accordance with stipulated procedures, and motivated by specific ideals. Implicit here is the further condition that the institutional patterns are sufficiently flexible to permit the performance of the basic functions even when the circumstances under which the group lives have changed.

(3) These institutional patterns are mutually congruent to an adequate degree. This means that the goals of the several institutions are not so mutually incompatible that the members of the society are prevented from having actively functioning ideals. And it means further that the behavior specified by one institutional pattern does not inhibit that required by another to an extent sufficient to prevent the societal functions of either from being performed.

(4) The means specified and approved for carrying out the given roles are adequate to that end, or substitutes and compensations are provided. Concretely, the behavior which is recommended to the members of the society is such as to implement the functions of the established institutions in the manner which happens to be represented by the particular folkways of that culture. Further, the actions specified will in fact achieve the goals of the individual roles; otherwise individ-

uals would be encouraged to strive to live up to models set for them while the means for doing this were denied them. The existence of any frequent or marked discrepancy between the way persons view their ideal roles and their understanding of the specific actions required or permitted will either force a readjustment among the parts of this institutional pattern, or the individuals must be given some satisfactions or escapes to assuage their failure. For example, a laissez-faire commercial economic system must set up entrepreneurial roles. Practices which will actually operate such a system must be taught the members, and the specific actions such as buying cheap and selling dear must serve this end. Pursuit of such courses of action entails exploitation of other persons, the appearance of impersonality, etc., which sets up certain strains in the personalities of the executives and the employees. These strains must be resolved by changing the practices or by providing justificatory beliefs that the best man wins, etc. In addition the exploitation group must believe that failure is bad luck, or that it is their just desert, or that suffering on earth will be repaid by "Pie in Heaven"—Pareto's residue of the integrity of the individual, perhaps. The absence of one of these elements from the total picture will create insecurity.

The above four conditions are adequate to evaluate the degree of security provided by a social system. This formulation is in institutional terms, and one of the elements of an institution is associations. Associations are groups, and a particular group is both an agent of an institution and a locus of intersecting institutional patterns. Groups are more "visible" than institutional patterns and, therefore, furnish a useful line of approach to many problems which are also translatable into the language of relationships. Moreover, there are certain structures and processes of interaction peculiar to groups which bear upon the question of security.

The usefulness of this suggested concept of security will be tested by applying it to the classification and interpretation of some of the effects of contemporary action programs in the field of agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

In order to facilitate this task the preceding four criteria are stated in suitable terms and a fifth criterion added embracing the associational factors just discussed. The criteria may now be stated as follows:

1. The congruence of the institutional patterns

<sup>1</sup> Little space has been given to changes in the family because this topic has been so extensively treated by sociologists. The discussion of those topics included must be very brief; we trust the allusions will be capable of expansion by the reader.

2. The adequacy of culturally given personal roles to the institutional ends
3. The availability of facilities to carry out these roles
4. The conformity of the modes and rates of change in personal roles and institutional patterns to the need for preserving stability or continuity in the system.
5. The accordance of group structures and interrelationships with the institutional patterns.

1. *The influence of governmental social security programs for agriculture upon the congruence of institutional patterns.*

The economic emergency brought to a head the many tensions in our institutional structure. The governmental programs which followed have partially allayed these strains, but in some respects increased them also. Both the existence of such tensions and the accompanying changes in institutional patterns have produced a vast amount of anxiety and insecurity. The flowering of forums, discussion groups, and propaganda agencies along with the new profession of public opinion measurement are an index of this insecurity and strain even though they may be also a means to reaching some new adjustment.

Some of these accommodations, in most instances possessing deep roots in our national history, may be referred to briefly as instances of changing institutional balance. One conspicuous case is the increased efforts to modify our property concepts. The conservation movement and the drive for reform of tenure laws seek to modify traditional absolute and sole ownership rights in land. The public is endeavoring to embody its long-run security value which inheres in soil preservation in new restrictions on land-use rights. But the establishment of more stable tenancy conditions depends in part upon restricting landlords' privileges. In each of these situations we are dealing with a rearrangement of ideals and usages in that area where governmental and economic institutions overlap; other institutions are of course involved, particularly the family.

In this same general politico-economic field there is the problem of the respective responsibility for certain services. Economic instability and governmental change are intimately linked, and the public expects now the government and now the free enterprise economy to bear the burden of providing public order and prosperity. Economic forces have been peculiarly important in American history because of the absence of influential military, aristocratic, or ecclesiastical hierarchies. The former system in our culture is, however, extremely unstable. We have tried to

offset this instability by political action, but we have done so without much confidence in the results. Consequently, there is a wide area of indeterminacy which has continued to plague us. A particularly insistent problem as to the allocation of responsibility arises from the conjuncture of mounting humanitarianism with the disappearance of the frontier. The half-hearted measures of public relief have helped maintain law and order, but our very reluctance to face these problems has inhibited the efficient development of what appears to be an emerging institutional pattern, public welfare.

One additional tension between institutions may suffice for this brief interpretation. Education is involved in a two-fold shift in its linkages to other institutions. On the one hand its agencies are expanding in number and acquiring new functions. At the same time certain dominant values which have guided our educational efforts are being threatened by new controls imposed by administrative bureaus. An example of the first tendency is to be found in the growth of the Farm Security Administration supervisory service which is breaking new ground in an endeavor to link education to economic activity in a sphere where conventional methods have failed. The idea of continuous managerial assistance to inefficient economic agents in order to aid them to remain in the productive system may well prove one of the most significant of the new programs. The second trend takes the form of a growing pressure by the action agencies upon schools, extension services, and research agencies to support by teaching and study the current action programs. The old issues of freedom of education and of how schools may best serve the true welfare of society are reviving in a new form. To those who hold that educational disinterestedness is essential for fostering the most capable leadership in society this conflict of policies represents a grievous threat to the security of our accepted educational institution.

*2. The influence of action programs upon the adequacy of socially given roles to institutional ends.*

As we outlined above, institutional functions are performed by individuals who are trained to act in the appropriate personal roles: parents rear children. The contemporary situation like that in any dynamic age reveals a large number of such roles which are inappropriate to the ends desired. Insecurity results from this discrepancy.

One example is the multiplying pressures on farmers to farm economically, rationally, and in accord with mundane guides, such as crop

control, market conditions, science, or the dicta of government agencies, all of which in some degree contradict surviving "sacred" values in farm life. Farmers have been persistently unwilling to regard themselves as "economic men." In this same vein is the not entirely fictitious horror over the "killing of little pigs." The readjustment of vocational attitudes and habits required by this transformation produces insecurity. The change in emphasis from technics of farming in the narrow sense of skills like barn building or raising beautiful cattle to stress on farm management is a further example. Anyone who witnesses the trials of farm management specialists in an extension service cannot fail to see that this change is temporarily disorganizing.

On a larger scale this last problem is found in the changing land-use practices of our agricultural economy. Farming for the greatest immediate profits, farming predominantly in cultivated crops, and the use of eighteenth century principles of management have led to soil erosion, excessive debt burdens, and other forms of instability. Now we face the problem of working out and disseminating other procedures which we hope will better safeguard the long-run welfare of rural society.

Paradoxically, along with the growing stress on business-like farming, has come increasing skepticism of the efficiency of the economic system and of the validity of former beliefs concerning its function. Demands for market quotas, crop controls, cost of production prices, and cheap credit indicate that the laissez-faire enterprising route to prosperity is more an object of disbelief than faith. This skepticism is admitted by those agricultural leaders who are striving to formulate a new "mythology" or credo to replace the old and to motivate the desired new practices and policies for agriculture. Whatever the merits of the new "faiths," that they are sought witnesses to the fact that leaders believe nonrational beliefs play a crucial part in integrating ideals and actions.

*3. The effect of governmental programs upon the availability to individuals of adequate facilities for performing their roles.*

The culture pattern of roles may be appropriate to the institutional system, and yet individuals may be frustrated in striving to act their parts because the necessary means are denied them. The existence of multiple blockings of this type creates a condition of insecurity in all relationships of which these roles are elements.

This problem acquires special importance in a society where values or goals of achievement are democratically distributed within the social pyramid rather than stratified along class lines. In a democratic society it is legitimate for everyone to strive for the same ends, e.g., a high "standard of living." But in this society as well as in others the various persons, classes, and regions do not have equal command over the resources and means to achieving these ends.

Our American tradition is to attempt to remove these discrepancies. We have given away land or sold it cheap; we have granted squatters' rights, free roads, free schools, marketing services, cheap credit; and by thousands of public acts we have attempted to redress the recurring or persisting disadvantages. A particularly important program of this sort is public health and "socialized medicine." Unemployment insurance likewise falls in this category. We strive to break the bonds of inherited status by educational efforts of the Civilian Conservation Corps or Farm Security Administration and by extending relief, credit moratoria, etc. We have genuinely struggled to preserve a democracy of opportunity. It is significant that we have become increasingly willing to acknowledge openly the validity of political devices to achieve this purpose, whereas traditionally we have pretended that such methods were taboo.

These factors tending to the preservation of equality of opportunity have been expressed and reflected in a high degree of vertical mobility. This changing of social position has a dual relationship to security; mobility disrupts established relationships, but it also establishes new relationships which bring a better adjustment between goals and the ability to achieve them. Whether the net effect is a greater or a smaller amount of insecurity is open to debate.

Present social security programs in agriculture have not been uniform in their consequences for mobility. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration has pushed some tenants into the status of laborers and has favored the larger operators. On the other hand, relief, credit, and the Farm Security Administration have aided the lower strata, as have various educational programs designed to overcome the handicaps of the less educated and the unskilled. This sketchy summary of diverse tendencies could be easily expanded. An important omission is the question of the net effect upon our success ideologies of prophecies that the unemployed are permanent and of promises to bring help to the "lower one-third."

4. *The conformity of the modes and rates of change in personal roles and institutional patterns to the need for preserving stability or continuity in the system.*

The illustrations which have preceded have referred to specific changes. Of equal moment is the rate of change in determining the degree of security inherent in a social system. The government programs have speeded up some and slowed down other changes; but to classify the innumerable examples would be exhausting, and only a few will be cited.

Of primary importance, in our opinion, is the acceleration of the processes of secularization, urbanization, and their correlates. Aside from some tentative restraints upon the pecuniary valuation process which are implied in the conservation ideal, the pressure to adjust and readjust to the new programs, the efforts to "sell" these programs "logically," social planning, and intensified educational efforts have favored the spread of deliberate, non-traditional, methodical thought and action. In the endeavor to operate in what is claimed to be the democratic manner, the desire to make the programs effective has required intensified teaching and demanded new devices to enable farmers to examine their problems systematically and with novel perspectives. These new attitudes are doubtless capable of giving greater security in a secular society, but the very speed of change is disorganizing during the interval until the new adjustment eventuates.

With changing rate of change we must consider differential rates of change, or social lags. Some policies are reducing certain lags, while other policies increase different lags. One example would be the diminishing maladjustment of new ideals of proper land-use to still dominant property and tenure laws. Another, the hitherto widening gap in skill and resources among farmers will possibly be reduced by programs such as that of the Farm Security Administration. The shifts in cropping systems and tillage methods under Agricultural Adjustment Administration incentives have revealed a deficiency in research and technology in certain fields, particularly legume crops; in the appropriate methods of raising them; and in the machinery for handling them. This deficiency will probably be ended rather quickly as research efforts are re-directed. It should be noticed that one effect of such research activity will tend to validate the new adjustments which farmers are asked to make. This type of sanction for new usages and for the provision of



assistance in accomplishing readjustments is an important contribution to security in a rational, technical society.

Finally, the stress upon parity for agriculture, together with the multiplied channels of communication between farm and city, is speeding up the adoption of urban standards of living by farm people. Although the strains involved in altering standards of living have not been adequately analyzed, sociologists will recognize their existence together with the insecurities that will flow from the adoption of this pecuniary mode of life by farmers.

*5. The accordance of group structures and inter-relationships with the institutional patterns.*

The various programs, supplemented of course by many other factors, are reflected in changes in stratification and in the shape of the social pyramid. The distance from top to bottom of the agricultural population is being lengthened by incentives for landlords to push tenants into a lower stratum and to increase the mechanization of their farming. Critics of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration seem justified in pointing out that this program favors the larger and more capitalistically organized operators who also exercise undue influence on the allotment and payment schedules. These conditions help to solidify the existing hierarchy. We know that participation in any special interest group is selective, but the significance of the above facts lies in the buttressing of voluntary selection by legal privilege. Since security reflects access to privileges and facilities, these trends are increasing the inequality of the social distribution of security. Relief policies also have increased the proportion of poorer farmers by discouraging withdrawal to other occupations; and by discouraging extra-legal aggressive behavior against the more wealthy groups, relief has bolstered the existing hierarchy.

Other types of inequality of advantages have been increased or crystallized. Differentiation of benefits among producers of different commodities is stabilized by production and marketing quotas. And the efforts to shift farmers out of certain enterprises or regions conflict with the interests of other groups.

Stratification is, however, being diminished by some trends. New tenure laws and other modifications of property rights, education to enable less skilled farmers to remain in agriculture or to protect their

status, and assistance of various kinds to children of handicapped farmers fall into this category.

The growing representation in local areas of agents of outside government bureaus is altering the structure of rural communities in many ways whose significance we cannot yet assay. The absorption of activities which were formerly the responsibility of local groups, together with the effort to incorporate the purposes and loyalties of these local groups into the larger program, has increased the complexity of the rural community; and it has weakened the prestige of certain rural elites and leaders at the same time that it has created new leaders. These are a few of the ways a primary or a local group must change its structure when it affiliates with an outside secondary group or becomes a part of a new and more extensive system of relationships. These changes unquestionably furnish new security in some ways, but they also diminish the desired flexibility of adjustment of the local unity. The system of payment to local committees for their services in national programs will probably undermine many customs of noblesse oblige among rural leaders. It must be remembered that noblesse-oblige attitudes of rural leaders and the correlated respect of rural people for such leaders is one root of several of the more important aspects of security in the sociological sense.

Another major group reorganization, the accomplishments of which are as yet more potential than actual, is developing out of the Farm Security Administration technical consultant plan. This operates to re-integrate into one relationship the creation, diffusion, and application of new technical and managerial ideas. One might view the medieval village as a social unit where close contact and hierarchic relationships insured a fairly prompt and uniform adoption of such new techniques as might become known to the lord or his bailiff. The plantation system acted in the same direction. It has been remarked by historians that indentured servitude and the cropper system were both sociological devices for bringing unskilled labor, resources, and adequate supervision together into a working unit. Later changes have atomized this unit, and we are now casting about for means to re-establish it on some new basis. Modern division of labor in invention and research and the great diversity of farming abilities require a different group plan. The Farm Security Administration appears well designed to meet this problem for a considerable segment of the farm operators; and for other groups of farmers there are county planning committees, orthodox extension

groups, farm business associations, etc. These various plans also appear to provide scope for high level entrepreneurial ability while avoiding the undesired alternative of large-scale ownership of land.

Security for a group or its members depends not only upon the institutional pattern and the internal group relationships but also upon its relations with other groups. American history is a record of persistent conflicts of interest and policy between agricultural and urban groups but also of a sentimental and realistic solicitude by the nation for the welfare of farmers. This dualism persists today.

The "American Plan," protectionism, internal improvements, squatters' rights, agricultural education, taxes on butter substitutes, interstate tariffs, marketing agreements, liberal legal tolerance on fruit sprays, and the support of experiment stations, represent direct and indirect concessions by other groups to farmers. No one seriously proposes to abandon this tradition of government aid to farmers and to force agriculture to solve its own problems. This attitude, however much offset by legalized exploitation of farmers, is a real security. These policies require trading of special interest legislation between farm and city representatives. This trading must increase if it is to offset the loss of political preponderance of farmers among voters.

Other intergroup bonds are developing. The financial aid to farmers has strengthened the tie between farm and village segments of the rural population through revealing to the townsmen their dependence upon the farmer. Presumably educational programs on economic subjects are tending to weaken superstitions about business men. New working relationships are fostered by the multiplication of program committees embracing all rural elements. These various reciprocal interests will also be affected by the emerging new property concepts, e.g., those concerning landowners and operating farmers.

One of these multiform changes is the bringing out into explicit discussion of many conflicts of interest which have been implicit most of the time. This very fact helps to magnify some conflicts while it provides the mechanism for settling others. Agreement upon the need for some kind of public relief policy has up to the present time minimized the likelihood of more violent actions. It is becoming increasingly evident that long time production and conservation programs will necessitate conviction of the urban population that they are justified.

This group structure is an important factor in security because of its bearing upon the provision of facilities by the society to the individual

in order that he may achieve the roles assigned and in turn give his allegiance to the social system. Every group arrangement contributes its unique form of security and of insecurity, and each change in group structure or in the relations between groups alters this distribution.

*Summary.* This article represents an attempt to examine the problem of social security from the sociological point of view. An effort was made to develop a specifically sociological meaning for the term security, a meaning which would be integrated with other accepted sociological concepts. Formulations in terms of instincts naturally fall outside this area, as do those stated in terms of specific "wishes." To regard security as a product of particular relationships, such as primary group ties, is to approach nearer to this goal. The most fruitful method appeared to make security a quality of total complex systems of relationships. It was suggested that when the value system of a society was coherent, when the culturally provided personal roles could be achieved by the actions permitted by the culture, and when this institutional value system was coordinated with the roles, then security would result. The second part of the paper used this concept to estimate the influence of various "social security" action programs in the field of agriculture upon the types and amounts of security in our society. It was shown that these practical activities are exerting a significant degree of influence, some producing greater and others less security.

*Acknowledgments.* The sociological writers drawn upon in preparing this paper are sufficiently evident in the text. A great number and variety of historical sources of generally recognized competence were consulted in connection with the second part of the article. In addition, the author is indebted to discussions with his colleagues: W. W. Wilcox, Bryce Ryan, and T. W. Schultz.

# Action Programs for the Conservation of Rural Life and Culture

*Lowry Nelson\**

## ABSTRACT

What is it in American rural culture that we wish to conserve? In postulating as worthy of conservation (1) survival values and (2) values inherent in familism and territorial localism, we must attempt to reconcile the dynamics of social change with the values which are considered worthy of preservation. This paper is an appraisal of the significance of the maze of local and national programs which have a bearing on the general problem. My hypothesis is that the primary group derivatives such as democracy, self-reliance, individuality, etc., have historically derived from the primary group and that weakening the primary group will tend to weaken these qualities. Conversely, action to strengthen the primary group will tend to conserve these qualities. Confronted by the fact of social change, we find ourselves attempting to adjust to a moving point, rather than to a fixed star. Since as human beings we cannot be oblivious to the future and are irrepressible planners, the sociologist, at least, should try to see to it that the primary group has a place in the plan for the "World of Tomorrow."

In discussing this topic one is confronted with the necessity of first postulating a set of values before it is possible to enter upon an exposition and appraisal of programs. One cannot approach the task with anything but a feeling of trepidation. What is it in American rural life that we can be sure we wish to conserve? In our efforts at "conservation of culture," how can we reconcile the dynamics of social change with the values which are considered worthy of preservation? Finally, how is it possible to appraise the significance of the maze of local and national programs which have a bearing on the general problem?

Even before we commence a discussion of cultural values and the programs in operation which are intended to conserve them, it is necessary that some agreed-upon meaning be attributed to the terms "culture" and "conservation." In regard to the term "culture" sociologists have come to accept the definition as given by the anthropologist, as encompassing the sum total of the beliefs, ideas, folkways, institutions, and other behavior patterns; in short the total social heritage. Linton makes the point that the term *culture* has a dual meaning. "As

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a general term, culture means the total social heredity of mankind, while as a specific term, a culture means a particular strain of social heredity. Thus culture, as a whole, is composed of a vast number of cultures each of which is characteristic of a certain group of individuals."<sup>1</sup> Following this distinction we may refer to rural culture as that culture which is characteristic of rural people. Having said that, we are challenged immediately to characterize rural people. That is by no means a simple matter. For in our system of *cultures*, that strain which we choose to call *rural* has many features common to the larger *milieu*. Its members have the same language as the larger civilization; they use the same technological devices of communication, common religious beliefs and institutions, schools, and forms of government. They even vote the same political ticket as do members of the urban counterpart. Nevertheless, there are some perceptible differences in interests, in modes of living, and in nature of social interaction, as reflected in formal and informal social organization. The most significant differences in rural life on the cultural plane might be stated somewhat dogmatically as follows:

1. The rural person has fewer social contacts with individuals outside the immediate family, but these contacts tend to be more impressive and meaningful. This is the result of the low density of the rural population, with the relative geographic isolation imposed by our system of land settlement.

2. By virtue of the nature of the occupation of agriculture, the rural family in the earlier phases of its cycle particularly operates as a social and economic unit. Social interaction among members of the family forms a larger portion of the total social life of the individual than is true in the urban environment.

3. The relations of the rural family with its neighbors are more important in rural than in urban society. In other words, the primary group, characterized by restricted range of society contacts and by contacts which are personal, durable, and intimate, finds its normal habitat in the country. This situation makes for a relatively high degree of homogeneity of interests, a minimum of stratification within the group, and a maximum expression of "democratic" attitudes through the democratic process.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Linton, Ralph, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *Systematic Sourcebook for Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis, 1930), pp. 186 ff.

The term *conservation* has been applied historically to prevention of wastage of natural resources. The act of prevention involves the creation of community restrictions upon the individual in the use of resources which are vital to the long-run survival of the group. It is assumed that when applied to "human resources" it has a similar meaning, namely, the prevention of waste of human population, and of human energy, and even the forestalling of decline and disappearance of certain cultural aspects such as ideas, values, beliefs, folkways, and mores. One might go even further and regard the recovery of lost values as a phase of conservation.

What is it in American rural culture that we wish to preserve? Admittedly this question is one that no person is wise enough to settle for all time, for the eternally changing social order results in a continually shifting system of values. It is not our purpose here to enter into any futile philosophical discussion of values. The only practical answer to the question must be derived from the biological imperatives and from our group history and tradition. On this basis it would appear that we can postulate the following as values which we want to conserve: (1) survival values and (2) values inherent in familism and territorial localism.

1. a) *Action programs in the field of maintenance of the vitality of the population.* Rural populations and rural cultures are noted for their biological vitality; birth rates are constantly high and death rates relatively low. On the other hand, urban populations tend to fail in reproducing themselves from generation to generation, thus making replacements necessary from the rural areas. At the present time in the United States we are faced with a falling rural as well as urban birth rate. This has led to endless speculations as to the future population trends and particularly to the social and biological consequences of this trend should it continue. There are those who feel that large families are desirable not only to insure the reproduction and continued increase of the national population, but also because the large family is presumed to constitute a favorable social environment in which children may grow into adulthood. On the other hand, there are those who disagree definitely with both of these points of view and who argue that we would be pursuing a wasteful policy if we were to encourage large families. It would be wasteful in the sense that individuals brought into the world lacking in economic opportunity may be unable

to find a useful and satisfactory place for themselves in the economic and social order. Moreover, it would give rise to population pressure which, rightly or wrongly, is regarded as one of the important bases for national and international unrest.

But, from the standpoint of this discussion, this phase of the problem can be dismissed with the statement that we have no formal action program either for raising or lowering the birth rates. It may be contended that the relief program acts as a population policy, but if this be true—and the evidence as to its effects one way or another is by no means convincing—it is an incidental result and is not included among the objectives of the relief program.

b) *Action programs for the reduction of mortality and morbidity.* There is less debate about the acceptance, on either philosophical or practical grounds, of the desirability of society acting to preserve health and postpone death as long as possible, than on any other aim or goal. Professor A. J. Todd is on firm ground when he states:

In constructing a theory of progress as one of the end aims of social science one's point of departure must be from certain axioms. The first of these might be formulated as: life is better than death. . . . This is not a purely subjective judgment. The will to live is not primarily conscious, but instinctive. It is not even characteristically human. It is not a property merely of the higher forms of animal or vegetable life, but goes to the very bottom of the life scale itself. Apparently it is written into the basic constitution of life. . . .

As a corollary to this first axiom we might propose a second, namely, health is better than sickness . . . . A sick cell, a sickly animal or a sick race cannot stand up in the struggle for existence and eventually is exterminated. Hence health, like life, may be taken as a clear-cut measuring rod for testing and comparing human cultures.<sup>8</sup>

In the field of health it is possible to make a very concrete application of the definition of conservation as prevention of waste. Waste occurs when premature death overtakes a productive human unity. This waste can even be reduced to economic value. Similarly, the loss of time and energy through disabling disease is reducible to exchange value. But there is also the unmeasurable toll of human suffering, loss of morale and integrity of personality which disease and death produce.

The action programs in the field of health from the standpoint of sponsorship may be considered as public and private. Public action up to the present time has been limited to (1) enactment of legislation

<sup>8</sup> Arthur J. Todd, "A Valid Concept of Social Progress," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXII:1, pp. 27 ff.



to impose minimum standards of sanitation in cities and towns and the general enforcement of quarantine laws involving infectious and contagious diseases. The latter applies to rural as well as urban areas. (2) General education regarding prevention of disease, in cooperation with the medical profession and other private agencies; and the provision of minimum public health nursing services. (3) Provision of medical aid for the economically dependent, and (4) the institutionalization of mental patients, and certain other disabled groups, such as the blind, deaf and dumb, feeble-minded, disabled war veterans, and so forth.

Private agencies include the medical profession, by and large, and the various foundations, examples of which are the Rosenwald Fund, the Milbank Memorial Fund, and the Rockefeller Foundation, to mention three of the more prominent. All of them have been active in rural areas. In addition to these private agencies there have arisen in recent years, some under private and others public sponsorship, cooperative associations to provide medical and hospital services to their members. These are to be found in both urban and rural areas. Also there are the insurance companies, some of which have rather definite educational programs aimed at the prevention of disease; and certain associations such as the American Red Cross chapters and the Tuberculosis associations, which conduct regular programs aimed at prevention of disease and accident.

There is an impressive number of organizations, both public and private, rendering service in the field of health. Moreover, the number of practitioners is sufficient to provide the population with vastly extended services, if some means could be devised to bring patient and doctor together. On the technical side, it is an overused commonplace to say that knowledge is far in advance of its effective application. The mechanical means of diagnosis and treatment of disease are rapidly being developed, but for the individual physician in a rural area to provide himself with these devices is a matter often beyond his financial means. The cost of obsolescence is great, and it is one which society must continue to bear; but there is little justification of its continuing to bear the excessive cost of duplicate sets of equipment, since under the present highly competitive system each physician must provide himself with X-ray and other devices, if he is to compete successfully with his professional competitor around the corner, even though such equipment may be only occasionally used.

With all our knowledge and trained personnel, morbidity rates are high. The National Health survey conducted in 1937 and covering a sample composed of 740,000 urban and 36,000 rural families, estimated that 23,000,000 persons in the population of the United States "have some chronic disease, orthopedic impairment or serious defect of hearing or vision."<sup>4</sup> Disability from these diseases results in an annual loss of "almost a billion days" from active work.<sup>5</sup> That this is a very conservative estimate will be admitted when it is realized that the sample of rural cases was too small to be adequate, and no account was taken of the disability due to hookworm, malaria, and pellagra, all of which take a heavy toll in rural areas of the south. This survey confirmed the results of other studies in the disclosure that the incidence of disabling disease bears an inverse relationship to income, the morbidity rate being highest among the families on relief. For those who labor under the misapprehension that relief families have adequate care of a physician because the service is paid out of public funds, this survey offers the disconcerting revelation that in the 81 cities studied 17 per cent of the cases whose incomes were in excess of \$3,000 received no care of a physician; while there were 30 per cent of the relief families, and 28 per cent of those with incomes under \$1,000 who received no care of a physician. The amount of care received as measured by number of calls made by the physician also varied inversely with income.

Without assembling the data from widely scattered sources the present situation as regards medical care in rural areas can be summarized briefly about as follows:

(1) Farm people are handicapped by distance of their place of residence from the location of medical personnel, clinics, and hospitals. The latter are located in villages, towns, and cities. This distance factor is important not only in the critical matter of time where acute disease is involved, but also in making excessive the cost of home visits by the physician, the standard mileage rate being \$1.00 per mile one way.

(2) A further handicap suffered by farm people is the low average ability to pay. With a median farm income for 6,166,000 non-relief farm families of less than \$1,000, and with 2,200,000 families with less

<sup>4</sup> Preliminary Reports, *The National Health Survey*, Bul. No. 6 (Washington), p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

than \$750 annual income,<sup>6</sup> even a few cases of minor ailments would consume an undue proportion of the total amount of the family budget, while a single case of major illness would be sufficient to put a family under obligation to a physician and hospital for years to come.

(3) Moreover, a physician in a strictly rural area operates on such meagre resources that the mechanical and other facilities for diagnosis and treatment which are known today and are available in more prosperous areas cannot be made available for his use.

(4) In short, existing facilities and personnel for medical care are inadequately distributed and inefficiently utilized. There is an unbridged gap between medical knowledge and its social application. Meanwhile the wastage of human life and energy continues while the defenders of the present system indulge in polemics with its critics on the merits of the status quo versus the proposed measures of reform.

Various proposals for the modification of the existing system have been put forward. Without elaboration, some of these may be mentioned as follows:

(1) Retention in general of the present system of the private practice of medicine, but with government assuming still larger responsibilities for financing the care of the indigent and low income groups, while the private practitioners would assume greater responsibility than they have done in the past for the prevention of disease. This would involve, according to the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care,<sup>7</sup> "reorientation of the entire curriculum" of the medical schools to prepare practitioners both in attitudes and knowledge in the use of devices for disease prevention.

(2) Development of voluntary health insurance, through cooperative health and hospital associations. Such groups are being organized rapidly over the country, and it seems safe to forecast that they will play a role of increasing importance in the future.

(3) Compulsory health insurance, financed through deductions from payrolls in much the same manner as is done now for old-age retirement and unemployment.

(4) Public medicine available to everyone and supported from taxation.

<sup>6</sup> *Consumer Incomes in the United States* (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938).

<sup>7</sup> *Medical Care for the American People* (Chicago, 1932), p. 138.

(5) The "National Health Program"<sup>8</sup> recommended by the Inter-departmental Committee to Co-ordinate Health and Welfare Activities. This program consists of the following features:

- (a) Expansion of our public health, maternal, and child health services, with a special emphasis on preventing sickness.
- (b) Extension of hospital facilities, especially in small towns and rural areas where free or low-cost hospital service is practically unobtainable.
- (c) Provision of medical care at public expense for the one-third of the population in the lower income levels unable to pay for adequate private care.
- (d) Measures for spreading the cost of medical care either by state systems of medical insurance, or further extension of state medical services with the aid of federal subsidies.
- (e) Protection against the loss of wages during sickness by insurance. Temporary disability insurance should be set up, as was unemployment insurance, on a federal-state basis; permanent disability insurance should be set up by amending the federal old-age insurance to pay benefits to workers who become disabled before the age of 65.

This program with the exception of item "d" has been approved by the American Medical Association and the American Public Health Association. It represents for the most part an expansion of functions already exercised by the government agencies with the exception of the controversial item "d" and item "e." However, this "expansion" is considerable, if it is to cover one-third of the population, and the establishment of hospitals in rural areas.

Since there is already under way throughout the country, a movement on the part of self-supporting members of the population to organize group health associations, it may well be expected that increasing numbers of the upper income groups will find ways to reduce the cost of medical care for themselves, even though the new legislation which is predicted for the coming session of Congress should make no provision for them.

The "National Health Program" as outlined, or one similar to it, would bring to the rural areas for the first time in our history a system

<sup>8</sup> *A National Health Program* (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938).

of medical care which is not out of harmony with our national capacity to provide, and which is somewhat approximate with existing needs.

Vitality of the population is not alone a matter of medical care. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that more human life could be conserved through providing adequate nutrition than through multiplying services for the cure of disease. Adequate nutrition is a function of three factors: (a) the knowledge of what constitutes an adequate diet; (b) the food folkways; and (c) economic ability to provide the diet essentials. Important advances have been made in nutrition research, particularly in identifying the vitamins and discovering their roles in the bodily processes. Knowledge as to dietary adequacy is certainly much more complete today than has been the case in any previous time. But again there is the same disparity between the knowledge developed by research and its utilization. While it is impossible to state just what proportion of the rural population is underfed, common observation would indicate that it is relatively significant. The Secretary of Agriculture in his report for the year 1936 estimated that "the diet of half the non-farm population probably fails to provide a desirable margin of safety over minimum requirements."<sup>9</sup> The report of the Mixed Committee on Nutrition of the League of Nations says that available data suggest that "the incidence of malnutrition is at least as great in rural as in urban communities."<sup>10</sup>

Part of the difficulty is attributed by this committee to the ignorance of the population, and part to inadequate income to purchase necessary food. "Poverty and ignorance," the report states, "remain formidable obstacles to progress; the disparity between food prices and incomes increases the difficulty experienced by poorer sections of the community in obtaining an adequate supply of proper foods."<sup>11</sup>

In this connection the matter of "ignorance" should be considered as only part of the problem. Human beings in every part of the globe have through generations developed certain food habits or folkways, many of which are shown to be inadequate when examined under the spotlight of modern science. The tendency of these folkways is to persist, even when people are informed that these habits rest on no rational basis. To change these food habits involves more than formal educa-

<sup>9</sup> *Yearbook of Agriculture* (Washington), 1937, p. 105.

<sup>10</sup> *Final Report of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations on the Relation of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture and Economic Policy* (League of Nations, Geneva, 1937), p. 301.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

tion. Merely telling people about better ways of living does not insure abandonment of the old ways. Changing the folkways is a part of the process of acculturation and requires time. Among the action programs which are most effective today are the public schools and the agricultural extension service. The relief agencies too are bound to exert influence on food habits through their control over budget allocations. The Farm Security Administration is likewise able to influence its borrowers, and the fact that so many of its home supervisors are trained in home economics should make this influence particularly effective.

The existing folkways probably constitute a more serious problem in rural areas than does poverty, because farm families can with minimum cash expense provide themselves with a good variety of the protective foods. It is largely a matter of overcoming the traditional ways and of getting them to put forth the necessary effort to grow the additional foods. That is not to say, however, that poverty does not play its role. Its basic significance is readily admitted, but there is a wide latitude within which poor people on the land can improve their nutrition by the expenditure of labor alone.

2. *Action programs for the conservation of rural culture.* It has been stated earlier in this paper that the characteristic features of rural culture are those growing out of the primary group relations. The rural family is more cohesive, and performs more functions for the individual than does the urban family; similarly, the neighborhood still provides many of the social contacts of rural people. The tendency is, nevertheless, towards a weakening of the family bonds and functions and the interpenetration of the primary group by secondary organizations. Is this "good" or "bad"? In discussing the "conservation of life," we called upon the simple axiom, "life is better than death," as a basis for justifying attempts to frustrate disease and to prolong life. However, in the present instance we are treading on less certain ground. The statement that "primary group relations are more desirable than secondary relations" is not axiomatic. While it is true that the human race has lived through most of its history in almost exclusively primary group situations, and that the dominance of secondary group relations is a relatively recent phenomenon, there is no scientific ground on which one can predict the impossibility of human beings finding satisfactory existence in a culture dominated by secondary group relations. It remains to be demonstrated whether it can be achieved or not. At the same time there is a case to be made for the superiority of primary group relation-

ships. It is demonstrable that personal disorganization is less common in simpler cultures than in the more complex. Suicides and mental diseases of various kinds are far less common in cultures dominated by primary group relations. Not only is there greater personal stability and apparently satisfactory and happy individual adjustment, but the primary group culture is itself more stable. The social controls are automatic and informal; there is need for very little formal control. The feeling of responsibility on the part of the individual plus the powerful sway of folkways and mores guarantees conformity without recourse to legislation and elaborate secondary mechanisms.

Moreover, it is out of the primary group experiences of the race that have come the heritage of folklore and folk music which has provided the themes for the literary and musical masterpieces of more recent times. Consideration of this fact only tends to emphasize further the intensity and significance of experience in the simpler stages of cultural evolution. The same can be said of the great religious systems of mankind; they arose in the creative experience of simple societies.

Even admitting the virtues of a primary group culture, one would not want it to be undiluted. That is to say, there are undesirable features associated with the desirable features of the primary group. If it produces the stable emotional person, it also produces one who is provincial in outlook, with strong prejudices and one likely to be intolerant of those who differ from him. Moreover, it would be fatuous to assume that any action program could be devised by which primary groups could be insulated against the abrasives of an elaborate "secondary" culture such as we have in America today. Thus, what we wish to conserve in rural culture is not a simon-pure primary group society, but rather a balance between the simpler culture of the past, the complex culture of the present, and the still more complex arrangement which is promised for the future.

We want to strike a balance between isolation with its provincial outlook on the one hand and the extreme multiplication of social stimuli with a derived cosmopolitan outlook on the other; between a simple, classless, not to say anarchic group life and an extremely complex, stratified, even though more "efficient" one. The justification of talking about "preserving primary group relationships" is that these relations are threatened by a number of contemporary forces. Among these may be mentioned the following:

- a) The commercialization of agriculture, with the concomitant decline in self-sufficiency, increase in specialization in production and in the division of labor.
- b) Technological changes throughout the entire culture, including communication devices and improvements in agricultural technology.
- c) Instability of the land tenure system.
- d) Increasing assumption of political controls over the local community by the central government.

Volumes have been written about the commercialization of agriculture. In encouraging specialization at the expense of self-sufficiency, it has made the local producer dependent upon the market and the cash economy. The effect upon the family and the neighborhood is to transfer functions from them to other outside agencies. For example, the manufacture of clothing and the processing of food in the home declines; while neighborhood recreation becomes less important than the amusement which is purchasable in the town. No argument is necessary to show the adverse effect of the commercial economy upon primary group ties.

Similarly, it is obvious at once that the technological culture which we have elaborated for ourselves in the past century is not compatible with a primary group society. With every farm family in touch by radio, telephone, or daily newspaper with the far corners of the world, it is perfectly clear that it is less dependent upon the social contacts provided formerly by the neighborhood. Good roads and the speedy automobile, together with all other forms of rapid transit have effectively broken the isolation of most rural sections of the world. Progress here is not at an end. Not only are new technical developments impending—such as television—but the diffusion of existing devices is taking place on a rapid scale.

It is to be held in mind that devices for communication are only one part of the technological culture which has affected adversely primary groups. Improvement of the technology of agriculture itself is an important consideration. Perhaps this point should be discussed in conjunction with the commercialization of agriculture, for no doubt it is the pressure of competition in the market and the drive for profits as well as man's wish to be relieved of hard work which have contributed most to the introduction of new techniques in agriculture. The great drive has been for efficiency. High production per man and low cost per unit



have been the American ideal. Even during the recent depression years, when millions of men have sought in vain for useful work to do, the introduction of efficiency devices not only in agriculture, but in all industry, has gone forward, possibly at an accelerated rate.

The mechanization of cotton culture is a phenomenon of the depression years; so likewise is the rapid spread of the mechanical corn picker, and the use of hybrid seed corn. The full impact of these and other technological improvements upon the rural economy cannot be fully seen as yet. That they may prove to be serious is quite certain; it is possible they may be revolutionary. Followed to its logical and possible end, the efficiency goal might well mean that several million fewer farm people would be needed today than we actually have residing on farms to produce the food and fiber of the nation.

What has this to do with the rural primary groups? Simply stated, it means the reorganization of agriculture as an economic enterprise. Technological progress in agriculture tends to have the following effects:

- (1) Enlargement of the enterprise in terms of land and capital.
- (2) Increased specialization and commercialization of production.
- (3) Reorganization of the labor factor in the direction of more specialization.
- (4) All of these factors result in increased economic efficiency, reduced demand for human labor, unemployment in the human population, increased social stratification along occupational lines, with a marked increase in the proportion of wage workers.

Most of these effects are disadvantageous to the primary group, resulting in less and less necessity of mutual aid among neighbors, and freeing the individual completely from the territorial bounds of the locality. There is increasing control on the part of a few over the lives of many, with concomitant class interests based upon occupational specialization. The increase in the magnitude of the dependent group injects a new issue into a situation where it has been traditional for each family to be independent, self-reliant, and able to provide its members with the necessities of existence.

The insecurity of American farmers, correlated with the rise in tenancy and the increase of mortgage debt, has increased the geographic mobility of the population and has thus added to the decline of primary group relations. The primary group as has been indicated is characterized by the close personal acquaintance of its members. The excessive

mobility from place to place of large portions of the rural population tends to destroy this personal acquaintanceship and makes for the anonymity of the individual.

Finally, the problems produced by or associated with the commercialization and mechanization of agriculture, with technical progress, and with the growing insecurity of the farm population, have made it necessary for the Federal government to assume control over many functions which were formerly regarded as primarily of local concern. For example, the normal expression of mutual aid in the rural neighborhood has traditionally cared for the needy and dependent. Although in late years this function was exercised on a township or county basis, it was nevertheless simply an expanded neighborhood responsibility. Traditionally, the farmer grew what he wanted to grow, on as many acres as he chose or as were within his reach; but now he finds that in a world where surpluses glut the markets, he must operate on a quota basis, or still further distress will result. In addition, since self-interest dictates that he co-operate with the other farmers on a national scale to bring production within the limits of prospective demand, it means that he must surrender his freedom to do what he wishes. In this way local responsibility and freedom of action are again circumscribed by consideration of national interest, and the great Leviathan of Federal action becomes a new factor in rural life. Thus, in numerous ways the attrition of the primary group goes on.

These weather-like forces which threaten the primary group have few counteracting forces operating against them. If it is desirable to preserve some of the simpler aspects of our culture, is it possible by "taking thought" to shelter these traits from the impact of the major cultural trends somewhat as a man shelters himself from the storm? At the present time there is little deliberate effort being made to counteract the weather-like forces which threaten the primary group. If our identification of these forces is valid, the manner in which the primary group might be protected or conserved would lie in programs which would tend to:

- (1) Limit the commercialization of agriculture, or conversely, stimulate a greater degree of self-efficiency.
- (2) Discourage extreme mechanization of agriculture.
- (3) Increase the stability of land tenure and reduce mobility.
- (4) Maintain the maximum degree of local political autonomy.

- (5) Strengthen intra-family and neighborhood relations through cultural arts and leisure time activities.

It will be apparent at once that there are agencies at work which are making contributions in all of these lines. While it is inconceivable that we will adopt any direct measures to discourage commercialization, the Federal government is already actively encouraging a larger measure of self-sufficiency. This is being accomplished through the Agricultural Extension Service with its "live-at-home" educational campaign and the Farm Security Administration with its rehabilitation program. The latter organization is particularly significant not only because of the relatively large number of farm families reached, but also because of the effectiveness with which it is able to work. The loans to individual families are not made for the purpose of establishing them on more than self-sufficing units, and supervision is provided to assist families in making the most of the resources latent in their own labor and talents. Thus families on small farms may significantly raise their standard of living as regards food, clothing, shelter, and the non-material factors by careful planning and the intelligent and more complete utilization of the labor and ingenuity of the members. They are learning to grow and process food, manufacture their own clothing, build new or improve old houses with a minimum of cash outlay and a maximum of labor. Many of them are able to make their own furniture, and all of them can be taught to make many things which would add to the comfort and convenience of the family. The trend towards extreme specialization of labor since the Industrial Revolution began has discouraged self-sufficiency, but there is no good reason why people should not recover some of these lost folk arts and handicrafts which throughout history have made them less dependent upon others for simple necessities, and which they have the requisite time and labor to provide for themselves. Failure to utilize this labor and talent is waste of human resources.

In considering the ultimate effects of extreme commercialization and mechanization, it should not be overlooked that the traditional family farm occupies an insecure position. This is a further reason for attempting to preserve and to encourage greater self-sufficiency.

In the matter of mechanization there is not likely to be any positive action to discourage its advance. In this respect, economic considerations are, in the end, all-determining. The question might well be raised, however, as to whether the individual farmer can always deter-

mine for himself whether or not it is more economical for him to introduce new mechanical devices, or whether he is simply succumbing to the sales talk of the machinery salesman. In a county planning report for the current year in one of the Utah counties the farmers themselves listed "high pressure salesmanship" as one of the reasons for their economic difficulties.

The work of the Farm Security Administration and the Extension Service in some states in increasing the stability of tenants on farms is well known. Over the years, the results of these programs should be manifest in lessened mobility on the part of the rural population. As already pointed out, this will tend to strengthen the primary group bond.

The problem of maintaining local political participation and responsibility is one of crucial importance at the present time. In recent years the Federal government has greatly expanded its functions so far as the local community is concerned. There seems to be no alternative to this trend. Local units of government have found themselves unable to handle the problems which have confronted them in these critical years. At the same time it has become apparent that if farmers are to solve their economic problems, they must function on a national scale. Instead of adopting a policy of withdrawing Federal participation, the problem would seem to be one of developing an administrative technique by which the Federal government can contribute its resources in funds and expert personnel to the solution of the problem, without assuming, or seeming to assume, prerogatives of leadership and responsibility which have traditionally belonged to the local community. I believe such a technique can be developed and the personnel trained to use it. To raise the problem, of course, is not to solve it. Its solution will have to come out of experience and with the intelligent and free cooperation of the federal, state, and local people concerned.

The encouragement of the arts in rural America has received considerable emphasis in recent years. Here again the agricultural extension service has played an important role. In some states also, the state universities have assumed leadership in special fields. The University of North Dakota with its Little Country Theatre is an outstanding example. The extension service in Wisconsin has for many years been sponsoring drama and music festivals for rural people, and a few years ago the College of Agriculture added an outstanding American artist to its staff. These are but two examples of many such enterprises throughout

the nation. Their efforts have been vastly supplemented by local grade and high schools.<sup>12</sup>

It is significant in this connection that the Extension Services in fifteen states have added specialists in "family relations." Their work is that of general education in such matters as parent-child relations and the adjustment of intra-family conflicts. Primary emphasis is placed upon education for wise parenthood. Much could be said about the work of the P. T. A. in rural areas in this matter, but a complete roster of agencies is not necessary for our purpose. The point is that action agencies are already devoting considerable attention to the conservation of values which are inherent in family life. This work should be greatly expanded. Fortunately, there is a substantial and growing volume of family research data on which such specialists can depend for their guidance. It should be mentioned perhaps that data are notably lacking on rural families.

This hurried review of some of the action programs which might be considered as tending to conserve the primary group and its cultural derivatives serves to raise the question as to their power to counteract the larger cultural forces which seem to be sweeping us in the opposite direction. Anyone who is at all familiar with life in the country realizes the tremendous emphasis which is placed upon secondary group organization. If farm families respond to all the calls made upon the members, there would be little time for family and neighborhood life. How is it possible for the family farm to compete with the "factory in the field"? Perhaps these forces, like the storm, may spend their force and relax their pressure. Perhaps the inherent tenacity of the family and the locality group as social entities will insure their preservation as effective social institutions.

For the moment America seems hopelessly confused with reference to goals. It is uncertain whether it is willing to go the entire way with its technological culture, or whether it should call a halt and begin to seek other values. There is no little skepticism abroad as to the virtue of efficiency as a goal. True, we go right on pursuing it; but while we run, we ask ourselves the question as to whether it is really what we want. The same is true of leisure. We want leisure; that too has been a goal. For we reasoned, once we could free ourselves of the burden of toil by the introduction of machinery, we could rest and read good books. Now

<sup>12</sup> For fuller discussion of these and other programs see Marjorie Patten, *The Arts Workshop of Rural America* (Columbia University, New York, 1937).

we are less certain of the blessings of leisure and perhaps a little more certain of the blessing of occupation at useful labor. In agriculture, we shall probably continue to strive for efficiency, but we do not know what to do with the human beings dislocated from agriculture by our collective pursuit of that goal.

In the midst of all this confusion, it is understandable that public policies are often in conflict. On the one hand, through the Farm Security Administration, the Federal government is attempting to stabilize tenure. If successful, this program will help to strengthen the primary group. On the other hand, any direct action of the Federal government in the local area tends toward the disintegration of local initiative and responsibility. What the net effect upon the primary group will be, is difficult to forecast.

The effect of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in promoting the growth of soil-conserving crops may result in greater self-sufficiency in the non-dairy areas of the country, particularly the South. This would act as a deterrent on extreme commercialization everywhere, since markets would inevitably be affected for the northern producers and perhaps more of them would be driven into alternative production at least of crops which can be consumed on the farm. Here again, we have the incursion of Federal authority in the local area, and its net result on the primary group is not foreseeable.

There is abundant evidence of widespread concern among observers and leaders.<sup>13</sup> Many city-sick people are glorifying the country in books like *Fifth Avenue to Farm* and *R. F. D.*, while thousands are seeking the quiet therapy of the open spaces by establishing residences outside the cities in which they work. Individuals are apparently endeavoring to recapture a kind of life which the complex environment does not provide, and are seeking a primary group situation in which to do it.<sup>14</sup>

After all is said that can be said about the primary group and the preservation of its essential values as we see them today, one is haunted by the thought that a few years hence we may view our present values as naïve and childish. This brings us back to the point raised in the beginning of this paper that this topic can be considered only in terms

<sup>13</sup> This conflict between the alternatives of drifting with the imperious current of increasing complexity, or attempting to conserve something of the quality of the simpler life of the past is discussed in the recent book by O. E. Baker, Ralph Borsodi, and M. L. Wilson, *Agriculture in Modern Life* (New York, 1939).

<sup>14</sup> See for example, N. L. Whetten, *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut—Wilton*, Storrs AESB 230 (February, 1939).

of those values which we may recognize as worth while at the present time. It is not "scientific" to talk in terms of such vague qualities as democracy, self-reliance, individuality, etc., which I have regarded here as primary group derivatives. It is admitted also that these qualities *may* be produced in more complex social organizations. My hypothesis is simply that they have historically derived from the primary group, and that weakening the primary group will tend to weaken these qualities. Conversely, action to strengthen the primary group will tend to conserve these qualities. There is room for endless argument, and perhaps only the future has the answer. In a culture as dynamic as the one in which we live, the so-called "eternal verities" are under suspicion. Moreover, the "scientific attitude"—whether mentor or tyrant, one is not sure—makes for a skepticism with reference to our own capacity to fashion social goals for ourselves. Confronted by the fact of social change, we find ourselves attempting to adjust to a moving point, rather than to a fixed star.

Nevertheless, as human beings we cannot be oblivious to the future. We are irrepressible planners. We like to think that we can do something about building the "World of Tomorrow." In building this new world, the sociologist, at least, should try to see to it that the primary group has a place in the plan.

# The Transmission of Farming as an Occupation

W. A. Anderson\*

## ABSTRACT

The following is a report of an analysis made of the transmission of farming as an occupation over three generations as compared with nonfarming occupations in upper-class New York families. The article supports generalizations that may be helpful in constructing a theory of rural social selection, indicating the decreasing transmission of occupations from fathers to sons in succeeding generations, the self-perpetuating character of farming as an occupation, the transference of occupations to the oldest sons most frequently, and the entrance of sons of farmers who do not follow farming as an occupation into all types of occupations.

Among the problems associated with rural life none is more challenging than that of occupational selection. Many theories and some facts have been presented that seek to explain how, why, and what quality of shifting to and from farming takes place and what consequences result. Thinkers have been concerned with the well-being of societies. To some the movement out of farming to other occupations has meant the depletion of the rural population, the decline of rural life, and eventually the decline of all social life. To others, it has meant the normal draining of a surplus folk production that found outlet in other constructive activities.<sup>1</sup>

The problem is of first importance. Its complete answer has not been made because of the paucity of facts. This study seeks to add some facts to the accumulating total, indicating tentatively what they seem to mean, and hoping that an adequate total will be forthcoming so that a more complete theory of rural social selection can be developed.<sup>2</sup>

## THE SAMPLE USED IN THE STUDY

The sample upon which this analysis is based was obtained from 850 Cornell University students in the Colleges of Agriculture and Arts and Sciences in the spring and fall of 1938.

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<sup>1</sup> Those desirous of studying the theories of rural-urban selection will find an excellent discussion and bibliography in P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. V. Galpin, *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, (Minneapolis, 1932), III, 458-627.

<sup>2</sup> A mimeographed folder of tables giving the detailed figures for each topic will be sent on request by the author.



Schedules were obtained giving the occupation followed by the student's paternal grandfather and his sons for 803 families and by the student's father and his sons for 616 families. The reason that there are fewer families of the present than of the previous generation is that some of the present generation families do not contain sons, or the sons are not yet in an occupation. Only those present generation families are included where all the sons are engaged in a definite line of work or are preparing for a definite vocation.

It must be kept in mind that this sample does not represent a cross-section of the general farming and nonfarming populations. The families from which Cornell students come represent unquestionably the more successful farming families, both economically and socially, while those students who represent other occupations come largely from the business and professional classes.

The title of the presentation might more properly, therefore, be stated as "The Transmission of Farming as an Occupation in Upper-class Families."

#### THE TRANSMISSION OF FARMING FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION COMPARED WITH NONFARMING OCCUPATIONS

*Farming as an occupation is transmitted from fathers to sons to a considerably larger degree than are other occupations.* The data here presented support this generalization in two ways. Of the 1,072 sons of the grandfather's generation and the 539 sons of the father's generation, where the grandfather and the father are farmers, 50 and 31 per cent respectively are farmers. Of the 1,023 sons of the grandfather's generation and the 691 sons of the father's generation, where the grandfather and the father are nonfarmers, 19 and 15 per cent respectively of the sons are in the same occupation as their father (Table 1).

Thus, twice as many farmer as nonfarmer sons inherit the father's occupation. Separate tabulation of several of the occupations most frequently represented among the nonfarmer sample, including law, medicine, business ownership, and skilled mechanical trades, shows that in each instance there is a smaller percentage of the sons in both generations who follow the father's occupation than in the case of farming.

In the second place, the proportion of the *families* in which one or more sons followed the father's occupation is much higher among the farming than the nonfarming group. Of the families of both generations, 73 and 54 per cent contain one or more sons who follow the

father's occupation where the father is a farmer; while in 33 and 22 per cent of the families respectively, one or more sons follow the father's occupation where the father is a nonfarmer (Table 2). Thus, in more than twice as many farm as nonfarm families, one or more sons inherit the father's occupation.

### THE DECREASE IN OCCUPATIONAL TRANSMISSION FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION

There are two generalizations that seem to be warranted from the data; one relating to the decrease in occupational transmission with regard to the sons who follow the father's work; the other relating to the families in which one or more sons follow the father's work.

The first generalization may be stated thus: *There is a decreasing transmission of occupations from fathers to sons in succeeding generations, and the decrease seems to be greater for sons of farmers than for sons of nonfarmers.*

In the generation of the grandfathers, 50 per cent of the sons become farmers where the father is a farmer. In the generation of the fathers, however, but 31 per cent become farmers where the father is a farmer. This is a decrease of 38 per cent from one generation to the next in the proportion of the sons who follow the father's occupation of farming (Table 1).

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE SONS OF FARMERS AND NONFARMERS OF  
THE GRANDFATHER'S AND THE FATHER'S GENERATIONS WHO  
FOLLOWED THE OCCUPATIONS OF THEIR FATHERS

Number of sons in the family	Number of Sons				Sons Following Father's Occupation							
					Number				Percentage			
	Farmers		Nonfarmers		Farmers		Nonfarmers		Farmers		Nonfarmers	
	Grand- father	Father	Grand- father	Father	Grand- father	Father	Grand- father	Father	Grand- father	Father	Grand- father	Father
1.....	89	62	114	190	50	18	32	31	56	29	28	16
2.....	252	150	226	256	135	40	38	43	54	27	17	17
3.....	246	138	231	162	107	57	46	15	43	41	20	9
4.....	256	96	220	68	118	32	28	9	46	33	13	13
5 or more.....	229	93	232	15	125	21	53	5	55	23	23	33
Total.....	1072	539	1023	691	535	168	197	103	50	31	19	15

Among the non-farmers in the grandfather's generation 19 per cent of the sons follow the same occupation as the father, while in the father's generation 15 per cent of the sons follow the father's occupation. This is a decrease of 21 per cent from one generation to the next.

The decrease in the transmission of farming as an occupation from the fathers to the sons, from one generation to the next is therefore greater than the decrease in the transmission of nonfarming occupations.

The explanation for this may be, in part, that in the transmission of nonfarming occupations from fathers to sons, the proportion who would follow the father's work had almost reached the lowest level to which it would fall in the grandfather's generation, and a further large decrease was not to be expected. On the other hand, the increasing size of farms, the use of more machinery, and the higher productivity of agriculture mean that fewer sons are required in agriculture, and as a consequence the large decrease in the transmission of farming is to be expected.

This decrease in the proportion of farmers' sons who enter farming, from 50 to about 30 per cent, is exceedingly important from a practical point of view. It has been the general opinion, though there were few facts to support it, that farming in New York state in the past decades has been able to absorb about one-half of the children reared in farm families. The facts here presented give some support to this idea. If, however, agriculture cannot now use more than three out of each ten sons, then the other 70 per cent must be prepared for other types of vocations. That this proportion of the sons of farmers who enter farming now is very nearly correct is substantiated from a previous study of the changes in residence and occupations of sons and daughters in rural families made in Genesee County, New York, in which it was discovered that of 1,073 sons of rural families away from home, 22.9 per cent were owner and tenant farmers and 7.1 per cent were farm laborers.<sup>8</sup>

The second generalization with regard to the decreasing transmission of occupations from generation to generation is that *there is a decrease in the proportion of the families in which one or more sons follow the father's occupation in the succeeding generations, and the decrease seems to be greater in the nonfarming than in the farming families.*

<sup>8</sup> W. A. Anderson, *Mobility of Rural Families, II*, Cornell AESB, 623, (Ithaca, N. Y., March, 1935), pp. 25-26.

Of the families of the farmer grandfathers, 73 per cent include one or more sons who followed the father's occupation, while, of the families of the farmer fathers, 54 per cent include one or more sons who followed farming as an occupation (Table 2). This is a decrease of 26 per cent in the proportion of the farm families where one or more sons followed the father's occupation.

Of the families of the nonfarming grandfathers, 33 per cent include one or more sons who followed their father's vocation, while of the families of the nonfarming fathers, 22 per cent include one or more sons who followed their father's vocation. This is a decrease of 33 per cent in the proportion of the families of nonfarmers where one or more sons followed the father's occupation.

The decrease in the proportion of the families of farmers is less than the decrease in the proportion of the families of the nonfarmers in which one or more sons "inherit" the father's occupation. On the family basis, therefore, farming is being transmitted to a larger extent than are the nonfarming occupations.

#### THE NUMBER OF SONS IN THE FAMILY AND THE TRANSMISSION OF OCCUPATIONS

The transmission of occupations through the family from one generation to the next is related to the number of sons in the families. *As the number of sons in the farm family increases, there is a definite increase in the proportion of the families in which one or more followed farming as an occupation. However, the percentage of the sons who become farmers as the number of sons increase in the family does not show such a trend. There seems to be no definite trend, either of increase or decrease in the proportion of the sons who become farmers as the number of sons increase.*

*As the number of sons in the nonfarming families increase, there is no definite trend of increase or decrease, either in the proportion of the families in which one or more sons follow the occupation of the father or in the proportion of the sons who inherit the father's occupation.*

Where the grandfather is a farmer, in 56 per cent of the families where there is but one son, that son becomes a farmer. Where there are five or more sons in the family of the grandfather, in 93 per cent of these, one or more sons become farmers (Table 2).

Where the father was a farmer and there was but one son in the

family, 29 per cent of them became farmers, while, in the families where there are five or more sons, in 76 per cent of these one or more sons become farmers. In both the grandfather and father generations, the proportion of the families in which one or more sons become farmers increases with each increase in the number of sons (Table 2).

This same trend is not followed in the families of the nonfarming grandfathers or fathers. In these the proportion of the families, in which one or more sons follow the father's occupation, changes, but not in a regular upward or downward trend. In the nonfarming grandfather families there is more of an upward trend in the proportion of families in which one or more sons follow the father's occupation than in the nonfarming father's families.

Does the proportion of the sons who follow the father's occupation increase as the number of sons in the family increase? There seems to be no regular increase or decrease in the proportion of the sons who follow the father's occupation, either in the farming or nonfarming occupations.

TABLE 2

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE FAMILIES OF FARMERS AND NONFARMERS OF THE GRANDFATHER'S AND FATHER'S GENERATIONS IN WHICH ONE OR MORE SONS FOLLOWED THE OCCUPATIONS OF THEIR FATHERS

Number of sons in the family	Number of families				Families where one or more sons followed father's occupation							
					Number				Percentage			
	Farmers		Nonfarmers		Farmers		Nonfarmers		Farmers		Nonfarmers	
	Grand-father	Father	Grand-father	Father	Grand-father	Father	Grand-father	Father	Grand-father	Father	Grand-father	Father
1.....	89	62	114	190	50	18	32	31	56	29	28	16
2.....	126	75	113	128	98	36	33	36	78	48	29	28
3.....	82	46	77	54	55	35	28	13	67	76	36	24
4.....	64	24	55	17	54	20	18	3	84	83	33	18
5 or more.....	41	17	42	3	38	13	26	3	93	76	61	100
Total.....	402	224	401	392	295	122	137	86	73	54	33	22

In the farming grandfather's generation, where there is one son in the family 56 per cent become farmers; where there are two sons, 54 per cent; three sons, 43 per cent; five or more sons, 55 per cent.

Thus the trend is downward until there are four sons in the family, when it changes upward. In the generation of farmer fathers, where there is one son, 29 per cent of them follow the father's occupation; where there are two sons, 27 per cent; three sons, 41 per cent; four sons, 33 per cent; and five or more sons, 23 per cent. Here the trend is upward at first and then changes to a downward one (Table 1).

Nor does the trend move in any given direction in the nonfarming group, but is even more irregular than in the farming group. However, the variation from the average percentage of all sons who follow the father's occupation is not very great except in one or two instances.

What are the trends in the proportion of the sons who follow the father's occupation in families of a given size?

In the family of one son, both of farmers and nonfarmers, the percentage of the sons who inherit the father's occupation is considerably less in the father's generation than in the grandfather's. Likewise, it is less in both the father's and grandfather's generation among nonfarmers than among farmers. In the family of two sons, the percentage who do not follow the occupation of the father, both in the father's and grandfather's generation and for farmers and nonfarmers is less than in the families where there is only one son. As the number of sons in the family increases the percentage of families in which no son follows the father's occupation decreases.

The percentage of the two-son families in the grandfather and father generation in which both sons follow the father's occupation is considerably less than the percentage in which one of the sons follows the father's occupation, both in the farmer and nonfarmer families. It is true in general that in all the families the proportion of the larger number of sons who follow the father's occupation is less than the proportion of the smaller number of sons who follow the father's occupation. The only exception seems to be in the grandfather families among the farmers with five or more sons. Here the percentage of the sons in which all five "inherit" the father's occupation, is larger than the percentage in which one, two, or four of the sons "inherit" his occupation. But the percentage in which three inherit the occupation slightly exceeds that in which all five inherit the occupation. However, the number of grandfather families with five sons is not large, and this difference is probably due to chance.

In the families with three, four, and five sons, the percentage of a given number of sons who follow the father's occupation is practically

always less in the father's than in the grandfather's generation except in the proportion in which one son follows the father's occupation. As the number of sons increases in the father's generation, the proportion in which only one of the sons follows his occupation increases, which means that in the father's generation considerably fewer sons inherit his occupation than in the grandfather's generation.

#### TRANSMISSION OF OCCUPATIONS FROM PATERNAL GRANDFATHER TO FATHER TO SONS

Using those families of the whole sample in which the occupations of grandfather, father, and sons were given, what evidence is there of the transmission of farming and nonfarming occupations through the three generations? A complete picture of this transmission cannot be given, for that necessitates information as to the occupations entered by all the sons of the grandfather's sons, while our data include only information for the sons of one of the grandfather's sons, namely the father of the Cornell student furnishing information. However, using the data at hand, several indications about such transmission may be given.

*Within the same family line, there is a decrease in the proportion of sons who follow the father's occupation from generation to generation. This decrease is greater for the nonfarming occupations than for farming.*

*Where the grandfather and the father have only one son each, the decrease in the transmission of the grandfather's occupation through the next two generations is relatively greater than where the father has two or more sons. Such a decrease is greater in the transmission of nonfarm than of farm occupations.*

Where the grandfather is a farmer, he transmits his occupation to 61 per cent of the fathers. The fathers transmit their occupation of farming to 40 per cent of their sons. The occupation is handed from grandfather to father to a son in three out of ten instances.

Where the grandfather is a nonfarmer, he transmits his occupation to the father in two out of ten instances, while the father hands his occupation to a son in 24 per cent of the cases. But the occupation is transmitted from grandfather to father to a son in only 5 per cent of the instances.

The transmission decreases, therefore, from father to son in each generation, and is greater for nonfarmers than for farmers.

Where there is only one son in the family of the grandfather, who is a farmer, that son follows his occupation in slightly more than one-half the cases; while, where the father has but one son, the son inherits his occupation in only one-fourth of the instances. But the occupation is transferred from grandfather to father to son in only 14 per cent of the instances.

The transmission of nonfarming occupations through the three generations is considerably less than for farming, for in only five per cent of the families are the grandfather, father, and a son in the same occupation.

#### MOVEMENT FROM NONFARMING OCCUPATIONS INTO FARMING

*As an occupation, farming is self-perpetuating. There is very little shifting into farming from nonfarming occupations, and farm operators are almost wholly recruited from the farm population.*

Of the 1,073 sons in the families of the nonfarming grandfathers included in this study, 49, or less than five in each hundred, follow farming as a life work. Of the 747 sons of the nonfarming fathers, 42 or less than six per hundred, are farmers.

There are several reasons for such a small amount of shifting from nonfarming occupations to farming. In the first place, farming cannot absorb all the children produced in farm families. Already it has been shown that about five to seven out of each ten of these enter other occupations. Then, farming as an occupation requires skills that persons from nonfarming occupations do not have and cannot easily acquire. Again, to farm as an operator requires more capital than is available to the average person in nonfarming occupations. The transmission of the farms themselves from the father to a son keeps the occupation within the farm class. It is likewise a tradition that persons not trained in farming cannot succeed as farmers, and this may have an influence. Though I know of no farm management figures which show that this is true, nevertheless, our habits of thought emphasize it. Perhaps the most important factor is that, up to the present time, men in nonfarming occupations who did not find their work congenial could shift into other nonfarming activities with relative ease.

#### INFLUENCE OF BROTHER UPON BROTHER IN THE CHOICE OF OCCUPATIONS

In studies of occupational inheritance, emphasis is placed upon their transmission from fathers to sons. *It is altogether possible that the*



*occupations into which brothers enter are related to each other and that the brothers influence each other in their choice. However, such influence does not seem to be very significant in the father generation, but is more significant in the grandfather generation.*

In the sample of farming families studied, there are 69 grandfather and 47 father families, where the occupation of the father is different from that of all the sons. In the nonfarming families, there are 151 grandfather and 132 father families where the same situation is true.

In the farming group, in the grandfather's generation, 39 per cent, and in the father's generation, 17 per cent of the families include brothers who follow the same occupation. In the nonfarming families, in the grandfather's generation, 17 per cent, and in the father's generation, 11 per cent of the families include brothers following the same occupation.

It appears that in the grandfather's generation there is some relationship between the occupations followed by brothers, but in the father's generation, both with farmers and nonfarmers, this relationship is slight.

In those families where one or more sons follow the father's occupation, there are, of course, many instances where two or more brothers follow the same occupation. It is impossible to determine in these situations to what extent the choice of occupation is the result of the influence of brother on brother, or of the father on the sons. Of the 313 farming families of the grandfather's generation where there are two or more sons in the family, 144 or 46 per cent include two or more brothers who follow the same occupation; of the 287 nonfarming families of the grandfather's generation where there are two or more sons, 42, or 15 per cent, include two or more brothers who are in the same occupation. In the father's generation, in 34, or 21 per cent, of the 162 farming families, two or more brothers are in the same occupation; while in the 202 nonfarming families of the father's generation, 14, or 7 per cent, include brothers in the same occupation.

*In the farm families, both of the grandfather's and the father's generation, there is a larger proportion where two or more brothers follow the same occupation than in the families of nonfarmers. If brothers influence brothers in their occupational choices, the influence is greater among the farm than the nonfarm families.*

TABLE 3

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE FAMILIES CONTAINING TWO OR MORE SONS WHERE ONE OR MORE OF THEM FOLLOWED THE FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND IN WHICH THE SONS FOLLOWING THE OCCUPATION WERE THE OLDEST, A MIDDLE, OR THE YOUNGEST SON

Generation	Families with two or more sons one or more of whom followed father's occu- pation	Number of families where one of sons following father's occupation was						Percentage of families where one of sons following father's occupation was					
		Oldest		Middle		Youngest		Oldest		Middle		Youngest	
	Farm- er	Non farm- er	Farm- er	Non farm- er	Farm- er	Non farm- er	Farm- er	Farm- er	Non- farm- er	Farm- er	Non- farm- er	Farm- er	Non- farm- er
Grandfather	245	101	170	60	94	42	138	69	59	38	42	56	47
Father	104	55	66	28	37	15	40	63	51	36	27	38	44
Total	349	156	236	88	131	57	178	68	56	38	37	51	46

## TO WHAT SONS ARE OCCUPATIONS TRANSMITTED?

*When an occupation is transmitted from the father to the sons, it is followed most frequently by the oldest son. The youngest son follows the father's occupation most frequently in the next largest percentage of instances. Where there are three or more sons, the middle sons do not follow the father's occupation as frequently as do the oldest and youngest sons.*

In those families containing two or more sons, one or more follow the father's occupation, the oldest follow the father's occupation in 6 to 7 out of every 10 instances among the farmers in the grandfather and father generations. In the nonfarming group the oldest son follows the father's work in 5 to 6 out of every 10 instances in both generations. The youngest sons are among those following the father's occupation in 40 to 60 per cent of the instances among the farmers, and 40 to 50 per cent of the instances among the nonfarmers. Where there are three or more sons in the family, a middle son is one of those who follows the father's occupation in from 30 to 40 per cent of the instances (Table 3).

In those families including two or more sons, in which only one son follows the father's occupation, both in the farming and the nonfarming group of the grandfather's generation, the oldest son inherits the father's occupation most frequently. In the father's generation in the farming families, the oldest son inherits the father's occupation more often than either the youngest or a middle son, but in the nonfarming families of the present generation the youngest son inherits the father's occupation as often as does the oldest son. In fact, the farming occupation both in the grandfather and the father generation is transmitted from the father to the oldest son more frequently than the nonfarming occupations are transmitted to the oldest son (Table 4).

What explanation is there for this greater transmission of occupations from the father to the oldest son, especially among farmers? By the time the oldest son reaches 16 to 20 years of age and is ready for work, the father is probably between 36 and 45 years of age. The family is being reared, and the father's economic responsibilities are probably at or near their peak. The oldest son is needed as a helper in the father's business. The oldest son works with the father, gets his training in this line of work, and becomes fixed in this occupation. When he marries, he either establishes his own business or continues working with the father. Thus he follows the father's occupation.

TABLE 4

THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE FAMILIES CONTAINING TWO OR MORE SONS WHERE ONLY ONE SON FOLLOWED THE FATHER'S OCCUPATION, AND THAT SON WAS EITHER THE OLDEST, A MIDDLE SON, OR THE YOUNGEST

Generation	Families where only one son followed father's occupation and there were two or more sons in the family		Number of families where son following father's occupation was						Percentage of families where son following father's occupation was					
			Farmer			Nonfarmer			Farmer			Nonfarmer		
Farmer	Non-farmer	Oldest	Middle	Youngest	Oldest	Middle	Youngest	Oldest	Middle	Youngest	Oldest	Middle	Youngest	
Grandfather...	100	59	57	12	31	28	10	21	57	12	31	47	17	36
Father ....	70	41	38	15	17	16	9	16	54	22	24	39	22	39
Total . . .	170	100	95	27	48	44	19	37	56	16	28	44	19	37

When the youngest son reaches the time when he is ready for work, the father is 50 to 60 years of age; the family is practically reared; and the father is thinking of retiring. The youngest son reaches the age when he can take over the father's farm or business just when the father is ready for such a transfer. Thus, the process of family maturing, aside from the simple fact that it is easiest for sons to follow the father's occupation, is perhaps as significant as any other set of forces in this inheritance of father's occupation by oldest and youngest sons.

The middle sons, where there are three or more in the family, come along just at the period when they cannot readily be absorbed into the family enterprise, and they are therefore more likely to enter other fields of endeavor.

#### THE TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS INTO WHICH THE SONS OF FARMERS AND NONFARMERS ENTER

What types of occupations are entered by the sons of farmers and nonfarmers?

*Both the sons of farmers and of nonfarmers enter all the major types of occupations. Those of the grandfather generation enter the proprietary, the managerial, and the professional types in the largest proportions, while those of the father generation enter particularly the professions.*

Both among farmers and nonfarmers, the sons enter skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled types of occupations. Thus, 17 per cent of grandfather farmer sons and 11 per cent of the father farmer sons are in such occupations (Table 5). Among the nonfarmers in the grandfather generation, 22 per cent, and among the nonfarmers in the father's generation, 12 per cent are in such occupations.

TABLE 5  
THE TYPE OF OCCUPATIONS ENTERED BY THE SONS OF FARMERS

Occupations into which sons entered	Number		Percentage	
	Grand father	Father	Grand father	Father
Farming	524	164	50	33
Profession	110	189	10	38
Proprietary and Managerial	169	49	16	10
Clerical	75	42	7	8
Skilled work	97	47	10	9
Semiskilled	59	10	6	2
Unskilled	15	2	1	0
Total	1049	503	100	100

But the larger proportions enter the professional, proprietary, and managerial occupations. Thus, 26 and 48 per cent of the sons of the farmers in the grandfather's and the father's generation respectively are in such occupations; while 60 and 72 per cent of the sons of the non-farmers in the grandfather's generation and the father's respectively enter such occupations.

These are high proportions entering the professional and proprietary occupations. It must be recalled that the sample used is an upper class sample, and that it includes chiefly the successful farm and non-farm workers. If the sample had been selected to represent a cross-section of rural and urban life, the results would undoubtedly be different. Such an analysis is proposed for a future study.

Sons of the grandfathers, both farmer and nonfarmer, enter the business and managerial activities in the largest proportions; while the sons of the fathers, both farmer and nonfarmer, enter the professions in the largest proportions. This succession may represent an emphasis upon business careers in the grandfather's period and an emphasis upon professional careers in the father's.

Farmer's sons who enter other occupations than farming get into the professional and business occupations in practically as large proportions as do the sons of nonfarmers. When those sons who follow the father's occupation of farming are excluded, 53 per cent of the grandfather's and 70 per cent of the father's sons of farmers, as compared with 60 per cent of the grandfather's and 70 per cent of the father's sons of nonfarmers, become professional or business men.

When, therefore, the occupational activities of farmer's sons are compared with those of nonfarmer's sons of a similar social class, there is evidence to indicate that farmer's sons are as successful in their occupational activities as nonfarmer's sons. They occupy positions as high and in as large proportions as do the sons of other workers.

#### SUMMARY

Summarizing, then, it appears that in the transmission of farming as compared with nonfarming occupations through three generations by men in the same social strata, that the following conclusions are warranted:

1. Farming as an occupation is transmitted from father to son in larger proportions than other occupations.

2. There is a decreasing transmission of farming from fathers to sons in succeeding generations, and this decrease is greater for farming than nonfarming occupations when measured in the percentage of sons who inherit the father's occupation but not as great when measured in the percentage of the families in which one or more sons follow the father's occupation.
3. Within the same family line there is a decided decrease in the extent to which farming is transmitted through all three generations, but the decrease is greater in nonfarming occupations than in farming.
4. As the number of sons in the farm family increases, there is a definite increase in the percentage of families in which one or more sons follow farming as an occupation, but no increase in the percentage of all sons who follow farming. In the nonfarming occupations there is neither an increase nor a decrease in the proportion of the families or the sons who follow the father's occupation.
5. There is little entrance into farming from nonfarming occupations, and farming is largely self-perpetuating.
6. Brothers may influence brothers in their choice of farming as a life work but the influence does not seem to be very large.
7. Farming and nonfarming occupations are transmitted most frequently to the oldest son in the family. Farming is transmitted to the oldest son slightly more than are nonfarming occupations.
8. When sons of farmers do not follow farming as a life work, they enter all types of occupations. Those in the present sample went predominantly into professional and business activities, as did the sons of nonfarmers.
9. Farmer's sons enter the professions and the business fields in practically as large proportions as nonfarmers, and there is no indication that where the social classes are comparable, farmer's sons are less successful in achieving occupational positions of equal rank with nonfarmer's sons.

# Housing in Rural America†

*Florence M. Swire\**

## ABSTRACT

Analysis of data of the Farm Housing Survey of 1934 offers a basis for estimating rural housing conditions in eight geographical regions. A sample of 595,855 rural homes, 8.6 percent of all rural homes, shows 50 percent of these to be in need of repairs. One out of every four farmers declared himself willing to borrow about \$464 for repairs if available at reasonable interest rates.

The high percentages of houses lacking adequate facilities reveal the need for a long-term rural housing program. Millions of rural Americans tolerate unsanitary, inconvenient, outdoor toilets (91%), carry water from wells (70%), do without central heating (91%), and lack a kitchen sink (72%). Rural housing is a field where government expenditure can stimulate employment in a wide range of depressed occupations and at the same time raise the farmers' standard of living.

During the last five years the American public has become housing conscious, but the major emphasis is and has been on city housing in the slum areas. The government has provided millions of dollars through the Federal Housing Administration, Public Works Administration, United States Housing Authority, and other agencies—almost all for city dwellers.

Housing authorities and students of the subject have either completely ignored the status of rural housing or have merely commented on the lack of data. Two reasons are apparent for this neglect. One is that rural homes are so scattered that, even though they are sub-standard, they do not present the appearance of the urban slum. But if all the houses in the country were put side by side, those in the rural areas would constitute the slum group. In other words, the real slums in America are buried in the countryside. Another reason for the neglect of rural housing is that there has been little effective collective action to improve rural housing as a whole, until rather recently. People know that in the country there is no lack of light or air, and neglect to consider the deplorable sanitary conditions in many regions and the diseases that flourish as a result of soil pollution. Running water, an absolute

† This article contains the major points in the writer's Master's thesis, "Rural Housing in the United States," written under the direction of Dr. Edmund deS. Brunner at Columbia University.

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necessity to the slum dweller in the city, is lacking to many farm dwellers whose water supply is obtained from surface wells, often contaminated. Yet no state legislature ever passed a law to establish or enforce minimum standards of sanitation in rural areas. The United States Department of Agriculture through its various agencies has done valuable work in improving individual homes and is the only agency now engaged in improving farm dwellings on a large scale.

Ours is a nation whose economic well-being depends on a high standard of living for its people. This industrial system produces quantity goods that can only be consumed by the lower income groups. The existence of large numbers whose standard of living is low, and whose housing and sanitary facilities are behind the times, works against the possibility of economic prosperity. Naturally, the tie-up between housing, rural or urban, and a sound economic system is close. Housing is a field where government expenditure can stimulate employment in a wide range of depressed occupations and at the same time raise the national standard of living.

It has been estimated that 50 per cent of the rural youth of the nation migrate to the cities and take with them habits formed at an impressionable age when they lived in the rural homes. It is possible that better rural homes would produce higher standards in the migrants and consequently a more insistent demand by city slum dwellers for improvement. For it must be remembered that recent migrants from the country frequently live in the slums, Harlem being a case in point. This thesis does not cover the enormous problem of city slums, but it should be mentioned in passing that there is some connection between rural and urban slum conditions.

This study seeks to set forth some of the most important features of homes in rural America. It attempts to determine the adequacy of rural homes insofar as the home may be judged by the space it provides for its occupants, condition of the house, and the extent to which it is equipped with modern conveniences. The information available is very limited. The data presented are largely based on studies of the Farm Housing Survey of 1934 in eight geographical regions.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Louise Stanley, Director of the Bureau of Home Economics, Department of Agriculture states:

The sample is not ideally representative of farming conditions throughout

<sup>1</sup> New Jersey was the only state in the Middle Atlantic Region entered by the survey. Since the sample was not representative, the entire region is omitted in this study.

the country, but in the absence of knowledge as to the relative importance of the various factors influencing rural housing, it is adequate in most of the areas surveyed. . . . The conclusion is perhaps warranted that the survey reached more farm homes near towns and cities than in remote rural areas. The average of farm housing is probably not so good as is shown for the farms included in the survey. There is no other large body of data available on rural housing. How much worse it is, we do not know.<sup>2</sup>

*Age of Farmhouses.* In farm life the home represents the economic as well as the social status of the dweller, since the farm home and the farm business are one. In the past economic security in rural society has been measured by property ownership. Today the increased burden of farm debt, the decreased demand for farm laborers, the trend toward large-scale ownership of land, mechanization of agriculture, the increase in tenancy, and the development of large areas of agricultural maladjustment have hindered farm ownership.

An analysis of the relationship between ownership and age of farmhouses reveals that rural housing conditions can only be partially measured by property ownership. In the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central regions where the percentage of colored population is high, the percentage of ownership is low. Most of the surveyed homes in these regions are between 10 and 49 years of age. In the Pacific states there is a high percentage of ownership and a high percentage of homes less than 25 years old; while in the New England states there is a high percentage of ownership and three fourths of the homes surveyed are 50 years old and over. In the East North Central and West North Central divisions there is a high percentage of the homes owned by the occupants. Here the greatest number of homes are between 25 and 49 years old.

In the nation as a whole, 19 per cent of the occupied rural homes were built before 1884; 36 per cent were built between 1885 and 1909; 30 per cent between 1910 and 1924; and 15 per cent since 1924. The number of old homes is naturally largest in the agricultural region first settled—New England. These houses were constructed in an era when the farm family was a self-sufficient unit, economically and socially. They do not meet the needs of the families at present occupying them. The slow pace at which modernization has progressed has been due to the depression.

<sup>2</sup> *The Farm Housing Survey*, Bureau of Home Economics, USDA MP 323 (Washington, March, 1939), pp. 1-2.

*Construction.* Unlike urban homes, most homes in rural areas are one story (56 per cent) and of frame construction (93 per cent). One in every three frame houses is unpainted. This condition predominates where tenancy is the greatest economic problem—South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central. Only a small percentage of the houses are constructed of earth, stone, or concrete.

In the regions where ownership is high, the number of painted homes is greatest. It appears that painted farmhouses are associated with ownership. This does not signify, however, that farm owners live in better homes than tenants in all regions. In Georgia, 52 per cent of the houses of white owners were unpainted and 89 per cent of white tenant houses were unpainted. In North Carolina over 700 log houses were occupied by white families about equally divided between owners and tenants.

Cultural traits influence construction of houses in certain areas, as revealed in a study of rural Louisiana:

In sections where there persists some of the culture of the Southern uplands a few log houses are found; in sections of French and Midwestern influence a few earth houses survive, but so few that they are of very little importance . . . except in sections where French Midwestern influences are strong, less than 20 per cent of the houses are painted.<sup>8</sup>

*Adequacy.* The constructive use of leisure time is more dependent on the adequacy of the home on the farm than in the city. It is important that members of the family have space not only to live in comfort and decent privacy but also to secure adequate recreation through reading, visiting or listening to the radio. Restricted personalities, to say nothing of crime, is too often the result of inadequate recreational facilities.

Although fewer rural young people are reared in New England than in any other section, the largest homes are maintained there. The smallest houses are found in the regions where there is the highest proportion of rural youth—South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, and Mountain. This crowded area has, on the average, as many occupants per house as rooms per house. When it is considered that half of these rooms are listed as bedrooms, it is realized that most of the rural homes lack sufficient bedrooms for each to be occupied by

<sup>8</sup> Ellen LeNoir and T. Lynn Smith, *Rural Housing in Louisiana*, Louisiana AESB 290 (University, August, 1937), p. 18.

not more than two persons, or else they lack a separate living room or dining room.

Small families do not appear to live in small houses, nor large families in large houses. There seems to be little rhyme or reason about the house fitting the family, and, as often as not, it is too large or too small. In a previous study of 1,662 farm families of selected localities of eleven states, it was found that the number of rooms per house remains almost constant regardless of the number of children per family—owners, tenants, and hired men (1922-24).<sup>4</sup>

The presence of unused rooms confuses the picture of overcrowding in the Southern area. This is probably due to the fact that some of the farm families live in dwellings that are badly in need of repair or in large houses which they are unable to furnish with bedding or furniture. In the literature on leisure time activities of rural youth in the South is the statement, "The majority of both races find nothing to do but to sit idly around, tramp off to their neighbors, or while away the time at the store. Their houses are unattractive and their minds unstimulated."<sup>5</sup>

In the New England-Middle Atlantic regions the relatively large number of unused rooms might be due to the time at which the survey was conducted—January and February, when only a small proportion of the families heat all the rooms in the house. In New Hampshire only 4 out of 10 homes use separate dining rooms in the winter months.<sup>6</sup>

Certain facts about bathrooms and toilet facilities provide a further basis for evaluating the adequacy of farmhouses. In the East South Central about 1 in every 40 farmhouses is equipped with an indoor toilet; in the West South Central, 1 in every 26; and in the South Atlantic, 1 in every 20. The data available indicate that 91 per cent of the farmhouses in rural America have outhouses or no toilet facilities. Some of this lack may be accounted for by the provision of one toilet for more than one tenant house, where houses are very close together. The lack of toilets and its effect on individual health and family morals is one of the most serious features of rural homes. Undoubtedly the

<sup>4</sup> E. L. Kirkpatrick, *The Farmer's Standard of Living*, USDA BAE B 1466 (Washington, November, 1926), pp. 21-22, 30.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry* (Chapel Hill, 1936), p. 401.

<sup>6</sup> D. D. Williamson and F. M. Miller, *Living Conditions in New Hampshire Farm Homes*, University of New Hampshire Extension Service Circular 169 (Durham, June, 1935), pp. 3-4.

prevalence of hookworm in the southern states is due to this lack of sanitary equipment.

Possession of household conveniences, when used as a measure of economic welfare, shows the farmer to be the most disadvantaged class in America. The majority of rural families, 69.6 per cent, have to carry water into the household; only 28.4 per cent possess a kitchen sink with drain; and one fourth of the families reported refrigeration by ice or mechanized equipment; central heating systems were reported in a smaller percentage of homes than any other convenience; three fourths of the householders cook on wood stoves, bonfires, electric or gas ranges. Considering that the data reveal that only 17.8 per cent of the homes have electricity and 2.7 per cent have gas, it might be concluded that the number of homes equipped with electric or gas ranges is very low. This assumption does not apply to the New England and Pacific states, where a relatively high proportion of electrified homes exist. Consideration is given to the fact that all other data reveal these regions to have the most adequate homes.

The United States Department of Agricultural Engineering has estimated that the farm woman spends 46 of her working days and walks 100 miles in a year supplying her household with water. This work is equivalent to unloading 22 cars of coal of 30 tons capacity each.<sup>7</sup> The amount of energy expended in carrying water seems unnecessary, since in a large number of cases water could be had from a hand pump in the dwelling at very small expense. Many families in hilly or mountainous regions could have running water by gravity from a spring at only the cost of the pipe; but even that small cost is beyond their means.

A kitchen sink with a drain relieves the housewife of a great part of the labor of carrying water out of the house. It would seem that the small cost of installing a kitchen sink could be afforded by at least that proportion of the families who could afford paint for the house. It might be concluded that, in the folkway of the majority of rural groups, the use of a kitchen sink is not considered essential, or is held to be less important than house paint.

*Lighting Facilities.* Rural folk are definitely handicapped in comparison with urban dwellers by the lack of modern lighting facilities. Because of comparative lack of financial resources rural states have the

<sup>7</sup> *The Agricultural and Farm Home Program for Alabama*, Alabama Polytechnic Institute Extension Service Circular 77 (Auburn, January, 1925), p. 38.

most meager equipment for power transmission. Hence, the areas with the largest number of farms have the poorest lighting facilities. Both private industry and governmental agencies are now hastening to extend electric services to farm communities, indicating that the present widespread lack of electric power may not be a permanent feature of rural American life.<sup>8</sup>

For the United States as a whole there still remain large sections of the country virtually without electricity. The East South Central and West South Central have less than 6 per cent of their farms serviced; the South Atlantic and West North Central have less than 11 per cent; and the Mountain states have less than 26 per cent. The Edison Electric Institute estimated 18.2 per cent of all farmhouses to be serviced by the electric central stations as of December 31, 1937.<sup>9</sup>

*Low-Cost Housing.* The Farm Security Administration is not a housing agency, but it has found it necessary to undertake some housing activity. When their low cost housing program is completed, 14,097 homes will be built on 823,269 acres. As of November 1, 1938, 11,000 dwelling units were completed in 130 projects scattered within 40 states. When occupied, these one and two-story farmhouses accommodate approximately 49,500 persons. All the homes have been wired for electricity, although electric service is not yet available in every case. Only 350 homes are equipped with hand pumps. Running water will be available to residents as soon as their economic status makes it possible for them to install the necessary equipment. Bath and indoor toilets were built in 5,383 of the houses. The low-cost housing program of the FSA has provided thousands of families with new homes and may be considered to have laid the foundation for the solution of one of rural America's gravest problems.

In no country can the task of housing the inhabitants properly be studied without consideration of their incomes. A general idea in regional differences of the economic levels of farms is obtained by dividing the gross farm income—"the value of products sold, traded, or used by the operator's family" by the number of rural farm inhabitants. The picture thus painted is one of poverty in the South, relative well-being in the North Central, and opulence in the West. The average

<sup>8</sup> The figures reported in the Farm Housing Survey were taken in the spring of 1934. Since then, particularly in the winter of 1936-37, through the activity of the Rural Electrification Administration, a good deal of interest has been aroused in electricity for farms.

<sup>9</sup> *Edison Electric Institute Statistical Bulletin No. 4* (New York, January, 1937); *Edison Electric Institute Statistical Bulletin No. 5* (New York, April, 1938).

income in the East South Central region was \$184; in the West North Central it was nearly three times as much; and in the Pacific, five times as much. Out of that income southern farm people had to pay all their operating expenses—so that the net income could barely provide the necessities of life.

The tenants' standard of living is low in the South. The type of land tenure in itself engenders a shiftless attitude in the tenant toward the land he works and the dwelling in which he lives. The common complaints of landowners are of houses allowed to go to ruin, fences torn down, and lands lacerated by erosion. The law gives the tenant no interest in his tenure and no claim for improvements made. He hopes to skim the most from the land with the least possible effort and then move on to a new farm.

The picture presented in these pages is indeed a depressing one. The Farm Housing Survey of 1934, which represents 8.6 per cent of all rural homes, indicates that approximately 50 per cent of these homes are in need of repairs. It is estimated that the necessary repair work would cost \$3,500,000. Farmers declared themselves willing to borrow \$546,209,000, or \$464 per house, for repairs if the money were available at reasonable interest rates. Housing adequacy of course varies greatly in different sections of the nation. It is clear from this study that the documentary film *The River* stated the sober truth: millions in the Mississippi Valley alone live under conditions worse than those of the European peasantry.

How has this situation arisen? First, it is not a new phenomenon. Under the conditions of pioneering life poor housing was inevitable. Building materials of the cruder kind could be had at small cost, but glass, plumbing, paint, etc., were inaccessible. The pioneer probably thought of the inadequacy of his home as temporary—the building itself was often constructed as a temporary abode. The important point to be considered is that technological advances of the last hundred years and the vast improvements in home construction have failed to reach the countryside. Many millions of rural Americans still live under conditions that differ little, if at all, from those of pioneer days, though pioneering has ceased and the frontier has long been closed.

What are the reasons for this? Nobody could possibly claim that rural people want to live in this way; the low incomes of some of the groups studied is the reason for the appalling conditions in their homes. The agricultural depression which has existed continuously since the World

War and which reached its worst during the World Depression, is a major cause. Low prices, combined in many cases with over-capitalization, prevented the farmer from building a new home or even making necessary repairs. It was difficult enough to keep possession of the farm itself. Mobility of rural people increased as a result of tenancy, wage-laboring, sharecropping. The homes of these mobile groups who stay only a year or two in one place are naturally of the poorest sort. These people have no money for making alterations to their homes, and no incentive to make even the modest improvements that require only labor, since they do not expect to remain in them long.

The uneven diffusion of material culture which the Lynds found so striking in Middletown is also apparent in the countryside. Automobiles and radios are not uncommonly possessed by families who have the crudest of outdoor privies and water supplied by bucket from well or stream. No doubt this unevenness is associated with mobility of population, and so in turn with the economic condition already mentioned.

Soil-mining and the consequent soil impoverishment and erosion has contributed to the poverty of whole areas which are among the worst for housing. This has been due largely to ruthless exploitation of resources with no thought for the future nor for the common good. In part the economic pressure of low prices has accelerated the process begun by laissez-faire destruction of resources.

What is the solution? The rural housing problem cannot be solved in isolation. It is linked with the economic problem of agricultural prices and modes of production. Something can be done to patch some of the bad spots; that is, increase the amount of money appropriated for low interest loans for improving farm dwellings occupied by owners; provide compensation to sharecroppers who improve the dwellings they live in; construct government-owned barracks for migratory farm laborers who occupy the worst of all rural dwellings; extend resettlement projects to all impoverished regions; create rural housing divisions in each state extension service; and establish minimum state housing standards for rural homes to apply to new construction.

To undertake such a program on a national scale requires enormous resources and careful planning. There is no doubt that the country has the money and the men. As it has been noted, however, rural housing is not likely to be dealt with alone. It must wait until an answer to the whole agrarian question has been found.



# Notes

## THE APPLICATION OF PSYCHOTECHNICS TO AGRICULTURAL PLANNING\*

Psychological results and psychological viewpoints have been introduced very slowly into the progressive sphere of measures of agricultural planning in America. Only short chapters are to be found concerning rural psychology and rural social psychology in the numerous books devoted to rural sociology. One author or another makes use of some psychological viewpoints, but only to a limited extent. A complete rural psychology and social psychology from the viewpoint of the agriculturalist has not yet been created. The American psychologist has given small mention to rural psychology. It is an astonishing fact that the American group interested in this most progressive science has been practically blind to the problems inherent in this broad sphere of American life. Especially impressive is this lack in the entire field of rural psychology in regard to the direct practical relationships of psychology to rural life. For in reality there exists no important field in modern civilization to which applied psychology has not developed associations, generally known as *psychotechnics*. No other branch of psychology has had such a great influence upon our present civilization. There is hardly a section of our professional and industrial life in which it does not play a deciding rôle. In studying the rural sphere of American life, however, we must recognize that psychotechnics has gained no direct influence in it. It can be found only where it has been introduced through the medium of technical or industrial activities. Yet European countries with progressive tendencies in agriculture have come to recognize the value of psychotechnical viewpoints and are applying psychotechnics widely. It is my intention to survey in this article the most fundamental problems in the relationship of psychotechnics to rural life and agricultural planning. It is in that form that it seems to be most important to the American agricultural world. I shall follow the order generally used in accounts of this field.

Since there are differences of opinion as to what psychotechnics consists of, a few words will be in order here to make clear in what sense it will be discussed. Some psychologists wish to include under psychotechnics all forms of applied psychology, even psychiatry and educational psychology. Others, however, wish to restrict this term to the narrower field of professional, business, and industrial life. Taken in this sense, psychotechnics would be the application of psychological testing developed in urban and technological fields to the rural scene. This would mean that rural life would be measured, not by its

\* This paper had its origin in a report which the Under Secretary of Agriculture M. L. Wilson asked me to prepare for the Department of Agriculture. I am much indebted to him for permission to make use of my report for this paper.

own standards, but by those of urban and technological life. Objective help in the development of any phase of life, however, should be realized through the use of measures of its own realities, needs, and desires. In order to be really objective in the attempt to improve rural life, a psychotechnics of its own must be devised. Thus a new form of psychotechnics must be built up which has a wider scope than the industrial form and tends towards the conception of psychotechnics as applied psychology.

*Vocational Psychotechnics.* There is hardly any field in the entire sphere of present-day professional urban life in which vocational testing is not used. These tests run the gamut from simple vocational tests to elaborate examinations which test a specific ability. Only in the field of agriculture is vocational psychotechnics neglected. Only a few attempts have been made in the immediate field of agricultural education.

In his report for the year 1937, the Secretary of Agriculture made the following statement: "The people who live on the land must have security of tenure . . . when they have demonstrated their farming ability and commercial morality." This demonstration of the "farming ability" is undoubtedly a very real problem in the psychotechnical testing for vocation. So far as I am able to ascertain, however, the authorities do not use any psychotechnical means in the examination of this very real fact, but only social inquiries. Besides, a wrong impression concerning agriculture as a vocation is generally prevalent. Farming is looked down upon by all other professions. If someone has failed to succeed in one of the so-called "learned professions," he may still leave the city and become a farmer. This misconception is a result of the modern, highly technical mode of life. Every farmer of some standing, as well as the scientifically trained agriculturalist, knows how wrong this is. It has been said: "A school teacher learns his profession thoroughly in five years, a shoemaker becomes a master in ten years, but a farmer never learns all there is to know even in an entire lifetime." That a definite vocational problem exists in agriculture no one will doubt; yet nothing has been done until now to clear up this problem by means of psychotechnics.

Two fundamental problems are to be considered. The first is that of general vocational guidance, which is particularly urgent in the case of youth in agriculture. Not only the concrete ability for farming must be demonstrated; but also the lack of interest in farming as an occupation must be overcome, for this results in migration from the farm. Here vocational guidance could play an important role. The C.C.C. authorities are conscious of this fact. The other problem is that raised in the quotation above. Adult farmers require vocational guidance, too. Here, it is not the vocational inclinations of the individual which must be tested but his ability to undertake a specific type of work. The government's desire to be certain of the farming ability of an individual must not be confused with the individual's desire for information as to whether he should become a farmer. A great deal of variation is possible in this second category. Therefore, different methods must be developed for the various special activities

in farming, which can be differentiated, tested, and measured just as those of technical work. There is a distinction between a field or dairy worker and a cotton picker. There is also the sphere of agricultural management which will be discussed below when the psychotechnics of the rural working process is considered.

*Professional Training in Agriculture.* The importance of educational tests does not have to be proved in America, for more tests are used here than anywhere else in the world. However, tests of such a nature have been applied to only a slight extent in agriculture. The last two volumes of *The Agricultural Education Magazine* show that the need for testing methods and for psychotechnical ability tests in rural education is becoming more apparent. G. P. Deyoe is attempting to develop an educational ability test for agricultural tendencies.<sup>1</sup> An intensive application of psychotechnics will be necessary to make rural education more effective in all respects. The necessity for this has been expressed by Homer Rainey, director of the American Youth Commission, in the chapter on the plight of rural youth in the book *How Fare American Youth*<sup>2</sup> which contradicts the demand made by Nolan and Davenport that besides having all young farmers well prepared and trained for their profession, all young Americans be taught farming.<sup>3</sup> A complete system of tests in collaboration with the general agricultural course should be developed not only as it is at present in the agricultural junior high schools and high schools but also in professional farm schools and units such as the C.C.C.

Still more important is the application of psychotechnics to the educational aspects of farming in its various fields. Modern agriculture in its industrial and scientific form is similar to the factory in many ways. For instance, there are the manipulative techniques which are only possible because of a specific kind of manual ability. In this connection it may be pointed out that fitness and dexterity in cotton picking and corn husking have developed traditionally competitive tendencies. There are many other activities requiring skill which are the results of specialized learning and which need psychotechnical attention. Fritz Giese's book *Psychologie der Arbeitsband*,<sup>4</sup> though it considers specifically rural activities only to a limited extent, nevertheless contains enough material to demonstrate the scope and need of such considerations.<sup>5</sup> How far-reaching this problem is can be seen from the study by Klemm and Sander of work-activity on the straw-chopping machine. This study has been widely acknowledged in Europe, where it is known as an extraordinary attempt to unveil the elementary occupational activities of man. If agriculture is regarded in the true light of its importance for our entire culture, it must deal with the most fundamental human activities, which are not only genetically the earliest and most elementary

<sup>1</sup> G. P. Deyoe, "The Measurement Program in Agricultural Education," *Agricultural Education Magazine*, Vol. II (October, 1938).

<sup>2</sup> Homer Rainey, *How Fare American Youth* (New York, 1937).

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Nolan and E. Davenport, *The Teaching of Agriculture* (Boston, 1918).

<sup>4</sup> Fritz Giese's, *Psychologie der Arbeitsband* (Berlin, 1928).

<sup>5</sup> See also Fritz Giese, *Handbuch der Eignungspruefungs-Methoden* (Marhold, 1925).

but are of great value in the educational development of mankind today.<sup>6</sup> The comparatively great attention given to agriculture in America and its consequently significant role in American civilization has, however, not yet integrated satisfactorily in the educational sphere as it has for instance in Denmark, where there has been developed a complete system of handicrafts<sup>7</sup> for all types of schools based upon the fundamental rural crafts. For instance, a simple handicraft course has been worked out there the aim for which is physical training and which will in no way injure the growing bodies of juveniles.<sup>8</sup>

*The Psychotechnics of the Rural Work-Process.* The most important application of psychotechnics for the rural professional sphere is that which is applied to the work-process, that is, the performance of any rural professional activity. No branch of psychotechnics or even psychology has received more attention in America than industrial work-processes and their relations to one another. Taylor is representative of the attitude of industry throughout the world with his method for making manufacturing and mass production effective through the use of psychological means. But it seems to the writer that this system is better accommodated to the modern technological processes than to the rural manufacturing processes. Fritz Steding, a German agriculturalist, has studied the psychological problems of the rural work-process intensively and has evolved certain fundamental principles,<sup>9</sup> which seem to form a useful basis too for the application of psychotechnics to the American scene.

In order to arrive at a knowledge of the fundamental technical development and practicability of agricultural planning, one must first study the movements and actions made in the various rural work-processes. Dr. M. Möller of Riga studied the use of hand-made and modern factory-made tools. The old hand-made tools are measured by the individual size of their owners, using finger, arm, or leg length as a basis; while factory-made tools are all the same size, making no allowance for individual differences. Möller showed that this factor of conformity of the size of the tool to the individual is of great importance because fatigue can be reduced by one-third if this conformity can be achieved.<sup>10</sup> Steding considers the factors of fatigue, effect and intensity, of first importance. Industry has realized the importance of the first two above-mentioned factors, but agriculture has not. The third seems even more important in agriculture than in industry. Steding stresses the proper method of production, with reference to the shortening or lengthening of the working day. Problems of this sort play a great rôle in a field of occupation which is not stable as is the shop

<sup>6</sup> O. Klemm and F. Sander, *Arbeits-Psychologische Untersuchungen an der Haechsel-Maschine* (Leipzig, 1924).

<sup>7</sup> Aksel Mikkelsen, *Laerebog i Dansk Skoleslojd* (Copenhagen, 1923).

<sup>8</sup> G. F. Krog Clausen, *Dansk Skoleslojds Arbejtsstillinger* (Copenhagen, 1924).

<sup>9</sup> Fritz Steding, "Bedeutung und Anwendungs-Möglichkeit psychotechnischer Methoden zur Förderung der Landarbeit." An abbreviated reprint of 67 pages to be found in the *Landwirtschaftliches Jahrbücher*, Vol. LXI (1926).

<sup>10</sup> M. Möller, *Rīgas Pilsetas Jaunatnes un Arodu Piemērotības Pētīšanas Instituta Zinojumi*, No. II (Riga, 1930).

or factory, but which is dependent on distance, transportation, and the ever-changing natural phenomena. Steding sums up the psychology of the work-process in agriculture under the following headings: Work-Recourse, -Direction, -Division, General Conditions, Continuation, and Duration. These are undoubtedly serious problems in the study of the rural work-process. Their study and practical application would be of great help in the reconstruction of rural life, not less than soil conservation and farm security. Only a few general ideas have been outlined above which must be further developed and adapted if more light is to be thrown on the psychological aspects of the complete work-process.

The lack of interest which manufacturers of agricultural tools have shown in the effect of the size of the tool upon the worker is indicative of how poorly planned, psychologically, rural life is in this respect, and how badly instructed are those who represent the main forces in the technological influence on rural activities.

*Psychotechnics of Organization and Planning in Rural Work.* It is well known that in order to be a good executive one must employ psychology. Much has been written about the psychology and psychotechnics of factory and office management, but they have not been applied to the agricultural field. It has been said that it is easier to manage a factory with thirty workers than a farm with three hands. Steding quotes from Aereboe's *Manual for Farm-Management*, "Art in agriculture is 90 per cent the ability to handle the farm hands." There are many problems of management in agriculture similar to those in industry which are still to be solved. Some of these are more difficult because they are personal and involve the irrational world of nature. Then, too, almost every farm is a small manufacturing center, which must be individually planned and organized, and which cannot be set up as rigidly as an industrial plant.

*Accident Prevention.* Accident prevention is practically the only special field of psychotechnics which has been introduced somewhat completely into rural life. This results from the introduction of modern machines from the urban to the rural scene, together with the preventive measures invented for them. Occasionally one can recognize some special adaptation to rural life. Only where human life is actually in danger have techniques for the prevention of mishaps been applied throughout.

*Psychotechnics of the Wider Sphere of Rural Life.* Naturally there exists on the rural scene too the broader problems of life which call for the attention of the psychologist and the social scientist. There are problems in regard to the importance of sex in the different rural activities, and those of the difference of age<sup>11</sup> and its expression in social life. There are those of the structure of the family and the problem of subordination and migration. The latter should be considered from a psychotechnical viewpoint rather than from a purely sociological one.

*Psychotechnics of the Consumptive Process in its Relation to Rural Life.* In the application of psychotechnics to production and consumption, we have

<sup>11</sup> Edward K. Strong, *Change of Interest with Age* (Stanford, 1931).

hitherto considered only the former. There is an even broader relationship between psychotechnics and consumption in the rural world, as well as in the industrial. But problems of consumption do not concern us here. What we have here given is intended to be merely a sketch of a new task confronting the rural sciences and to offer some indication of their importance and urgency.

New York City

ERNST HARMS

### THE PATTERN OF SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN A HIGH PARTICIPATION GROUP†

Intensive participation in a variety of special interest associations is an implied and asserted but undemonstrated corollary of certain sociological theories. Such a pattern of affiliation is stated in the different formulations emphasizing the shift from a primary to a secondary group basis of social organization. There is also a generalization to the effect that participation in extra-family groups is positively correlated with economic and cultural status—apparently these authors are referring to formal organizations. Other writers imply that urbanized and secularized families are marked by intensive participation in organized activities outside the home, at the expense also of informal neighboring as well as of family recreation. The possibility that the alternative to integrated family life may be membership in masses rather than in organized groups does not appear to have been developed.

The purpose of this note is to question or qualify certain of these conclusions. The data are estimates by 65 families of the amount of their participation in varied social activities during 1938. These families belong to Farm Business Associations in Iowa, and they are unusually competent and prosperous economically. They pay an annual fee which supports, jointly with the Extension Service, a field man who visits each family and provides economic guidance. The accuracy of the data is believed to be satisfactory, but until we can verify the results we are withholding specific figures. It is hoped that our conclusion deserves presentation in order to elicit similar analyses by other sociologists.

The social activities were classified into four types. (1) *Formal organization participation* was measured by number of organizations and number of types of organizations attended, frequency of attendance, official positions in organizations, and official community leadership roles not associated with specific groups (such as county A.A.A. committeemen). (2) *Informal activities away from home* included movies, visiting and entertaining, trips, dances, picnics, together with the frequency of occurrence of such activity. (3) *Family activities at home* comprised playing games or "making music" together, etc.—again measured by the number of such interests as well as the number of occasions during the year. (4) Finally, *hobbies* were counted. These are only quasi-social, but they are similar to social activities in their contrast to work.

Very briefly, our tentative summarizations were as follows: (1) Within each

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type of activity there is a positive correlation among alternative measures of its intensity. That is, families or individuals attending many organizations attend many types and they attend more often. In less formal activities there is the same picture; those who have varied interests nevertheless indulge them more often. Families who have many joint pleasures at home are able to allot more time to them. The level of participation of this sample of families is far above that of farm families in general in the State as indicated by data we have collected in another study. Active heads of families have active wives, though the wives are more active than the men, except in leadership positions.

(2) There is a positive correlation between intensity of participation in any one type of activity and that in any other. Many formal affiliations do not inhibit interest in informal activities or limit either activities with fellow family members in the home or indulgence in hobbies. Even the amount of neighborly visiting is greater among those already busy in organizations or other kinds of sociability. These conclusions hold not merely for the number of groups attended but also for the time spent.

(3) Leaders are more active in groups than non-leaders. Persons chosen for positions of community responsibility have demonstrated their interest in and ability to handle active group participation. Moreover, leaders are also able to find more than average time for informal activities, for family enterprises, and for hobbies.

Four external factors which might influence the amount of participation were examined. (4) We found that among women participation decreased with age, except that leaders were more often older women. The most active men were those 31-40 or 41-50 while those under 30 were least active.

(5) In this highly competent group of families, economically speaking, tenure status was not very important. Unrelated tenants, among the men, had a somewhat poorer showing, but this group was most outstanding among the women.

(6) The number of children had a very slight adverse effect on the women's activities.

(7) The economic efficiency of the families, measured by "management return," (entrepreneurial profits allowing for capital investment, etc.) was definitely related, positively, to social activity. Those making the most money were the high participators.

Although there may be errors in these data, on the basis of internal evidence and the judgment of the fieldmen who know these families well, we believe the records are quite reliable. Sampling bias has operated to accentuate the economic and social "superiority" of the families reporting.

It appears probable that among families in general social participation in formal organizations is inversely related to other kinds of participation. But our data, and some other evidence, permits the hypothesis that among that small proportion of high participators intense social activity of one kind is associated with intense activity in other types.

# Current Bulletins

*Charles P. Loomis, Editor*

## POPULATION

*Population Tendencies*<sup>1</sup> is the first of a series of experiment station bulletins entitled *Basic Trends of Social Change in South Dakota*. State and Federal Census materials and official institutional reports furnished the bases for 57 figures and the accompanying exposition describing the history of settlement, growth, nativity, migration, age, sex, and trends of the State's population. The study indicates that since 1930 the State has lost over 20,000 inhabitants, that the proportion of children under five years decreased from 15 per cent of the population in 1890 to only 10.3 per cent in 1930, and that persons over 65 constituted 5.4 per cent in 1930 as compared with 24 per cent in 1890.

A study<sup>2</sup> which is "an intimate account of the adjustments of 381 families entering the State of Washington between January 1, 1932, and August 20, 1938, chiefly from the area designated by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration as the 'drought states,'" presents a discussion of the problems peculiar to the initial stages of adjustment of families migrating from the drought area of the Great Plains to the state of Washington, and makes suggestions for the solution of these problems. The study "suggests that inter-regional farm migrants with capital for acquiring a sound farm unit are likely to succeed; others are likely to fail." Social maladjustment was found to be very closely connected with economic status, inasmuch as the low level of living of the newcomers precluded participation in community life.

## FARM LABORERS

A Works Project Administration report, *Migratory Cotton Pickers in Arizona*,<sup>3</sup> based on a field study of about 30 cotton labor camps and 518 migrant families who were at work in Arizona during January and February, 1938, describes examples of exaggerated advertising to attract workers, meager pay, unsanitary living conditions, and social barriers erected against migrants as typical of conditions existing among migratory workers of the Southwest. Fifty-four per cent of the migrants studied came from Oklahoma; 17 per cent from Texas; and smaller proportions from Arkansas and neighboring states.

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Kumlien, *Basic Trends of Social Change in South Dakota, I. Population Tendencies*, South Dakota AESB 327 (Brookings, April, 1939). 58 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Wakefield, and Paul H. Landis, *The Drought Farmer Adjusts to the West*, Washington AESB 378 (Pullman, July, 1939). 56 pp.

<sup>3</sup> Malcolm Brown, and Orin Cassmore, *Migratory Cotton Pickers in Arizona*, WPA Special Research Report (Washington, 1939). 104 pp.



Since native labor is neither adequate to meet the demand during the height of the cotton picking season nor particularly eager to work in the cotton fields, growers attract large numbers of workers from outside the state. Growers' associations began experimenting as early as 1912 with mass importations of cheap labor, usually Mexican. Since 1929 the Arizona cotton growers have depended largely on migratory cotton pickers from the western cotton states. The recruiting campaigns conducted by the cotton growers utilize not only want ads but also display advertising, handbills, newspaper publicity, a word-of-mouth "grapevine," and occasionally the radio. The campaign reaches into several states to the east. Invariably the pickers are promised good pay, high yield per acre, good living conditions in the camps, and a healthy, salubrious climate.

The average earnings for each picker have ranged from \$1.20 to \$1.50 cash a day, and from about \$6 to \$8 total income a week during the picking season. Large families with four workers or more averaged \$18 a week.

The report states that the usual Arizona camp is a crowded, filthy, makeshift collection of shelters, frequently lacking even elementary sanitary facilities. Some camps are described as "good," but most of them consist of tents over floorless wooden boxes. The cotton pickers' diet consists mostly of cheap starchy foods with almost no meat or milk for the children, and it is generally believed that the rate of illness and mortality among migratory cotton pickers is high.

The migrants' plans for further movement after the end of the Arizona cotton season reflect their bewilderment and hopelessness. Most of the pickers eventually drift into California, where they seek work in a labor market already glutted with migratory workers. Real solutions for the labor problems described must be based upon adjustments in areas of origin of the workers suffering from drought and mechanization.

A study of *Arizona's Farm Laborers*<sup>4</sup> based upon interviews with 1,500 households living in four of the State's largest irrigated valleys in 1936 led to the following conclusions: (1) Over half of the heads of households were of Mexican origin from southern Arizona or Sonora; one third were whites from the cotton belt and others states; and the remainder were Indians, Negroes, or Orientals. (2) Two thirds lived in the open country; one third in towns. (3) Most farm laborers lived in clusters or villages rather than in isolated homes. (4) Through October into November during cotton picking 45,600 hired laborers were employed, 20,000 of whom came from outside the State. (5) By March only three of every five resident laborers were needed as hired laborers. (6) Arizona's Indian population supplied from 1,000 to 2,000 farm laborers during peak seasons.

#### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND AGENCIES

Social scientists in other countries have marvelled at the development of Rural Sociology in the United States. Among them the thought is commonly entertained that the helter-skelter settlement and Topsy-like growth of the

<sup>4</sup> E. D. Tetreau, *Arizona's Farm Laborers*, Arizona AESB 163 (Tucson, May, 1939), pp. 297-336.

farming enterprises outside of New England, the Southwest, and Utah left the farm family without the social cementing forces and controls of the rural community, which is so important in rural life in all non-colonial lands. Because of this deficiency, so runs the claim, there have developed problems which have, in turn, led to the development of the discipline of rural sociology.

A Cornell Extension Bulletin, *Locating the Rural Community*,<sup>5</sup> describes in concrete terms how communities and neighborhoods can be located in America. The importance of locating communities in order that extension and planning work may magnify their efforts to meet the needs of whole communities rather than of isolated families and in order that centralized school systems and political local government or political units may have their centers in communities is emphasized.

Since county planning has become so important in rural areas the closing sentence of the bulletin is pertinent: "The accurate mapping of rural communities is of fundamental importance for the development of better rural institutions and is a basic procedure in rural planning."

According to *The Joint Committee Study of Rural Radio Ownership and Use in the United States*<sup>6</sup> 69 per cent of all rural families owned radios January 1, 1938. The Pacific region reported the largest proportion of rural families with radios (96%); the East South Central, the least (51%). The survey indicated that on a coast-to-coast basis for rural families 7 P. M. to 8 P. M. New York time was the peak hour for available radio auditors at home. The study was based upon 20,000 interviews made in sample areas.

*An Analytical Study of a Rural School Area*,<sup>7</sup> including 10 school districts and 827 homes of white families in northwest South Carolina, compares school achievement of grade and high school pupils in rural, urban, and college communities. The incomes and levels of living of the families were low, but school facilities and educational attainments were even of a lower order. For example, standard achievement test grade scores indicated that the reading ability of the rural seventh grade pupils was three to four years lower than that of the seventh grade pupils in non-rural schools. Almost half of all rural pupils had repeated one or more grades, the chief offenders in this respect being tenants. Teachers were in most cases hired because they were relatives of trustees, not because they were qualified. Consolidation of the small district schools is recommended. Data concerning family levels of living, income, population, school management, and finance are included.

A study of *Educational Service for Indians*<sup>8</sup> presents a picture of present

<sup>5</sup> Dwight Sanderson, *Locating the Rural Community*, Cornell Extension Bulletin 413 (Ithaca, New York, June, 1939). 18 pp.

<sup>6</sup> C.B.S. and N.B.C., *The Joint Committee Study of Rural Radio Ownership and Use in the United States*, Sections 1, 2, and 3; and Section 4 (New York, February, 1939). 35, 85 pp.

<sup>7</sup> Henry L. Fulmer, *An Analytical Study of a Rural School Area*, South Carolina AESB 320 (Clemson, June, 1939). 70 pp.

<sup>8</sup> Lloyd E. Blanch, *Educational Service for Indians*, Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study 18 (Washington, D. C., 1939). 136 pp.

government policies with respect to Indian education and relates them to the administration of Indian affairs in general, both past and present. "Before 1929 the policy of the Indian Service had been to utilize the schools and their instruction as a means of removing the children from the influence of tribal life and introducing them to white civilization as rapidly as possible. . . . Under recent administrations, however, the policy has been to bring the schools to the Indians and adapt the instruction to their needs. The objective is no longer merely personal improvement or intellectual discipline; it is distinctly social in purpose." This is in keeping with the abandonment by the government of attempts to force upon the Indians the ways of the white men, and the recognition of the necessity for fostering and protecting tribal life on the reservations.

A bulletin of the Advisory Committee of Education<sup>9</sup> compares the extent and quality of educational opportunities offered the negro with those offered the white children in the 17 states (and the District of Columbia) where complete segregation of schools for the white and Negro races is required by law. "The indexes utilized in this investigation point consistently, in practically every field, to a relatively low standard of public education for Negroes in the Southern States. In general, and especially in rural areas, Negro elementary pupils attend extremely impoverished, small, short-term schools, lacking in transportation service, void of practically every kind of instructional equipment, and staffed by relatively unprepared, overloaded teachers whose compensation does not approximate a subsistence wage. The vast majority of pupils progress through only the primary grades of these schools. The few who finish the elementary grades find relatively little opportunity, especially in rural areas, for a complete standard secondary education. Opportunities for education in public undergraduate colleges are even more limited, and opportunities for graduate and professional study at publicly controlled institutions are almost nonexistent. In most special and auxiliary educational programs and services—public libraries, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, agricultural research, and agricultural and home economics extension—the same low standards obtain. Only in case of one or two Federal emergency programs is there an approach to proportional provision of public education for Negroes in these States."

To a six-page questionnaire distributed by the National Education Association to about 38,000 rural teachers, supervisors, and administrators in 265 counties or comparable school units scattered through twenty states considered to be representative of the Nation, 11,298 usable replies were returned.<sup>10</sup> From these, data have been compiled concerning the income, professional status, sex, marital status, family responsibilities, living conditions, and cultural and recreational opportunities of rural teachers, both white and negro. The average salary of the white teachers studied was \$876; of the negro teachers, \$346. Three-fourths of the white teachers and four-fifths of the negro teachers are women,

<sup>9</sup> Doxey A. Wilkerson, *Special Problems of Negro Education*, Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study 12 (Washington, D. C., 1939). 171 pp.

<sup>10</sup> *Teachers in Rural Communities*, National Education Association of the United States (Washington, D. C., 1939). 127 pp.

and the average number of dependents is one for the white teachers and two for the negroes. Only two out of five white teachers have access to a good library, and usually the negro teachers have access to no libraries.

#### CULTURAL AREAS

*Rural Social Areas in Missouri*<sup>11</sup> have been delimited by statistical techniques similar to those previously used for Ohio.<sup>12</sup> Since correlation analyses indicated that an index based upon Census data relevant to farm family living was most closely related to other factors pertaining to population, institutions, and economic conditions, this index was used to divide the state into six major areas of relatively homogeneous planes of living. These major areas were subsequently broken up into smaller areas on the basis of the per cent of tenancy prevailing. These areas will assist action and research agencies in choosing homogeneous cultural areas for programs. Methods of establishing indexes and characteristics of the major and minor areas are described.

#### PERSONALITY

A study of *Personality Development in Farm, Small-Town, and City Children*,<sup>13</sup> based upon intelligence and personality tests administered to 1,855 adolescents, purports to "support the conclusion of the White House Conference study . . . that the general level of family relationship is higher in urban than in rural communities," and also that "the average farm home likewise does not measure up in regard to sources of intellectual stimulation."

Since little description of the sampling is included, it is impossible to pass judgment upon the extent to which the conclusions of the study even when correct may have general application. The mass of coefficients, critical ratios, and other complicated manipulations do not convince the reviewer that the farm child who, according to the author, suffers from inadequate "cultural" advantages and too "strict" parental control rates lower in "personal adequacy and integrity" and in "traits and tendencies involving social relationships." The author's own tables indicate that farm children excel the other groups in "personal responsibility," "attitudes toward work," and "attitudes toward home life" and are surpassed by both other groups only in Otis I. Q. test scores, "resourcefulness in group situations," and "ethical judgment." Details concerning the construction of these tests are not included.

<sup>11</sup> C. E. Lively, and C. L. Gregory, *Rural Social Areas in Missouri*, Missouri AESB 305 (Columbia, August, 1939). 39 pp.

<sup>12</sup> C. E. Lively, and R. B. Almack, *A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-Areas with Application to Ohio*, Ohio State University Department of Rural Economics and AES Bulletin 106 (Columbus, January, 1938). Mimeographed, 54 pp. (For a summary of this method see Current Bulletins Section, *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, December, 1938.)

<sup>13</sup> Leland H. Stott, *Personality Development in Farm, Small-Town, and City Children*, Nebraska AESB 114 (Lincoln, August, 1939). 36 pp.

## PART-TIME FARMERS

The *Social Characteristics of Part-Time Farmers in Washington*<sup>14</sup> are described in a study based upon survey records taken from 1,814 families in 1934.<sup>15</sup> As in previous studies in Iowa, Connecticut, California, and Pennsylvania, the part-time farm population contained an abnormal proportion of middle aged and large families, indicating a quest for security on the part of families during that stage in the family life cycle when security is most needed. Also, the proprietorial and managerial occupations, clerks, and kindred workers were underrepresented, while laboring classes were overrepresented, indicating the realization of insecurity on the part of laborers.

The farmers studied in the eastern counties lived an average of 3.6 miles from work; those in the western counties 5.6 miles; and transportation cost more (22.5 per cent of all expenses) than any other expense item except groceries. The farm contributed to family living an average of \$150 over operating expenses.

## COOPERATIVES

*Cooperatives in the United States*<sup>16</sup> do only about one or two per cent of the total retail trade, whereas in Finland they handle 30 per cent, in Sweden 12 per cent, in the British Isles, France, and Denmark 10 per cent, and in Switzerland from 10 to 12 per cent. Some experts do not expect the cooperative movement in America to attain the status of cooperatives in the Scandinavian and certain other countries because we lack closely knit groups, are more mobile, are less class conscious (believing we can climb the social ladder), are more interested in making than saving money, and have more efficient chain stores with which cooperatives must compete. However, the movement is growing in America, where there are those who think cooperation is the "bulwark of democracy." The cooperative movement in America is chiefly supported by farmers, who have some 2,600 purchasing cooperatives which sold \$350,000,000 worth of goods in the 1937-1938 season.

*Cooperative Farm Supply Purchasing in the British Isles*<sup>17</sup> since its beginning about 1870 has grown gradually until in 1936 sales amounted to \$58,119,386, or one-seventh of all farm supply sales, and there were 225,000 farmers, or one out of four, served. "In each county in the British Isles there is a high degree of homogeneity among the rural population, which is favorable for cooperative activity. In almost any rural community—whether in England, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland—a large percentage of the farmers have a common national-

<sup>14</sup> Carl F. Reuss, *Social Characteristics of Part-Time Farmers in Washington*, Washington AESB 380 (Pullman, July, 1939). 20 pp.

<sup>15</sup> Ben H. Pubols, *Part-time Farming in Washington*, Washington AESB 316 (Pullman, July, 1935). 47 pp. (General economic data from the survey were reviewed in *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, March, 1936.)

<sup>16</sup> Maxwell Stewart, *Cooperatives in the United States—A Balance Sheet*, Public Affairs Committee, Pamphlet No. 32 (New York, May, 1939). 32 pp.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph G. Knapp, *Cooperative Farm Supply Purchasing in the British Isles*, FCAB 31 (Washington, D. C., April, 1938). 86 pp.

ity, religious faith, and political faith." The farmers are conservative, however, and their inclination to carry on their affairs in traditional ways has made it necessary for the cooperatives to demonstrate their effectiveness and has precluded mushroom growth. Also, the class structure in many areas has made it difficult to reach all classes on a given farm enterprise. Membership is usually restricted to farmers, and voting is practically always on the one-man, one-vote basis. Frequently marketing and purchasing services are offered by the same agency. A considerable amount of credit is extended, and losses on bad debts are generally negligible.

#### RENTAL AGREEMENTS

*An Experimental Farm Rental Agreement*,<sup>18</sup> containing a bibliography on farm tenancy and farm leases, with an exposition on the special features of the advocated lease, has been received from the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.

The "Missouri Flexible Farm Lease" has been devised to improve *Landlord-Tenant Relationships in Renting Missouri Farms*.<sup>19</sup> Previous Experiment Station studies of land tenure and a special investigation into leasing arrangements and provisions of 360 farms operated by tenants form the basis of a study which is pointed toward the evolution of the lease and a review of conditions and arrangements necessary for satisfactory landlord-tenant relationships.

#### ATTITUDES TOWARD SOIL CONSERVATION

Interviews with and farm records of over 500 farmers who were cooperating with the Soil Conservation Service in 1937 form the basis of a study entitled, *The Farmer Looks at Soil Conservation in Southern Iowa*.<sup>20</sup> Over 90 per cent of these farmers reported that the Soil Conservation Service had reduced sheet and gully erosion. Fifty per cent indicated that the program had already increased their production, and all but 5 per cent expected an increase from the program. Practically all farmers claimed the program had increased the value of their farms, the average increase being \$5.44 per acre. Most of the farmers believed that the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Soil Conservation Service programs should be combined, that the A.A.A. alone cannot control erosion, but that the S.C.S. program is sufficient. Other attitudes and facts about the two programs and their results are included.

The following additional publications have been received this quarter:

Henry F. Alves, Archibald W. Anderson, and John Guy Fowlkes, *Local School Unit Organization in Ten States*, U. S. Dept. of Interior, Bulletin 1938, No. 10 (Washington, 1939). 334 pp.

<sup>18</sup> C. Horace Hamilton, *An Experimental Farm Rental Agreement*, Texas AESB 478 (College Station, Revised November, 1939). Mimeographed, 9 pp.

<sup>19</sup> John F. Timmons, *Landlord-Tenant Relationships in Renting Missouri Farms*, Missouri AESB 409 (Columbia, August, 1939). 43 pp.

<sup>20</sup> Arthur C. Bunce, *The Farmer Looks at Soil Conservation in Southern Iowa*, Iowa AESB 381 (Ames, June, 1939). 163 pp.

- George A. Works and Barton Morgan, *The Land-Grant Colleges*, Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study 10 (Washington, 1939). 141 pp.
- L. S. Hulbert, *Summary of Cases Relating to Farmers' Cooperative Associations*, FCA Summary 3 (Washington, September, 1939). Mimeographed, 20 pp.
- Welsh Studies in Agricultural Economics*, University College of Wales, Dept. of Agricultural Economics (Aberystwyth, 1939). 150 pp.
- Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Conference*, National Resources Committee, Region No. 9 and Northwest Regional Council (Portland, Oregon, 1939). 186 pp.
- W. E. Garnett, *Some Virginia Population Trends of Significance to County Officials*, Virginia AESB 9 (Blacksburg, August, 1939). Mimeographed, 13 pp.
- Pioneering in Rural Rehabilitation in North Carolina*, North Carolina Emergency Relief Administration (Raleigh, 1935). 70 pp.
- Farm Landlord-Tenant Hearings*, Oklahoma A. & M. Extension Division (Stillwater, 1938). Mimeographed, 32 pp.
- Harvey Oakes, Elias Somerville, *Erosion and Related Land Use Conditions, on the Elm Creek Watershed, Texas*, USDA (Washington, January, 1939). 20 pp.
- Dr. Wiktor Bronikowski, *Agronomia Społeczna Jako Środek Polityki Rolniczej*, Nakładem Państw. Instytutu Nauk. Gosp. Wiejskiego W. Pulawach (Warszawa, 1938). 75 pp.
- Charles H. Judd, *Research in the United States Office of Education*, Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study 19 (Washington, 1939). 133 pp.
- Henry F. Alves and Edgar L. Morphet, *Principles and Procedures in the Organization of Satisfactory Local School Units*, U. S. Dept. of Interior Bulletin, 1938, No. 11 (Washington, 1939). 164 pp.
- Alzada Comstock, *Economic and Social Conditions in New England*, Mount Holyoke College, No. 1 (South Hadley, Massachusetts, 1939). 47 pp.
- Analysis of Recent Economic Development in Minnesota on the Basis of Occupational Employment Statistics*, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, Bulletin No. 9 (St. Paul, February, 1939). 31 pp.
- The Regional Approach to the Conservation of National Resources*, University of Wisconsin Press, Serial No. 2341, General Series 2125 (Madison, September, 1938). 27 pp.
- Jessie V. Coles, *Consumer Demand in Missouri for Selected Articles of Household Textiles*, Missouri AESB 301 (Columbia, May, 1939). 46 pp.
- National Health Conference*, Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities (Washington, 1938). Processed, 75 pp.
- Winston W. Crouch, *State Aid to Local Government in California*, University of California Press (Berkeley, 1939). 421 pp.
- S. L. Descartes, *Organizacion e Ingresos de 130 Fincos de Cana de Azucar en Puerto Rico, 1934-35*, Estacion Experimental Agricola, Rio Piedras, Bulletin 47 (Puerto Rico, May, 1939). 59 pp.
- Seba Eldridge, *Development of Collective Enterprise*, University of Kansas (Lawrence, 1938). Mimeographed, 82 pp.

## Book Reviews

*The Changing Community.* By Carle C. Zimmerman. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938. xiii, 661 pp. \$3.50.

It is the purpose of this volume, so the author tells us, "to portray in print the contemporary community and the changes imminent in our present situation." To the writer it seems rather a quest for a conception and general description of the rural or local community that will do justice to the wide variety of concrete examples of the thing with which the author's studies have made him familiar. Its purpose is, however, not merely to distinguish the different varieties of local community which the author has encountered in this country and elsewhere, but also to determine by comparison what are the essential characteristics of the species. It is essentially a taxonomic study. So far as I am aware no such study, for just such a purpose, has hitherto been made. It is this, more than anything else, perhaps, that constitutes the volume's originality and importance.

After all, the first and last object of scientific investigation is to know what the thing is that one is investigating, rather than what it seems to be at any time or place. The first necessity of systematic knowledge is a scheme of classification and a frame of reference.

Most community studies in the United States have been made, it seems, for some immediately practical purpose and have, for that reason, been carried out within the limits of some institutional or administrative framework. In such cases the questions raised are likely to be those that concern the efficiency of an agency or an institution to carry on an institutional policy. Implicit in most such studies is the assumption that the community is a congeries of social institutions, and that society itself, like a municipality or a corporation of any sort, is a political artifact rather than a living organism or, in the language of the author, "a dynamic organization."

This volume, on the other hand, conceives the local community as a natural phenomenon and seeks to describe different types of communities as they appear, so to speak, in nature. Since communities, like all other organisms, ordinarily pass through a typical cycle of change, the author is interested in discovering and describing the irreversible succession of change, wherever it occurs, through which communities have gone or, in the normal course of events, are predestined to go. This community life cycle is one of the essential characteristics of the species of which the individual community is, presumably, an example.

The author dismisses at the outset the assumption that the local community is to be identified with the municipality or that its territorial limits are defined by boundaries of any administrative unit. In his first attempt to define its territorial limits he sought to identify the community with the trade area of the local trading center. This assumed some degree of economic dependence and com-



munal interest among individuals living within the limits of each such territory. On the other hand, the degree, quality, and specific character of this solidarity remained on this assumption problematic. It was at once obvious, however, that within different trade areas the actual degree of communal solidarity might and often did vary very greatly.

We know that in closely knit familial and tribal societies the solidarity of the "we group," as Sumner has described it, tends to vary with the degree of its fear or animosity toward the "other group" with which it is in competition or conflict.

But the community, as defined by the trade area, was not obviously or consciously in competition with other trade areas. Rather, they were merely co-operating units in a larger and less clearly defined trade unit. The community, as defined by the trade area, did not conceive itself as a political unit and did not possess the solidarity that a society capable of effective collective action ordinarily possessed. It was with a view of giving to the community, defined by the trade area, the character of a political unit that C. J. Galpin first sought to define the limits of a rural community.

The problem, therefore, of distinguishing the degrees of interdependence and the different types of solidarity which characterize societies, territorially organized, raises in a new and pressing manner the problem which, under one title or another, has found theoretical expression in every school of sociology. I mean the problem of primary versus secondary groups, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gellschaft*, mechanical and organic associations.

Most sociologists, if one were to classify them with regard to their fundamental theories, seem to fall into one or the other of two categories. They are either realists or nominalists. In the one case they seem to emphasize the diversity and independence of the individual units of which society is composed. From the other point of view it is the solidarity of the individual units and the relative independence of the group which this solidarity makes possible, which assumes importance. Representative of the nominalists is Herbert Spencer, who conceived society as existing mainly in the fact of cooperation made possible by the division of labor. Representative of the other point of view is Comte, who conceived society as existing where there was a consensus, understanding, and a common tradition which made collective and consistent group action possible.

The author of this volume seems to have come, after an extensive empirical study of rural and local communities and a great many transfigurations of thought, to the realists' point of view. He believes, in short, that the solidarity which binds individuals in a society together tends to persist,—rather obviously in the form of custom and tradition,—independently of the particular individuals in whose actions and habits it is at any particular time embodied.

The essence of this point of view is the conception of a social process or form of interaction by which the individual elements and their relation to one another, are, as the author says, molded and remolded in accordance with some persistent pattern (p. 384). It is apparently the persistence of such a pattern, throughout a succession of more or less typical changes, that frequently gives to

the life history of a community the character of a career. This fact has apparently suggested to the author the notion that one might, without doing violence to the term as ordinarily used, ascribe as attitudes to certain communities some or most of the attributes of human personality.

The contrast between what the author describes as a "nominalistic" and a "realistic" social order has been made in this volume the theme and central problem of a discourse of some 650 pages, in the course of which the author has drawn into the discussion the writings of almost every important student of social life from Aristotle to Sorokin. At the same time he has illustrated his discussion with detailed descriptions of some 14 local communities in different parts of the United States, Europe, and Asia.

What seems lacking in this study is (1) some satisfactory index for indicating in individual communities the degree of "nominalism" or "realism" which characterizes them; (2) some satisfactory method of measuring the extent to which the "realism" of the local community has been modified under the influence of the increasing "nominalism", or, as I should prefer to describe it, the increasing secularization of city life.

University of Chicago

ROBERT E. PARK

*Agriculture in Modern Life.* By O. E. Baker, Ralph Borsodi, and M. L. Wilson. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1939. vii, 303 pp. \$3.50.

Baker, Senior Agricultural Economist of the Department of Agriculture, who contributes approximately two-thirds of the book, presents the case for two of the most challenging problems confronting the American people, namely, the gradual loss of land ownership and the declining birth rate. As basic principles of our national policy he postulates (1) the reproduction of the race and (2) widespread private ownership of land. These are the minimum essentials of "the great bulwark of freedom, of democracy, and of scientific progress." In the land postulate he is ably supported by his co-authors, Borsodi, exponent of self-sufficient living, and Wilson, Under-Secretary of Agriculture, although they do not ignore the population problem.

The familistic concept of society, characteristic of our earlier economy and culture, is emphasized by Baker as the primary basis upon which we may arrest the forces that are operative in producing our declining birth rate and loss of land ownership. "Probably nothing less than the partial abandonment of the prevalent materialistic philosophy of life," he writes, "especially monetary measures of success, will be necessary, in my opinion; and the acceptance instead of a philosophy centered in the family" (p. 9). He has no illusion as to the difficulty of securing this change. Of the prevailing economic systems—"capitalism, socialism, individualism, cooperatism, and the familistic"—only the last, he asserts, is committed to the perpetuation of the race and to the widespread ownership of property.

The implications of a declining birth rate and a declining private ownership of property are many and varied. The declining birth rate results in future

generations coming from the lower income classes of today and being consequently less fitted to assume social, economic, and political responsibilities which devolve upon them. Another result is an increased concentration of property and power in a smaller group. Since only the rural people are more than reproducing themselves, "the future lies in the hands of the rural peoples" (p. 40). But the rural people are becoming less able to assume such a grave responsibility which is not necessarily of their own choosing. Wealth has been drained from the farm to the city for over a century. Too, the farmer has been asked to take a constantly decreasing share of the national income. This trend must be interrupted. On the other hand, if it is to be continued, farm wealth syphoned off through the increased migration from farm to city must be returned to the rural areas through greatly enlarged subsidies to rural schools, health projects, road construction, and similar activities. Only in this way, Baker asserts, lies economic and social justice as well as the future welfare of the cities. Since cities must depend upon rural areas for their future populations, they will be the recipients of the resultant improved rural conditions.

Baker asserts a faith in our rural people to preserve democracy because of all our people they alone cling still, though tenuously, to the familistic basis of society. It is essential that this concept be strengthened at least to the extent it has been weakened by the capitalistic system. This may be accomplished, he believes, through the diversification of rural activities which requires a reversal of the trend toward division of labor. The farm must be restored "as an hereditary home." Borsodi and Wilson hope this may be attained through individual effort and through the aid of government, *eg.* the Farm Security Administration.

This provocative treatise not only on agriculture in modern life but also on the values of life itself is, in this reviewer's opinion, one of the most important contributions to that area of thought concerned with the future of American life. I find, however, that the political aspects of the subject have been somewhat neglected. This is a study within itself, however, and one which someone must soon undertake.

New York University

RAY F. HARVEY

*American Earth.* By Carleton Beals. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1939. 500 pp. \$3.00.

Carleton Beals writes, "This book—if many historical aspects have been omitted—can be called the story of the relation of man to the American soil. . . . The American earth is the ultimate source of our ideas, our poetry, our arts." His reminder is timely, since the reader may easily lose sight of the basic theme amid invectives against the agricultural program of Secretary Henry Wallace or tirades against the exploitation accompanying the development of the nation. Although the reader will not find an objective analysis of man's adjustment to his geographical environment in this portion of the North American continent, the book is not without its merits.

The first part is devoted to selected historical aspects of the settling and ex-

pansion of the country. The "Robber Barons" type of approach is followed with too little thought for historical accuracy. The latter part considers the situation of various disadvantaged groups in contemporary America and is the more valuable. Inhabitants of cut-over areas, southern share-croppers, Louisiana fur trappers, Negroes, farmers on eroded land or in the dust bowl, and migrant families all come in for a share of Beal's sympathy if not his complete understanding. Chapters on fur trapping in Louisiana, stranded population in lumbering areas, and the problem of migrants to the West coast are particularly noteworthy.

It appears difficult for free-lance writers to avoid crusading at the expense of objectivity and careful research. This is understandable and perhaps even desirable among novelists and playwrights but is hardly to be expected in "the biography of a nation." Especially is objectivity rare when the South is being considered, and generalization after generalization tumbles forth from particulars. For instance, reference is made to "southern lynch-law county court-houses" (p. 309). We are told: "Just to be literate in Alabama provides one with superior economic leverage that contributes to slothful smugness. To be able to speak a grammatical sentence makes one feel himself an aristocrat" (p. 335). Again: "Decatur [Alabama] is a small, frowsy, gangster-ridden city overfull of vicious elderly lynch-minded Protestant ministers" (p. 335). Still speaking of Alabama: "Lynch justice is common" (p. 338). Now a generalization for the entire region: "With variations, the story of Alabama is the story of the greater part of the South. The political and economic set-up is similar. The tragedy of race relations is similar. The degradation of the mass of the rural population, Black and White, is similar" (p. 357). One is led to question whether this is a true picture of southern conditions.

Although there may be much truth in some of the criticisms of the New Deal agricultural program, statements concerning it are not always accurate. Anyone at all familiar with the situation would disagree with the following statement: "Farmers were compensated for reducing the acreage cultivated, though in the South, in diverse ways, this compensation has all gone into the pockets of the large landowners. . . ." (p. 364). Criticism is concentrated on the American Agricultural Administration program in its first two or three years, with little attention to later modifications and changes. The author indicates scant knowledge of the real nature of the expanding Farm Security program, stating that it is "now more ornamental than generally effective" (p. 432). At the time the book went to press more than 500 farm families were being rehabilitated in a single Georgia county, with the Farm Security program extending throughout the country on a somewhat less extensive scale. Yet we are told that there is only "a limited loan program able to take care, in a slovenly manner, of about 1,000 tenant farmers a year" (p. 437).

It is not the purpose of this review to deny the reality and seriousness of most of the problems discussed by Beals. The average reader will be startled often and somewhat enlightened.

*The Small Town in American Literature.* By Ima Honaker Herron. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1939. xviii, 447 pp. \$4.00.

This work traces the conceptions of the small town and rural life in America as these developed in our native literature from the first awakenings in the eighteenth century through the romantic *Scarlet Letter* days of the nineteenth century to the *Spoon River, Main Street* cynical debunking days of the twentieth. While it recognizes that "literature is, of course, not life . . .", nevertheless, it gives some grounds for sustaining the contention that American rural-life literature is something more than reflection of the spirit of the literary schools of the time. In other words, it does imply that these different literary approaches disclose in American rural life a changing reality which is worthy of study.

The volume opens with a brief historical sketch of the origin and history of the American small town. This is very good but yet inadequate. This is followed by three chapters which deal with the rise of a literature concerning the New England town from the days of Timothy Dwight of Yale through the period of the challenged ascendancy of the Tory culture in New England. Then 44 pages are devoted to a discussion of the literature concerning the New York town as representative of the first transition across the Alleghenies as the border moved west. Forty-two pages carry the American village to the Mississippi. Mark Twain and the writers about the Mississippi valley town rate 18 pages. The story of the cowboy and the far western town take all of Chapter viii, and the later developed literature concerning the Southern town all of Chapter ix. Chapter x, which covers about one hundred pages, deals with the modern "realistic period" and may be ably summarized in an adapted verse of Arthur Guiterman's rimed review of *Spoon River Anthology*:

[They see] such a ravishing lot of crime,  
Perversion, insanity, slime, and grime  
To tell us about, that[they have] no time  
To put it in meter, much less in rhyme.

In all, this excellent work must deal with several thousand titles. It stands today as the most comprehensive and able review of the orientation of American literary endeavor about the only completely native topic—the American community. In itself it is surest proof that the main strokes in the establishment of a nation per se, as contrasted to the previously dominant colonial psychosis, have been taken. Contrary to motherly encouragement from Europe that America has "come of age," it is evident that psychologically we are yet in knee pants—but they are the grimy pants of a rebellious urchin. America has as yet produced no Ladislav Reymont, or even outside of parts of Mark Twain, no Wilhelm Busch; but it has cleared the ground for an appreciative and rhythmical school of literature about the real American scene.

The greatest weakness of the work is the over-emphasis of the New England contributors to the neglect of probable French, Spanish, German, and Indian sources of nativism. But that is a part of our general conceptual psychosis which may be corrected in time by the development of scholarship. Needless to say,

this work should be compulsory reading for the rural sociologist and should be widely used as a text in courses of American literature. In time the *Grapes of [American] Wrath* will rebel both against whatever actuality there is back of, and also the types of American interpretation to be found in, and on *Tobacco Road*.

Harvard University

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN

*Farming Hazards in the Drought Area.* By R. S. Kifer and H. L. Stewart. Washington, D. C.: Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Research Monograph XVI, 1938. 219 pp.

*Rural Families on Relief.* By Carle C. Zimmerman and Nathan L. Whetten. Washington, D. C.: Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Research Monograph XVII, 1938. 161 pp.

The extremely important series of research monographs of the W.P.A. Division of Social Research is extended with these two worthy contributions. The study by Kifer and Stewart analyzes the land-use problems and the economic insecurity of farmers in the Great Plains. Thirteen sample counties were studied as representative of the northern, central, and southern portions of the area. Type of farming, farm organization, and economic problems were found to vary in the three subregions. Attention is also given to natural factors affecting agriculture, crop yields, and land tenure. In a final chapter, prospects for the rehabilitation of farmers in the Great Plains are considered and numerous concrete suggestions given. Difficulties to be encountered are viewed as serious, and governmental assistance on a large scale is seen to be essential.

Too often governmental research studies have piled up facts with a minimum of interpretation and attention to theoretical considerations. *Rural Families on Relief*, by Zimmerman and Whetten, is an outstanding exception. Analyzing data for some 62,000 families, comprising more than 270,000 persons, the authors give their conception of the relation between economic insecurity and various sociological aspects of family organization and structure. Successive chapters are devoted to types of farm families, occupational origin of family heads, personal characteristics of family heads, family size and composition, dependent age groups, family structural types, fertility, employability and employment, mobility, and education. Of special interest to rural sociologists, perhaps, is the treatment of the relation between relief status on the one hand and family size, fertility, and solidarity on the other. Most of the analysis is on the basis of type-of-farming areas, the data becoming more meaningful through this geographical treatment.

Each of these monographs is a definite contribution to existing knowledge concerning the large disadvantaged groups in rural America.

Furman University

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

*Factories in the Field: The Story of the Migratory Farm Labor in California.* By Carey McWilliams. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1939. 334 pp. \$2.50.

Migratory agricultural labor in California and on the west coast has drawn widespread attention recently. Several public agencies have already done a great deal of research and practical work toward the understanding and treatment of the problem (the organization of camps and colonies, the organization of medical service, etc.). The studies of Paul S. Taylor should be mentioned as a scientific approach, along with a report published by the University of California (Victor Jones, *Transients and Migrants* [February 27, 1939], Legislative Problems 4). A recent best seller in fiction has dealt with the problem.

The work of Carey McWilliams, Commissioner of Immigration and Housing of the State of California, traces the history of migratory farm labor in California. The beginning chapters are significant in that they contain a description of the character of Californian agriculture, which contrasts sharply with the family-farm system of the rest of the United States. Most of the large estates of the Spanish-Mexican time have, without great change, been transferred to the American period and have thus become important in developing an industrial type of agriculture characterized by commercial orientation and mechanical methods. As soon as the "Gold Rush" was over (1860), large areas were planted to wheat, which, after the crisis in the seventies, was replaced by fruit. By that time Californian agriculture, deprived of its family-farming character, needed large quantities of seasonal manual labor and thereby developed a permanent attraction to agricultural labor migrants from the East. Following the influx of cheap Mexican labor in the post-war time were the "Dust Bowl" migrants of more recent years. Thousands of the farming population of the Grain and Cotton Belts, displaced by the disastrous consequences of drought and erosion, and by large-scale mechanization of Southern agriculture, are streaming to California's valleys in search of employment.

Between 1935 and 1937 the guards of the Plant Quarantine Bureau of the California Department of Agriculture counted 259,654 "returning Californians and out-of-state immigrants in need of manual employment." W. G. Thornwaite in his *Internal Migrations in the United States* describes the migration to California as "the greatest single movement in the entire history of the country, one of the greatest in the world." McWilliams' book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the economic and social problems of this pressing movement of the Prairie and the Southern farming population and its accommodation in the state of California.

University of California

NICHOLAS MIRKOWICH

*St. Denis, A French-Canadian Parish.* By Horace Miner. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939. xix, 283 pp. \$3.00.

St. Denis is an old established French-Canadian agricultural parish of seven hundred inhabitants, which still retains to a great degree the folk culture of

early French-Canada. It is located about eighty miles north of the city of Quebec on the east shore of the St. Lawrence River. This parish was chosen for study because it best fitted the purpose of the author, who was primarily interested in attempting to understand "the causes and modes of the culture change which is going on." The objectives of the study developed in this volume are: "the ethnographic description of the old rural French-Canadian folk culture in its least-altered existent form, the analysis of the social structure of the society and the consideration of the factors responsible for culture change in the direction of urbanization and Anglicization." Eleven months were spent in residence and participation in the life of the community. "The field methods included writing up observed behavior, direct interviewing, and analyzing family and parish records."

Beginning with the historical background of the province and parish, followed by a description of the land settlement, the author then presents a clear picture of the material and non-material culture of the people of St. Denis. It appears that in almost any rural area in which the great majority of the people are firm believers in the Catholic creed—be it rural Ireland, the rural French section of Louisiana, or the Province of Quebec—one will find a relatively strong family system as the basic institution of rural life, with its local culture to a great extent interwoven around the doctrines and practices of the church. Essentially this is one of the major findings in this analysis of the people of St. Denis, in their "kinship and family cycles," in "the role of Religion," and in the meaning and function of the ceremony of the mass. In fact, familism and religion permeate their way of life from the baptism of the infant to the burial of the deceased. In such a society one should expect to find families with many children, and so it is proved. But, even though the birth rate (24 per 1,000) has not changed during the last two decades, there has been an actual decline in the population during the past fifty years as a result of migration to the New England states. Because of the smallness of the farms, usually two arpents in width by forty-two in depth, one farm cannot support much more than one family. Hence, the people have the custom of the non-inheriting sons' leaving home when the farm is transferred to the chosen inheritor at the time of his marriage. Lack of available land and the present lag in migration to industrial cities have increased the *rentier* group—day laborers who live by "odd jobs, peddling, and provincial road work"—with no corresponding increase in economic security; yet this group continues to have large families. This group is increased by those who have recently returned to St. Denis from the United States. Those returning have introduced new cultural patterns into the social system. Here, as elsewhere, economic degradation leads to a certain amount of social degradation in the poorer group.

According to the author, "French-Canadian culture was one which had a high degree of internal social integration based on short-term adjustment to the environment." He finds that the "culture shift is toward increasing dependence of the local society upon the great industrial civilization of which it is becoming a part."



*Sociologische Studien zur Verstädterung der Prager Umgebung.* By Zdenek Ullrich. Prag: Im Verlage der Revue "Soziologie und Soziale Probleme," 1938. vii, 335 pp. 95 Kc.

Like other cities of the middle ages, Prague was a walled stronghold which, although it fed from agricultural products of the surrounding territory, had no suburbs. The development of suburbs began toward the end of the eighteenth century, when the city leaped its walls and began to extend toward the agricultural villages, a process which has continued to the present day. Many results of this urbanization upon the structure of the city and the communities of its environs are graphically depicted. The density of the population is in direct proportion to the distance from the city, but the greatest increase in population between the years 1921 and 1930 has been between the outskirts of the city and the most distant villages studied. It is here that most of the married industrial workers from 25 to 44 years of age live. Distance from the city has a high negative correlation with percentage of the people who are migrants, with women engaged in trade and public service occupations, and with persons of Jewish faith. As one goes from the city the proportion of natives and peasants in the population increases.

The invasion of the city has meant that long established attitudes, folkways, and mores of the peasantry have given way to urban influences. Relationships have become less personal and more rational, and interest in local government and affairs has waned. The primary homogeneous society in which the neighbors constantly "peeked into the dinner pot to see what was cooking" gave way to anonymity and a heterogeneous population. This has resulted in various types of immorality, increased sexual intercourse outside of wedlock, illegitimacy, free thinking, mendicity, radicalism, and dissatisfaction generally. The newcomers from the city look down upon the stable peasant and he in turn despises the laziness and laxness of the city people who have become part-time farmers but whose homes are frequently no more than sleeping quarters. The peasant is further perturbed because his daughters have come to desire urban clothes and want to marry into the city. The old rural games, dances, and other forms of recreation in which the neighbors engaged with their whole personalities have given way to specialized or commercialized urban forms which are easily divorced from other segments of one's life and associates.

Our theories concerning the influence of urbanization upon the culture of people living in spheres of influence or hinterlands of cities have been influenced too largely by studies of relatively new cities and recently settled areas. The studies of Chicago and other American cities have furnished the basic materials for books on urban sociology and ecology, whereas studies of the social anthropologists and sociologists made in primitive peasant and urban societies in Europe or in the Far East have been given too little attention. We can, therefore, welcome this monograph on the urbanization of Prague, one of the oldest cities in Europe. The editor of the symposium, Z. Ullrich, is well trained in both European and American sociology and gives evidence of being influenced by the German, Ferdinand Toennies, and American urban sociologists and ecologists.

The study, which was financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, was carried on by experts of Charles University in Prague. Only portions of the book have been touched in this summary. Those interested in the influence of urbanization upon consumption behavior, housing, and many other activities will find the work useful.

Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare,  
Washington, D. C.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

*Your City.* By E. L. Thorndike. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939. 204 pp. \$2.00.

This book, written by a distinguished American psychologist, is the result of three years of study of the recorded facts concerning 310 American cities. "Its conclusions are outcomes of the treatment of nearly a million items by modern quantitative methods" (p. 5). It may be suggested that somewhat less emphasis on mechanical quantitative procedure and more attention to conceptual analysis would have produced a work less likely to cause misgivings over the publisher's characterization of it as ". . . the most important statistical and sociological analysis of American cities since the Lynd's 'Middletown.'" Dr. Thorndike has worked out a "G score" as an index of "goodness of life" in each of the cities studied. This is an index of the combined weighted scores of 37 items bearing upon health, education, recreation, etc. The utilization of statistical procedure in this study is a good example of a type of radical empiricism which is rapidly passing away among sociologists themselves. One might ask, for example, in what meaningful sense is Pasadena, California, 3.6 times as "good" as Charleston, S. C.? Dr. Thorndike presents much interesting and valuable data, but the chief significance of the study to sociology lies in its expression of certain cosmopolite-bourgeois values which are important elements in the American cultural scene. The book should prove valuable to the Chambers of Commerce of the cities with high G scores.

University of Kentucky

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS

*Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742.* By Carl Bridenbaugh. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1938. xiii, 500 pp. \$5.00.

The author gives a valuable detailed picture of the appearance and development of five cities—Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston—which he selects as representative of urbanization in this country from 1625-1742. The study ends with 1742 because this year seems to have marked the beginning of a temporary plateau in the emergence of urbanization. The period is divided into three stages: (1625-90) "The planting of the villages," (1690-1720) "The awakening of civic consciousness," and (1720-1742) "The towns become cities." In each stage the data are grouped under four topics: physical aspects, economic development, urban problems, and social life. The author believes the origins of American urbanism not to have been "solely

the product of nineteenth century industrialism, but rather to have germinated with the earliest settlement on American soil." In support of this he has gathered a convincing array of documentary evidence that may be checked by the stickler for detail, utilized profitably by the specialist, or enjoyed by the casual reader. He does not, however, attempt to analyze this rural-urban transition in terms of structural elements which underly it.

Bridenbaugh contends that in early colonial life all was not "frontier democracy and individualism." On the contrary, organized commercial interests figured strongly in development of the political and social structure which received its intellectual "hypo" largely from an urban environment. The resulting urban society was chiefly distinguished by "the communal attitude toward the solution of physical and social problems of diversified populations. . . ." and "the constantly widening outlook" made possible by material progress and commercial expansion. There are some who would criticize this work for giving no consideration to the role of certain religious and economic ethics in the historical genesis of patterns of living that are at the core of urban development in this country. Insofar as these elements did account indirectly for urban growth, he has misplaced the causal responsibility. Furthermore, at times his explanation of the rise in crime seems oversimplified. Very few students of criminology would accept such vague factors as "the natural increase of urban population" or "growing cosmopolitanism" as adequate. In general, the origin and rise of American urbanism, or any other, cannot be explained tautologically in terms of urban environment unless the characteristic elements are first analyzed in detail. Regardless of these considerations *Cities in the Wilderness* should be recognized as a contribution to our knowledge of American urban life in the embryonic state.

Harvard University

G. T. BOWDEN

*Who Are these Americans?* By Paul B. Sears. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. 116 pp. \$0.60.

Sociologists will be interested in this as an example of a new attempt in popular non-fiction. *Who Are These Americans?* is one of the first in a series known as "The People's Library" which is designed to resynthesize established material, to fuse life and knowledge into a clear and understandable whole that means something to Americans at large."

The book does not try so much to answer the question as to indicate the approaches which need to be taken if one wishes to determine what Americans are like, what they need, and how they might get it. It is not a factual description but is rather a call for social understanding, an introduction to social sciences, a charge of social responsibility.

The social scientist should be glad to know that a well-founded attempt is under way to secure popular sympathy with his research problems. He will be interested to note the manner in which many of his professional concepts are presented without use of technical definitions. Without calling them by name, Sears is able to sketch in very simple form such conceptual phrases as the man-

land ratio, heredity versus environment, the normal curve, inevitability of change, institutional adjustment, socio-economic patterns, and cultural inheritance.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics  
Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

LEONARD A. SALTER, JR.

*Rainfall and Tree Growth in the Great Basin.* By Ernst Antevs. Baltimore: American Geographical Society Special Publication No. 21, Lord Baltimore Press, 1938. 97 pp. \$3.00.

That the subject matter of a nation's literature is largely determined by events in the lives of its people is seldom questioned. The recent outburst of novels, articles, bulletins, reports, and plays dealing with problems of the drought area was occasioned by public concern over the droughts of 1934 and 1936. The literature in this field falls into fundamental research, action studies, interpretative novels, and propaganda. Ernst Antevs' *Rainfall and Tree Growth in the Great Basin*, for example, expresses the growing interest in fundamental research that deals with some phase of the problem. It discusses the techniques that may be used to estimate rainfall in the years before systematic instrumental observations were begun. Well fortified with the results of careful research, the author answers the question suggested by the title and wisely refrains from commenting on the present situation.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics  
U. S. Department of Agriculture.

WALTER C. MCKAIN, JR.

*The Synthetic Optimum of Population.* By Imre Ferenczi. New York City: Columbia University Press, 1938. 115 pp. \$1.00.

This monograph written for the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation holds special interest because of its critique of population theories since Malthus. Social scientists will agree with the author's insistence upon research and with his emphasis upon standards of living which permeates his analysis. Internationalists will find here strong argument for world action on population problems and a demographic argument for world peace. Social planners will find a painstaking analysis of various optima population concepts and an attempt to combine them into a synthetic optimum with a plan to put the policy into effective operation through some planning agency, possibly the League of Nations.

Such an attempt is not premature from the standpoint of need, though the author admits that insufficient information is available upon which to base such a rational plan; also that philosophical and national points of view, rather than scientific information, have been the deciding factors in making specific demographic changes. In such a world situation, contrasts in density of population, in rates of growth, and in demographic policies are favorable to war. This justifies the efforts to find and to apply uniform standards for demographic judgments and to determine what would be the most rational distribution of the population of the world.

In his introduction the author says, "Two rival economic theories still confront each other in this domain: the theory of Malthus, and the theory of optimum population." This is an oversimplification from which he attempts to escape by including under Malthus all of the natural or equilibrium theories. He then argues that the industrial revolution and, more recently, the growth of nationalism have made natural theories unworkable in practice. Some theory of the optimum then, he concludes, is the only possible basis for a realistic population policy. Most of the book is given over to the analysis of various optima: economic, social, and biological. While his analysis leads him to favor the theory of optimum welfare as expressed essentially in the individual and family standard of living, he concludes that too is inadequate. His own position is stated in terms of the "synthetic or proportional optimum," which is conceived as a national and international synthesis giving due weight, not only to economic and social viewpoints and to considerations of national defense, but likewise to demographic and eugenic ideas and forecasts. Specific proposals are made to get the necessary facts and to develop the unified public opinion necessary for international action. This last is no small task.

Iowa State College

RAY E. WAKELY

*Conservation In The United States.* By A. F. Gustafson, H. Ries, G. H. Guise, and W. J. Hamilton, Jr. Cornell Heights, Ithica, New York: Comstock Publishing Company, Inc., 1939. xi, 445 pp. \$3.00.

This volume is an elementary non-technical presentation which is intended to acquaint students and other readers with the more important facts concerning the conservation of natural resources in the United States. The authorship is represented by a soil technician, a geologist, a forestry management specialist, and a zoologist. Each author has contributed a definite part, and except for the numbering of the chapters continuously, and the use of a single introduction there might as well have been four books on each of the subjects: (1) Conservation of Soil and Water Resources; (2) Conservation of Forests, Parks and Grazing Lands; (3) Conservation of Wild Life; and (4) Conservation of Mineral Resources. By far a greater emphasis is placed upon showing a need for than upon the steps and measures designed to promote conservation.

While the authors insist that conservation is a social and economic problem they have not approached their task from a socio-economic point of view. The economic inferences in the text may be drawn from occasional statements of quantities and dollar values of wastes and annual production. The sociological implications of conservation are absent entirely. It is a queer confusion of values for which these authors were not responsible that natural resources are considered as absolutes which may be studied entirely apart from the potential human requirements. However, it is to be regretted that at least one part of the book did not attempt to interpret the problem of conservation in terms of the expected needs and trends of the national population.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

*The World Was My Garden: Travels of a Plant Explorer.* By David Fairchild. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1939. 494 pp. \$3.75.

Here in autobiographical style is presented the story of the rise of botany to a serviceable science. Of interest to sociologists is the account of the early struggles of the biological sciences to gain a foothold. There is a striking parallel to many of the difficulties which today confront the social scientists. Botanists could answer few questions with any degree of certainty; funds for needed research were difficult to obtain; skeptics of the value of any possible findings were legion. Yet, despite these handicaps, the pioneers eagerly pressed forward.

Those of us in the midst of large-scale administrative investigations might well pause to reflect on the observations of one long engaged in governmental research. "Men, ideas, tools and quiet—not desks and the noisy machinery of correspondence—are the building stones of scientific discovery. . . . The door of a government official's office must always be open and, when the chairs in his anteroom are filled with waiting visitors, any serious investigation behind that door is a practical impossibility. Carrying on profound research in the hubbub that prevails in most government offices is as difficult and rare as composing good poetry on a noisy street corner."

The author, founder of the Division of Plant Exploration and Introduction in the United States Department of Agriculture, has much of social significance to say concerning food habits. Since 1889 the Division has brought to America over a hundred thousand seeds or plants. While all of these are not edible, many of them are, but still are not used. The reason for this is custom in taste, not food value. "The term 'not fit to eat' (when applied to things non-poisonous) is indefensible except as a personal opinion of the speaker. For there are no scientific standards in the realm of the palate." Today, the author tells us, there are many potential foods that might profitably be raised by our farmers and consumed at a lower cost than those which form the standard parts of our diet. This observation should be worthy of note to students speculating on the validity of post-Malthusian population doctrines.

University of South Dakota

JOHN USEEM

*Social Problems.* By Rev. Raymond W. Murray and F. T. Flynn. New York: F. S. Crofts, 1938. ix. 612 pp. \$3.50.

In the words of the authors, this addition to the already considerable number of texts on social problems has been written by Catholics "in the light of Catholic ethical doctrines" (page v), and is "presented primarily for the college student enrolled in a course on social problems or social pathology" (*ibid.*). As an expression of contemporary Catholic viewpoints in the field of social problems, presented within the framework of orthodox Catholic social and ethical principles, this book is a distinctly worthwhile contribution to the literature on social pathology.

However, when the volume is considered from the point of view of its

value as a text for a college course on social problems, certain omissions and a lack of proportion are noted. Half the book is devoted to population problems, and the only other topics treated at any length are poverty, "the dependent classes" (i.e., the aged, and those physically or mentally incapacitated), crime, and child welfare. While it is true (as the authors point out) that there is considerable difference of opinion among sociologists with regard to the particular social problems to be considered in a textbook, comprehensive and integrated treatments (e.g., Ford, *Social Deviation* and Elliott and Merrill, *Social Disorganization*) exemplify a more sound orientation in the field of social pathology than do books such as that written by Murray and Flynn.

*Social Problems* is carefully written; the authors evince an awareness of the complex interplay of the causative elements involved in the problems they discuss, a commendable caution in their treatment, and discrimination in the selection of bibliographies.

Boston College

GEORGE F. FITZGIBBON

*German Forestry.* By Franz Heske. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938. xxv. 342 pp. \$3.00.

The author, a professor in the *Forstliche Hochschule* at Tharandt (near Dresden), has also surveyed forestry conditions in the United States and with this double background gives an exposition on German forestry with a full and conscious realization of the interests of American readers. Just as Tacitus once upheld the virtues of the primitive Germans before an effete and worldly Roman audience, so this book extols the use Germans have made of their woodlands over "a thousands years of conservation," in contrast to the thoughtless exploitation and waste of forest resources in America and other "new countries." Franz Heske is also vividly aware throughout of the dependence of forestry practices and attitudes on the whole adjustment of human society to its environment.

The United States, for example, has until recently been a country with an expanding frontier, with "unlimited" resources, with an economy of plenty. Germany passed this stage in her history a thousand years ago. Since then, in one form or another, the increasing pressure of population on her political boundaries has led her statesmen and leading citizens to look ahead, to plan and regulate the cultivation of the forests and the use of wood products. It is only since her industrial revolution, however, that experiment stations have helped to place forestry on a strictly scientific basis. The doubling of her output of commercial wood in the course of the nineteenth century has made Germany's experience in this matter an example for all the world. The staggering demands of the War, and the very similar autarchical strivings of the Third Reich, have put her forest policies to an acid test. The United States, Heske argues, is rapidly entering upon the intensive phase of her history, wherein an economy of scarcity will press claims for planning and conservation to the fore, and where, incidentally, the lessons of the German experience will be most useful.

The work discusses, in orderly fashion, the history of land-use in Germany; the development of sustained-yield forest management; the age, distribution, composition, and ownership of forests; wood-consumption; forest employment; and the "indirect benefits" or effects on climate, soil drainage, art, recreation, etc. "Forest management should aim to produce lumber and to save souls," he states succinctly. The latter half of the book is concerned with the administration and theory of forest policy, with governmental agencies, scientific research, education of foresters, labor legislation in its bearing on forestry, land tenure, traditional forest "rights" of those dwelling in the neighborhood, resettlement, taxation, insurance, and afforestation.

Two themes may be said to dominate the presentation; the necessity for long-term planning on a basis of sustained-yield management, and (as a direct corollary) the necessity for fixed tenure of forest property, preferably in the hands of "socially oriented private owners" rather than a state bureaucracy. A bibliography, appendices, and an index add to the book's usefulness; and the many maps and photographs to its readability.

Harvard University

E. Y. HARTSHORNE

*State Public Welfare Legislation.* By Robert C. Lowe. Washington: Works Progress Administration, Research Monograph XX, 1939. xv, 398 pp.

This monograph provides a convenient summary of many important aspects of state legislation for general relief, old-age assistance, blind assistance, aid for dependent children, and veteran relief. It is a reference publication, as may be judged by the fact that 356 of its 398 pages comprise the appendixes. About 200 pages are made up of "basic tables" which summarize in tabular form the provisions of public welfare laws in the 48 states, Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia, as of July 1, 1938. A set of "supplementary tables" following, bring the data up to January 1, 1939. In the last appendix, summaries of statutory provisions and an organization sheet are given for each state or territory separately.

While the greater part of the report is useful for references on specific features of public welfare legislation in individual states, the first 42 pages provide an easily readable and quick review of the development and present status legislation in this country. While no review is made of Federal legislation as such, the relationship between the development of state legislation and Federal laws is clearly indicated.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics  
Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

LEONARD A. SALTER, JR.

*Women in the Soviet East.* By Fannina W. Halle. Translated from the German by Margaret M. Green. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1938. xvii, 363 pp. Illustrated. Map. \$4.00.

The objectives of the author, as given in her own words, are "to show in what manner, and on what historical foundation, under what conditions and with what success in each separate case, the transformation of women in the Soviet



East has hitherto been accomplished" (p. ix). In line with the author's expressed conviction that "... any effort to grasp its [Soviet East's] alien quality emotionally is far better than all enumerations of names and figures, however systematic" (p. 20), the treatment is, except for an occasional percentage, entirely non-quantitative.

The stage is set by a brief introduction to the major regions of the Soviet East whose nearly two hundred peoples are grouped in three divisions, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Northern Asia. Archeological and linguistic data, myths and legends, poems and songs, folkways and mores are drawn upon to demonstrate the survival of "lingering echoes of matriarchy" throughout the Soviet East. Next is a chapter on the "wretched" existence of woman in the recent patriarchal societies of Asiatic Russia. With the Bolshevik Revolution, however, begins "the dawn of a new era." The last two-thirds of the book is devoted to showing, first, the methods by which the hygienic, political, economic, educational, and familial doctrines of the Bolshevik propagandists were spread and inculcated; and, second, the new roles in conformity with those doctrines played by Asiatic Soviet women generally, and by outstanding individual women. The picture given, based on recent travels of the author, is one of very rapid transformation of the functions of women from those of subordinate to equalitarian status. For the rural sociologist, it is interesting to note, regarding Central Asia, that women's "greatest importance is in the *kolkhoses*, the agricultural collectives" (p. 250), and also "that agriculture and the *kolkhoses* are the field where the emancipation of women has advanced furthest" (p. 252). The work concludes with a series of 77 illustrations emphasizing the contrasting roles of women before and after the coming of Bolshevism.

To the student of propaganda, of woman's role in a generally masculine world, of Soviet Russia, and of the Orient, this book should be interesting and valuable. To the non-believer in Communism, however, it may be too biased.

Louisiana State University

EDGAR A. SCHULER

*The American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. XLIV, No. 6. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939. xvi, 799-1030 pp.

*The World of Industry and Labour*, 1939. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1939. 92 pp.

*Sociological Review*, IV, No. 3-4. Ponzan, Poland: Polish Sociological Institute, 1936. viii, 622 pp., VI, 3-4, 1938. iv, 600 pp.

Monographs of the Economic Geographic Institute of Tartu, Esthonia:

No. 20 *The Soil Types of the Province Läänemaa, Esthonia*. By Alfred Lillema. 1938. 11 pp.

No. 21. *Milk Consumption and Milk Supplying Hinterland of Tallium*. By E. Krepp. 1938. 11 pp.

No. 23 *Population, Settlement and Communication of the Province of Läänemaa*. By A. Laasi, 1939. 24 pp.

No. 25 *Economic Position, and Territorial Reform of Rural Communes in Esthonia*. By E. Krepp. 1938. 64 pp.

No. 26 *Division of Esthonian Soil by Quality*. By A. Lillema. 1939. 11 pp.

W.P.A. Research Projects (1939): Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

*Beet Sugar*. By Raymond K. Adamson and Marion E. West. xxiv, 190 pp.

*Cotton*. By William C. Holley and Lloyd E. Arnold. xvi, 132 pp.

*Potatoes*. By Harry E. Knowlton, Robert E. Elwood, and Eugene G. McKibben. xiii, 134 pp.

*Sugar Beets*. By Loring K. Macy, Lloyd E. Arnold, Eugene G. McKibben, and E. J. Stone. xv, 48 pp.

*Tractors, Trucks, and Automobiles*. By Eugene G. McKibben and R. Austin Griffin. xv, 114 pp.

*Wheat and Oats*. By Robert E. Elwood, Floyd E. Arnold, D. Clarence Schmutz, and Eugene G. McKibben. xv, 182 pp.

These Works Progress Administration research monographs which concern agriculture all deal with the technology and labor aspects involved in crop production. They may be secured free of charge and are essential for each experiment station and for the sociologists' working libraries. The five Esthonian monographs concerning soil and agriculture in that Baltic country are exceedingly important for any detailed study of European rural social organization or for the background of the present struggle for power in Europe. The two issues of the *Sociological Review*, published under the editorship of Znaniecki, co-worker with W. I. Thomas on the Polish Peasant study, represent the spread of American sociology into the central European field. The review is published in Polish, but each issue contains at least one article published by an outsider. The International Labour Organization monograph is a report of the director for 1939. Its interest for the rural sociologist lies in its background of discussion of the international labor movement from the point of view of nutrition and the standard of life. The issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* listed here forms a monograph concerning the nature of the relation of the individual and the group. Twelve authors—Florian Znaniecki, Maurice Halbwachs, R. S. Woodworth, William E. Blatz, John E. Anderson, J. F. Brown, Kurt Lewin, Floyd H. Allport, Thomas M. French, Harry Stack Sullivan, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Louis Wirth—contribute to the discussion, and the monograph represents their best thinking. The *American Journal of Sociology* has been actively engaged for forty-four years in promoting scientific sociology and certainly deserves our support. The world at large will not take scientific sociology any more seriously or sacrifice any more to support it than we do ourselves.

C. C. Z.

*Seven Lean Years.* By T. J. Woofter, Jr. and Ellen Winston. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 187 pp. \$1.50.

This is an impressive analytical description of the problem of low-income groups in United States agriculture. It builds largely upon those research monographs of Federal Emergency Relief Administration and Works Progress Administration which deal with rural poverty in the seven years from 1931 through 1937, but uses census and other available materials as well. High rural birth rates, low agricultural income, growing landlessness, lessening opportunity on the agricultural ladder, and dependence on relief are well documented. Regional differences and the relations of varied types of farming and tenure status to poverty are treated with discrimination. The book is full of suggestive comments on policy. Wide reading of this book would promote clarity of understanding and lead to revision of a number of current views.

University of California  
Berkeley, California

PAUL S. TAYLOR

*Inchiesta sulla Piccola Proprietà Coltivatrice Formatasi nel Dopoguerra* (Inquiry concerning Small Farm Ownership Established in the Post-War Period). Vol. XIV, *Lazio*. By Vittorino de Simone. Vol. XV, *Relazione Finale, l'Ascesa del Contadino Italiano nel Dopo-Guerra*. By Giovanni Lorenzoni. No. 12, 1938. 212 pp. and 442 pp. L. 15 and L. 35.

*I Lavorati Avventizi nell' Agricoltura Toscana* (Part-Time Agricultural Laborers in Tuscany). By Vincenzo Bellucci. 15—III, 1938. 211 pp. L. 25.

*Risultati Economici di Aziende Agrarie nell' Anno 1936* (Economic Returns of Large Farms in 1936). Edited by Dario Perini. 18—IV, 1938. 214 pp. L. 18.

II. *Pomodoro in Emilia, Importanza Economica della Coltivazione* (Tomato Culture in Emilia, Economic Importance of the Cultivation). By Attilio Todeschini. No. 24, 1938. 179 pp. L. 25.

*Monografia Economico-Agraria della Piana di Salerno (Studio Generale della Economia della Produzione Terriera)* (Agrarian Economic Monograph of Piana di Salerno—General Study of the Economy of Agricultural Production). By Antonio Spagnoli. No. 25, 1938. 164 pp. L. 20.

*Monografia Economico-Agraria di Terra di Lavoro (Studio Generale della Economia della Produzione Terriera)* (Agrarian Economic Monograph of Terra di Lavoro—General Study of the Economy of Agricultural Production). By Francesco Platzer. No. 26, 1938. 188 pp. L. 20.

These volumes are recent additions to the various series of monographs published by the National Institute of Agrarian Economics in Rome. They in-

clude a great deal of statistical and descriptive data on agricultural production, types of farms, and farm labor for various regions and for the country as a whole. In addition to purely economic problems, analyses of social relationships are presented in some of the studies. Some ninety volumes in the various series have now been published. The purpose of the studies is to get as complete a picture as possible of the factors influencing agricultural production and rural life. Their purpose is practical: adequate information is deemed necessary for national control and planning, particularly in reference to national self-sufficiency (autarchy). As a whole, these monographs provide valuable information of interest to the agricultural economist and rural sociologist, particularly for the comparative study of rural life.

Harvard University

WILBERT E. MOORE

# News Notes and Announcements

## PROGRAM OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

DECEMBER 27-29, 1939  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA  
Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Headquarters

### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 27

10 A.M.-12 M. FIRST GENERAL SESSION. R. C. SMITH, *Chairman*  
Crystal Foyer, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

Presidential Address: *Rural Sociology: Conceptual and Empirical.*

Carl C. Taylor, United States Department of Agriculture

*Rural Philosophies: Past and Present.* Paul Johnstone, United States  
Department of Agriculture

Short Business Meeting

### 2 P.M.-4 P.M. ROUND TABLES AND COMMITTEE REPORTS

1. *Rural Sociology Extension.* Mary Eva Duthie, Cornell University,  
Chairman, Independence Room, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

2. *Rural Sociology Research.* C. Horace Hamilton, Texas A. & M.  
College, Chairman, Lafayette Room, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

3. *Rural Sociology Teaching.* O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. & M.  
College, Chairman, Room Number 210, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

4. *Rural Welfare Activities and Programs.* C. R. Hoffer, Michigan  
State College, Chairman, Room Number 252, Benjamin Franklin  
Hotel

8 P.M. JOINT SESSION for Presidential Addresses. Thomas S. Gates,  
*Chairman*

*Has Gold a Future?* Jacob Viner, American Economic Association

*The White Collar Criminal.* Edwin H. Sutherland, American Socio-  
logical Society

### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28

10 A.M.-12 M. SECOND GENERAL SESSION. CARL C. TAYLOR, *Chair-  
man*, Independence Room, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

*Action Programs for the Conservation of Rural Life and Culture.*

Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota

*Theory of Human Conservation.* N. L. Whetten, Connecticut State College

Discussants:

E. H. Shideler, State Director Indiana Farm Security Administration

Carl Kraenzel, Montana State College

Charles C. Bornman, Cedar Crest College

Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation

12 M. JOINT LUNCHEON with the American Farm Economic Association. HENRY C. TAYLOR, *Chairman*, Adelphia Hotel

*The Problem of Poverty in Agriculture.* M. L. Wilson, Under Secretary of Agriculture

Discussants:

J. I. Falconer, Ohio State University

Dwight Sanderson, Cornell University

3 P.M. ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING. CARL C. TAYLOR, *Chairman*, Crystal Foyer, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

*Discussion of Personnel in the Field of Rural Sociology.* T. J. Woof-ter, Jr., *Chairman*

#### FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29

9 A.M.-11 A.M. THIRD GENERAL SESSION. CARL C. TAYLOR, *Chairman*, Crystal Foyer, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

*Action Programs in the Field of Security for Farm People.* P. G. Beck, Regional Director, Farm Security Administration, Indianapolis

*A Theory of Social Security for Farm People.* C. Arnold Anderson, Iowa State College

Discussants:

T. Roy Reid, Regional Director, Farm Security Administration, Little Rock

T. J. Woofter, Jr., United States Department of Agriculture

J. H. Kolb, University of Wisconsin

Charles Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute

2:30 P.M. JOINT SESSION with the American Farm Economics Association. *Farm Labor in a Control-Conscious World.* JOHN D. BLACK, *Chairman*, Crystal Ballroom, Benjamin Franklin Hotel

*The Impact of Agricultural, Industrial, and Labor Control Policies Upon Farm Labor: A Statement of the Problem.* William T. Ham, United States Department of Agriculture

*An Appraisal of Possible Remedial Measures.* Lowry Nelson, University of Minnesota; Murray R. Benedict, University of California

## HEADQUARTERS

The headquarters of the Rural Sociological Society of America will be at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel, where a registration and information desk will be maintained. Members are requested to register upon arrival.

Reservations should be made early. Rates at the Benjamin Franklin are as follows:

Single room, bath	\$3.85	At the Bellevue-Stratford:	
Double room, bath	5.50	Single room, bath	\$3.85
At the Adelphia:		Double room, bath	5.50
Single room, bath	3.50	At the McAlpin.	
Double room, bath	5.00	Single room, bath	2.25
		Double room, bath	4.00

## 1939 MEMBERSHIP LIST OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

## ALABAMA

Andrews, Henry L.	Box 797	University
Nunn, Alexander	c/o <i>Progressive Farmer</i>	Birmingham
Sanders, Irwin T.	Alabama College	Montevallo

## ARIZONA

Ballantyne, A. B.	University of Arizona	Tucson
*Rovey, Emil	University of Arizona	Tucson
Tetreau, E. D.	University of Arizona	Tucson

## ARKANSAS

Bonslagel, Connie J.	524 Post Office Building	Little Rock
Brannen, C. O.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Charlton, J. L.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Halfacre, G. May	Farm Security Administration	Little Rock
Metzler, William H.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Pryor, Herbert	Gleason Hotel	Little Rock
Reid, T. Roy	. . . 414 Donaghey Trust Building	Little Rock

## CALIFORNIA

Brandt, Karl	Food Research Institute	Stanford University
Griffin, F. L.	. . . University of California	Davis
McEntire, Davis	U.S.D.A.	Berkeley
Taylor, Paul S.	University of California	Berkeley

## COLORADO

Miller, Marshall C.	Mesa College	Grand Junction
Roskelley, R. W.	Colorado State College	Fort Collins

## CONNECTICUT

Brundage, A. J.	Connecticut State College	Storrs
Coven, Milton	Y.M.C.A.	New Haven
Hypes, J. L.	Connecticut State College	Storrs
Whetten, N. L.	. . . . . Connecticut State College	Storrs

## WASHINGTON, D. C.

Baker, O. E. ....	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Carter, Hugh .....	900 19th St. NW.	
Ellickson, J. C. ....	1812 K St., NW.	
Folsom, Josiah C. ....	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
*Galpin, C. J. ....	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Gardner, Ella .....	Extension Service	U.S.D.A.
Ham, William T. ....	3618 Ordway St. W.	
Hitt, Homer L. ....	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Kirkpatrick, E. L. ....	744 Jackson Place	
Kress, Andrew J. ....	Georgetown University	
Leonard, Olen E. ....	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Loomis, Charles P. ....	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Melvin, Bruce L. ....	Works Progress Administration	
Noll, Miriam .....	Children's Bureau	U.S.D.A.
Parmelee, Maurice .....	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Robert, Percy A. ....	Catholic University	
Stanley, Louise .....	3223 Macomb Street	
Taylor, Carl C. ....	5166 Tilden St. NW.	
*Vrooman, C. Earl .....	1422 F. St. NW.	
Wakefield, Olaf .....	1080 South Agricultural Building	
Wells, Oris V. ....	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Wheeler, Helen W. ....	1701 20th St., NW.	
Wilson, M. L. ....		U.S.D.A.
Woofter, T. J., Jr. ....	2001 16th St. NW.	
Youngblood, Bonney .....	Office of Experiment Stations	U.S.D.A.

## FLORIDA

Conoly, G. W. ....	Florida A. & M. College	Tallahassee
MacLachlan, John .....	2082 University Station	Gainesville
Moore, Coyle E. ....	Florida State College for Women	Tallahassee

## GEORGIA

Andrews, Myron E. ....	21 Harris St., NW.	Atlanta
Elrod, Julius M. ....	Berry College	Mount Berry
Holt, John B. ....	239 Peachtree St.	Atlanta
Matthews, M. Taylor .....	249 Peachtree St., NE.	Atlanta
Osborn, George C. ....	Berry College	Mount Berry

## ILLINOIS

Bailey, D. L. ....	Western Illinois State Tr. College	Macomb
Berry, John W. ....	Eureka College	Eureka
Bowden, R. D. ....	Southern Illinois State	
	Normal University	Carbondale
Breckenridge, S. P. ....	University of Chicago	Chicago
Burgess, Ernest W. ....	1126 East 59th St.	Chicago
Cummins, Ralph .....	2323½ N. Commonwealth Ave.	Chicago
Funderburg, D. D. ....	22 South State St.	Elgin
Henry, Sister .....	Rosary College	River Forest
Holt, Arthur E. ....	5757 University Ave.	Chicago
*Hudson, G. T. ....	University of Illinois	Urbana
Jones, T. Reighton .....		Stonington



Lake, James H. ....	Kiwanis International .....	Chicago
Landis, Judson T. ....	Southern Illinois State Normal University .....	Carbondale
Lindstrom, D. E. ....	University of Illinois .....	Urbana
Monsees, Carl H. ....	1313 East 60th St. ....	Chicago
Oyler, Merton .....	923 East 56th St. ....	Chicago
Regnier, Earl H. ....	University of Illinois .....	Urbana

## INDIANA

Beck, P. G. ....	Farm Security Administration ..	Indianapolis
Davison, Victor H. ....	209½ University St. ....	West Lafayette
Hall, O. F. ....	Purdue University .....	Lafayette
Hershberger, Guy F. ....	Goshen College .....	Goshen
Hoffman, Charles S. ....	Farm Security Administration ..	Indianapolis
Hollingshead, A. B. ....	Indiana University .....	Bloomington
Mather, William G., Jr. ....		Franklin
Shideler, Ernest H. ....	Farm Security Administration ..	Lafayette
Van Huss, A. B. ....	Farm Security Administration ..	Lebanon

## IOWA

Anderson, C. Arnold .....	Iowa State College .....	Ames
Clark, Robert C. ....	Iowa State College .....	Ames
Ligutti, L. G. ....		Granger
Lind, Marvin B. ....		Montezuma
Ryan, Bryce .....	Iowa State College .....	Ames
Sampson, L. W. ....	421 College St. ....	Storm Lake
Stacy, W. H. ....	Iowa State College .....	Ames
Wakeley, Ray E. ....	Iowa State College .....	Ames
*White, James E. ....	Iowa State College .....	Ames

## KANSAS

Greenfield, Mary R. ....	Friends University .....	Wichita
Hill, Randall C. ....	Kansas State College .....	Manhattan
Knoebber, Sister Mildred ..	Mount St. Scholastica .....	Atchison
Wolters, Gilbert .....	St. Benedicts College .....	Atchison

## KENTUCKY

Beers, Howard W. ....	University of Kentucky .....	Lexington
Gray, Wayne T. ....	404 North Main St. ....	Barbourville
Nicholls, W. D. ....	University of Kentucky .....	Lexington
Williams, Robin M. ....	University of Kentucky .....	Lexington

## LOUISIANA

Ballinger, Roy A. ....	Agricultural Economics Department	University
Carter, Sam R. ....	State Office Building .....	Baton Rouge
Clark, Felton G. ....	Southern University .....	Scotlandville
D'Argonne, Michael C. ....	7728 Plum Street .....	New Orleans
Donohue, Arthur T. ....	Loyola University .....	New Orleans
Evans, Marianna .....	Southwestern Louisiana Institute ..	Lafayette
Fox, Lawrence J. ....	Louisiana Polytechnic Institute ...	Ruston
Frey, Fred C. ....	College of Arts and Sciences ....	University
Hoffsommer, Harold C. ....	Rural Sociology Department ..	University
Hyde, Roy E. ....	Southeastern Louisiana College ..	Hammond
Lott, E. H. ....	Sociology Department .....	University

*McClure, John H. . . . .	Rural Route 1 . . . . .	Baton Rouge
*McKillips, E. J. . . . .	Louisiana State University . . . . .	University
*McMillan, Robert T. . . . .	630 St. Joseph St. . . . .	Baton Rouge
Montgomery, J. P. . . . .	Agricultural Economics Department . . . . .	University
*Porter, Horace . . . . .	Agricultural Economics Department . . . . .	University
*Roberts, R. W. . . . .	Louisiana State University . . . . .	University
Schuler, Edgar . . . . .	Sociology Department . . . . .	University
Smith, Marion B. . . . .	Sociology Department . . . . .	University
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\* Student member.

† Contributing member.

‡ Honorary member.

## EUGENE THORSTEN STROMBERG

Eugene Thorsten Stromberg died July 21, 1939, aged 30, after an illness of thirteen months. He was born at Keene, Nebraska, August, 1909, and lived at Oakland, Nebraska, after he was three years old. He graduated from Nebraska Wesleyan University with a B.A. degree in 1931, at which time he was president of his class and had been elected to Phi Kappa Phi and Phi Gamma Nu. The next year he was on the staff of the Omaha Y. M. C. A. From 1932 to 1935 he was a graduate student at the University of Oregon, from which he

received his degree of M.A. in 1935. During this time he was secretary of the university Y. M. C. A. and for the last year was graduate assistant in the Sociology Department. He was appointed graduate assistant in the Department of Rural Social Organization, New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, in 1935, and received his Ph. D. degree from that institution September, 1937, with a thesis entitled *The Influence of Centralized Rural Schools on Community Organization*. An abstract of this was published under the same title by the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station as Bulletin 699 and has had much influence on the current discussion of redistricting rural schools. He was appointed professor of sociology at Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Alabama, in the fall of 1937, which position he held only one year, since he contracted his fatal illness in the spring of 1938. At that time he had received an appointment as assistant professor of sociology at the University of Oregon.

In 1936 he married Jean Tyler of Omaha, Nebraska, who survives him. Dr. Stromberg made many friends in the institutions with which he was connected, where he displayed active leadership among the student body. He was an earnest student of sociology, and the profession has lost a man of promise in his death.

DWIGHT SANDERSON

*European Journals and the War*.—The non-receipt by a subscriber of any European chemical or other scientific journal seriously needed as research material should be promptly reported to the American Documentation Institute.

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*International Congress of Sociology*.—The Fourteenth International Congress of Sociology which was to be held at Bucharest from August 29 to September 14 under the presidency of Professor Dimitrie Gusti, President of the State Social Service and of the Romanian Sociological Institute, has been postponed until the Spring of 1940 at the request of Mr. Mounier, President of the International Institute of Sociology, and of several other foreign delegates.

*University of Maryland:*—Carl S. Joslyn has been appointed professor and acting head of the department of sociology.

Logan Wilson has been called from Harvard to serve as associate professor. He taught sociology in the summer session at the University of Texas.

Clarence J. Wittler has resigned to accept an appointment as professor at Mundelein College.

Robert N. Woodworth has been called from the University of North Carolina to serve as assistant in sociology.

William H. Form of the University of Rochester and Frederick R. McBrien of Dartmouth College have been appointed fellows in sociology.

The department has recently inaugurated a program of graduate instruction in sociology and is accepting candidates for higher degrees. This program will be expanded next year to include a full offering of courses leading to the Ph. D. degree.

*University of South Dakota:*—Lee Deets has resigned his position at the University of South Dakota to become head of the department of Sociology and Social Work at Hunter College in New York.

John Useem has been appointed associate professor of Sociology and acting head of the department.

*The State College of Washington:*—Paul H. Landis has been appointed dean of the Graduate School. He will continue to be in charge of the Rural Sociology Division of the Agricultural Experiment Station.

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NUMBER 4

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